

पुस्तक संख्या पुस्तक का क्रम  
पुरोहित  
वनस्थली विद्यापीठ

श्रेणी संख्या.....

पुस्तक संख्या.....

आवाप्ति क्रमांक.....









Universal  
HISTORY  
OF THE WORLD

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VOLUME SEVEN



# UNIVERSAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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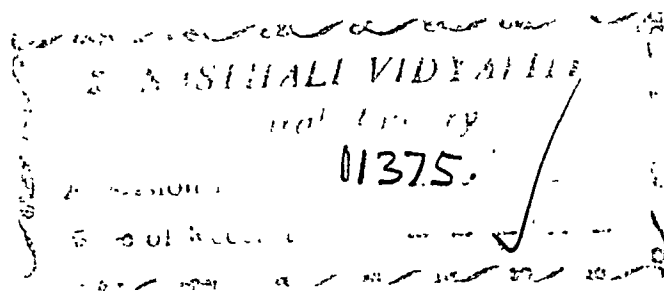
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From the Eighteenth Century  
to the Age of Queen Victoria



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# THE RUSSIA OF THE ROMANOVS

How the Nation founded by Ivan Veliki rose to  
Greatness under Peter Alexievich and Catherine II

By C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY D.Litt. F.R.G.S.

Professor of History, Birmingham University, formerly Fellow and Sub-Warden of Merton College, Oxford; Part Author of History of Russia from the Varangians

**I**VAN III, Ivan Veliki, John the Great (1462-1505), one of the chief statesmen of the age of classical Renaissance, a consummate builder of 'new monarchy,' a Russian counterpart (in some measure) of Louis XI, is the first founder of the modern Russian Empire. In time-order, not in ability or energy, Peter is second to him. By him the Moscow power, the principality of Ivan Kalita and Dmitri Donskoi, was raised to the level of an important Christian state. By the time of his death every part of Russia that had not been long since absorbed by the Roman Catholic West had become subject to, or practically dependent on, the Grand Prince who now began to call himself Tsar of All Russia.

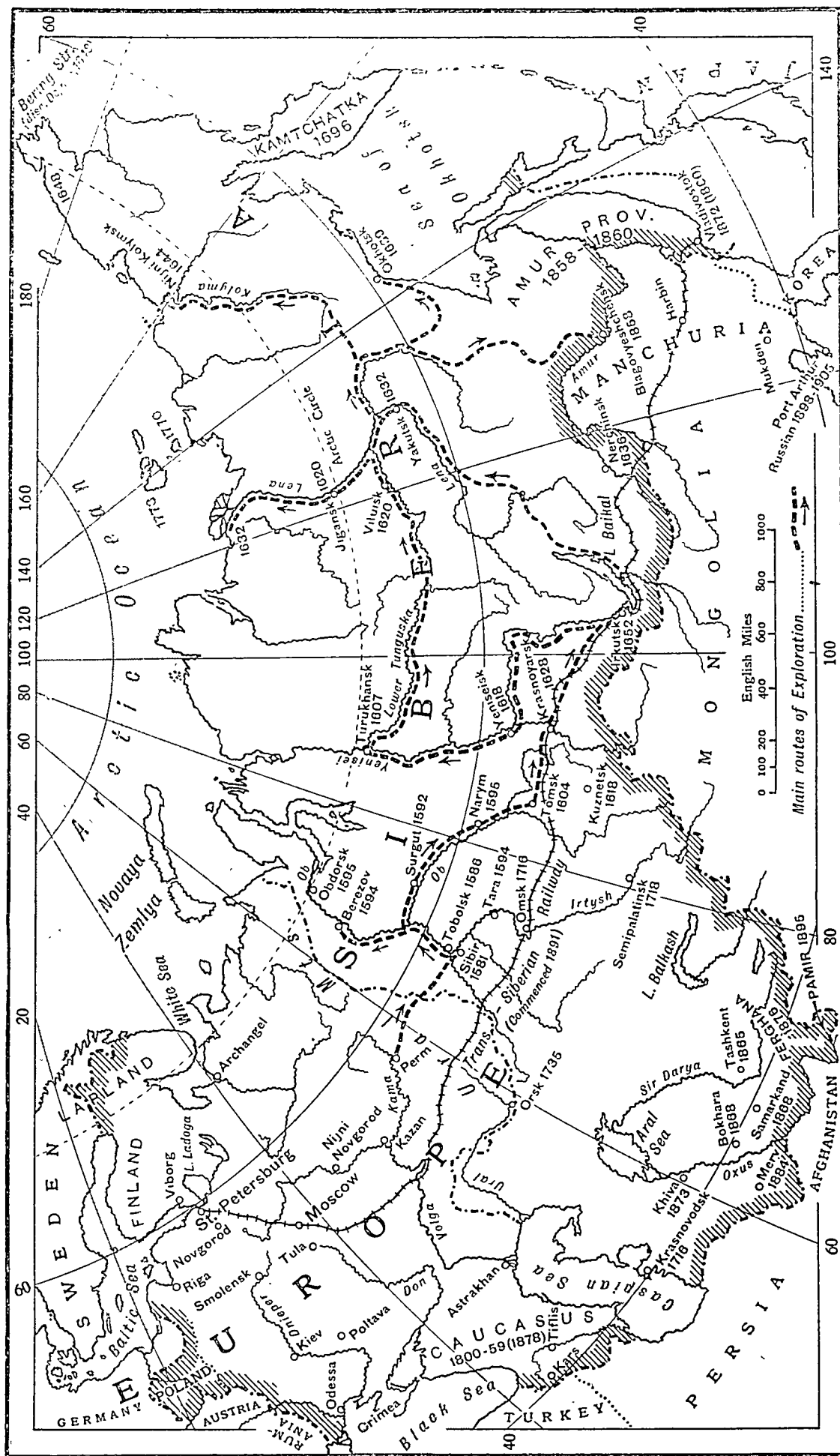
If Peter son of Alexis gave Russia a new capital, a new aspect, new claims and ideals, windows on the West, outlets on warmer seas, a fresh European position and consciousness, a place in the school of modern Western progress, Ivan son of Vasili first gave to the Russian people the unity and consciousness of an imperial state, the policy and claims of a great European power.

On his accession Ivan III inherited a Grand Principality of Moscow which was the only possible hope of a new or revived Russian nation, and which had absorbed a certain number of Russian fragments—towns and principalities otherwise helpless, but now sensibly increasing the strength of an ever-growing Moscow Union. Since 1370, moreover, this Moscow had shown signs of a disposition and a capacity to head a national revolt against the Tatar bondage. But there still persisted, however weakened, this national humiliation of Tatar overlordship.

To the north and north-west Old Novgorod, with its vast colonial empire, the only part of Old Rus not properly conquered by the Tatars, covered a greater area than all the Moscow allegiance itself. Might it not still compete with the Grand Principality, which it entirely cut off from the Baltic and the White Sea, for the headship of the Russian race? Who can fight against God, and the Great Novgorod?

To the west and south-west almost half the Old Russian land, since the Tatar deluge of the thirteenth century, had passed under the rule of Lithuania-Poland, Ring fence  
now (since the Union round 'Muscovy'  
of 1386) one of the largest of Christian states, and apparently one of the more powerful. Especially formidable was this Poland as a champion of Roman Christianity and of the ideas and culture of the West. To the south and south-east important relics of the Mongol-Tatar power in eastern Europe survived in the three khanates, of Krim (including the Crimea peninsula and extensive lands to the north); of Astrakhan (on the lower Volga and northern Caspian); and of Kazan (in the Middle East, on the way to Siberia, dominating the lands where met the waterways which gave access to the north-east, to the south-east and to the west). Everywhere 'Muscovy' was still separated from the ocean, and even from the inland seas. The two ancient capitals, Kiev and Old Novgorod, were still beyond Muscovite dominion. The Muscovite prince was still a vassal to the Tatars.

During his reign the Reuniter of Russian Lands (this is his especial and distinctive title) had reunited all Russians—outside



### STAGES IN THE EXPLORATION AND CONQUEST OF ASIATIC RUSSIA UNDER THE EARLY TSARS

Russian expansion eastwards began with the conquest of the khanates along the Volga in 1555, after which Ivan the Terrible granted charters to the Stroganov family for trans-Ural colonisation. The definite Russian conquest of the whole of northern Asia began in 1581 when the khanate of Sibir was appropriated. Thence the Muscovite tentacles spread out in ever widening range until by the middle of the seventeenth century they had reached as far as Lake Baikal along the line of the modern trans-Siberian railway, eastwards to the sea of Okhotsk and northwards to touch the Arctic Ocean at several points.

the definite territories of the Roman Catholic powers—and made of them one Muscovite nation, three times more extensive in 1505 than in 1460. This nation he had emancipated from Tatar overlordship and had made the only representative, in high politics, of the Russian race and name.

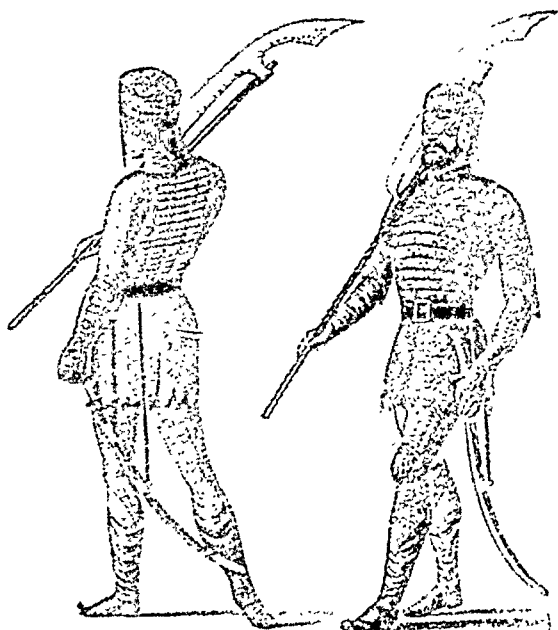
This first of the Russian tsars had also challenged, threatened and fought Poland-Lithuania, and had even won from her some districts of White Russia. On the north he had absorbed Old Novgorod and the whole Novgorodian dominion, including everything now included in the province of Archangel and much of the modern province of Perm. This gave Muscovite Rus her first seaboard, the open ocean coast from the borders of Norway along Lapland to the Urals, all the shores and the whole basin of the White Sea, and even a small window on the Gulf of Finland and so on the Baltic. As Roman Christianity and Polish-Lithuanian power had begun very seriously to menace the orthodoxy and Russianism of Novgorod, Ivan's conquest appeared as a signal triumph for the Eastern church and for the Russian race, as well as for Moscow and the Moscow principedom.



#### REUNITER OF RUSSIAN LANDS

This profile, engraved from a contemporary portrait by a certain Rovinski that no longer exists, shows the first 'High prince and autocrat of All Russia,' Ivan III Vasilievich (1462–1505) surnamed the Great.

*From Thevet, 'La Cosmographie Universelle,' 1575*



#### ARMOUR OF THE TATAR TYPE

In his great work of reuniting the Russian lands Ivan III achieved independence of the Tatar domination. From the 14th century the Russians adopted armour, of which this engraving gives front and back view, like that of the Tatars.

*From Gillé, 'Museum of Tsarkoe Selo'*

Colonially, it was a conquest which opened the way to the Urals, with all their mineral wealth, and to the almost boundless and undefended lands of far northern Asia. From Siberia-in-Europe Ivan the Great in his latter years—after 1471—was able to send his troops beyond the mountains into Asiatic Siberia. These expeditions did not pass the river Ob, but they were prophetic of much. On the side of this Asiatic world, moreover, Ivan had not only dropped all pretence of vassalage to the Tatars, but had carried the war into the enemy's country, reversed the position, and reduced the Kazan khanate itself to vassalage. Here therefore begin both the Russian conquest of a vast Mahomedan world and the Russian control of the middle and lower-middle Volga. Had he ruled ten years longer, Ivan the Great would probably have finished the Volga work of his Terrible successor fifty years later—would have won Astrakhan, forced his way to the





OLD NOVGOROD, CAPITAL OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICT CONQUERED BY IVAN THE GREAT

The ambitions of Ivan the Great to extend his territories and acquire a seaboard led him to conquer Novgorod and its dominion, stretching to Lapland and the White Sea. Led by Martha Boretskaya, the anti-Moscow, Roman Catholic party struggled in vain; the conqueror entered the town, abolished its charters and compelled recognition of his sovereignty. This view of the city is the work of a seventeenth-century artist, Nicholas Witsen.

From 'Voyages faits en Moscovie par Olarius,' 1727

Caspian, and placed himself in touch with central Asia.

Along with all this went the development, almost the creation, of a new national feeling. There was now a real Russian consciousness that a mighty work, the result of ages, was at last in steady and rapid progress, re-creating and reviving the race, and fitting it to play a higher and more decisive part in the world. Under Ivan Veliki a movement which had been slowly maturing for more than a century is completed, almost with the speed of geometrical progression. The whole of the Great Russian family, all the Russian stock that formed part of the eastward colonial movement of the Middle Ages, with its historic basis in the Old Novgorod of the ninth century and with its new capital in the Mother Moscow of the fourteenth, was now united under one rule. Inspired by one patriotism and one Orthodoxy, it formed a real nation independent of foreign power, even aspiring to an imperial position. For now it began to dream of the succession to the Eastern Caesars. Muscovite Russia was to replace the East Roman Empire.

Ivan the Great, as head of this sovereign international state, aspiring to lead Eastern Christendom and to step into the place of lost Constantinople, takes the position and title of 'tsar,' 'tsyesar,' a supreme ruler, king or emperor. In 1472, immediately after the conquest of Old Novgorod, he makes a fresh and significant marriage. His second wife was Sophia, a niece of Constantine Palaeologus, the last Christian emperor of the East, who perished with such glory at the fall of the City and the Empire in 1453. This marriage expressed the new claims and the new position of Moscow—an expression made more complete by the disappearance of the Tatar overlordship from 1480. Rising Moscow is now the one great political power, not only among faithful Russians, but throughout Eastern, Greek or Orthodox Christendom. Thus she becomes a new capital of the faith and of all true believers, as well as the capital of a new line of Orthodox Caesars. She is the third and final Rome.

It was natural and almost inevitable, with such a history, such achievements and such ambitions, that Moscow should demand the ultimate reunion under her leadership of all branches of the Russian race, all parts of the Russian land. Ivan Veliki, like Peter Veliki, takes the position of a tsar of all the Russias. He looks forward definitely to the recovery of the old Russian territories held by Lithuania—Kiev and Smolensk he names in an official protest of 1503. Until every part of ancient Rus had been recovered and reunited, there could be no real peace, only a truce to gather fresh strength and draw fresh breath. Thus Ivan definitely lays it down, in an important document of state.

The age of Ivan the Great (1462–1505)—continued under his successors until the fatal apostasy of Ivan the Terrible to tyranny and barbarism in 1564—may be considered as a century of hope. It has been called the golden age of the Russian autocracy. Even more than the early Romanov period (1613–1700) it was a time of relative happiness.

At no other epoch did the tsardom so command the confidence and serve the best interests of all classes as at this era—

the life-time of Michel-  
**Golden Age of** angelo. Russians as a  
**Russian Autocracy** whole (and the Russian  
 proletariat was then  
 decidedly more conscious of life and  
 hope than in the later generations of  
 serfdom) felt something like enthusiasm  
 for the Grand Princes of Moscow. More  
 and more they thought of them as true  
 tsars of all the Russian stocks, as protec-  
 tors and champions and representatives  
 of Russian Christianity. Moscow became  
 the expression of racial and national unity,  
 consciousness, power and hope. Veritable  
 migrations set in, skilfully stimulated by  
 the policy of Ivan the Great. Nobles and  
 lesser landowners, merchants and petty  
 traders flocked to the White Stone City  
 from other parts of Muscovite Russia—and  
 even from Lithuania-Poland and from  
 the Tatar khanates on the east and south.  
 No element was more important in this  
 movement than the religious. Since 1326  
 Moscow had become the ecclesiastical centre  
 of Orthodox Russia; the metropolitan of  
 all Russian-Greek Christians had then

fixed his bishop's seat in the city. Since 1453 and the fall of Constantinople Moscow had rapidly become a new spiritual capital for all the Eastern Orthodox world.

Economically and colonially; moreover, the position of Moscow was even then of the highest promise, and history has seen that promise fulfilled. In a land of **Natural advantages** rivers it was a kind of **of Moscow's site** of central point; however far from a seaboard, it yet had many of the assets of a seaport. It faced the regions of the future. It naturally led Russian expansion eastwards and south-eastwards. Itself in the old forest zone, it was near enough to the agricultural belt to reap no small share of the profits of that belt.

The policy of great leaders more than crowned natural advantages.

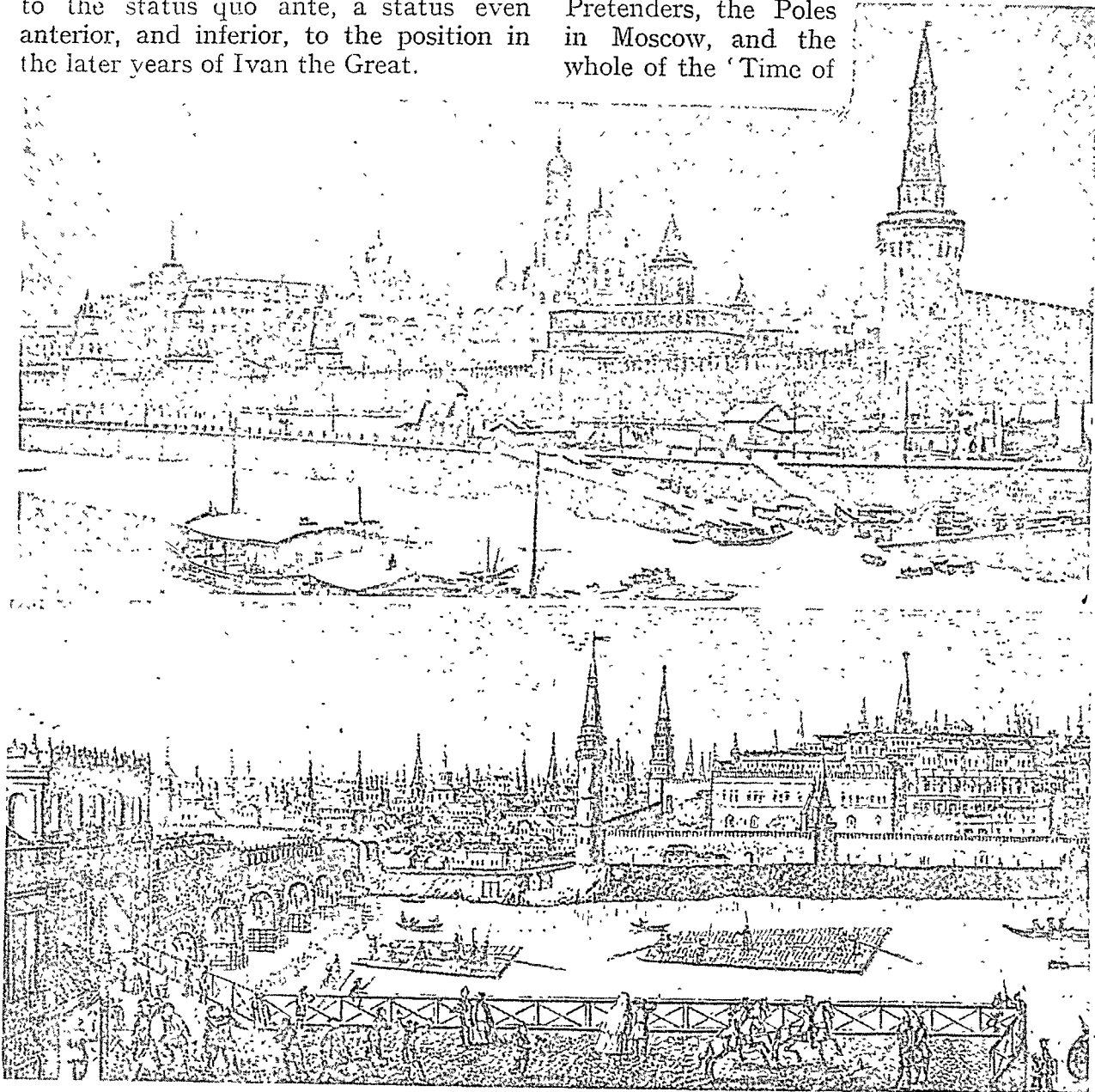
The tide which had begun to flow so strongly under Ivan III continued steadily until the meridian of Ivan IV, not yet 'terrible' and monstrous. All this time Muscovite expansion and success did not cease. From the battle of Towton to the birth of Shakespeare 'the Muscovite' did 'strengthen himself incredibly.' The new Russia forced its victorious way down the Volga to the Caspian; opened direct maritime intercourse with western Europe by the White Sea; made fresh gains in Baltic lands; enlarged the little Russian window on the Gulf of Finland.

Then ensued a famous national tragedy. In the bitter quarrel which now broke out between the tsar and his nobility Ivan IV took up the position of a capricious despot, an absolute master of slaves. A lust of cruelty took possession of him. He indulged in orgies of brutality and folly, alternating with fits of passionate religion. He even at one time executed a kind of semi-abdication, appointing a mock tsar to reign in Moscow, while he buried himself in the country.

Under these conditions government, administration and national defence suffered grievously. Poland-Lithuania, partly under the century-old stimulus of Russian growth, reached its highest level of political efficiency and strength in the Union of Lublin, and under the leadership of Stephen Bathori (1574–1586)

Moscow was now stripped of all her recent gains in the Middle West. The expanding power of the Swedes, under the house of Vasa, also began to block Russian hopes of a Baltic outlet. All the Russian towns established by Ivan Veliki south of the Gulf of Finland passed into the hands of this new Scandinavian empire, which thus gained control of the Neva and Lake Ladoga. By the peace of 1582 the western adventures of Ivan the Terrible were closed by a somewhat humiliating return to the status quo ante, a status even anterior, and inferior, to the position in the later years of Ivan the Great.

This reign of cruelty and caprice, these twenty years of tyranny and terror from 1564 to 1584, also reached a miserable climax in 1582, in home affairs, with the despot's manslaughter of his elder and only capable son in a moment of passion. Thus the tsar himself fatally compromised the future of his dynasty and (for nearly a generation of dangerous years) the stability of his Russia. The extinction of the old Rurikid line, the usurpation of Boris Godunov, the Pretenders, the Poles in Moscow, and the whole of the 'Time of



THE KREMLIN AS IT WAS IN THE YEAR 1764 AND AS IT IS TO-DAY—

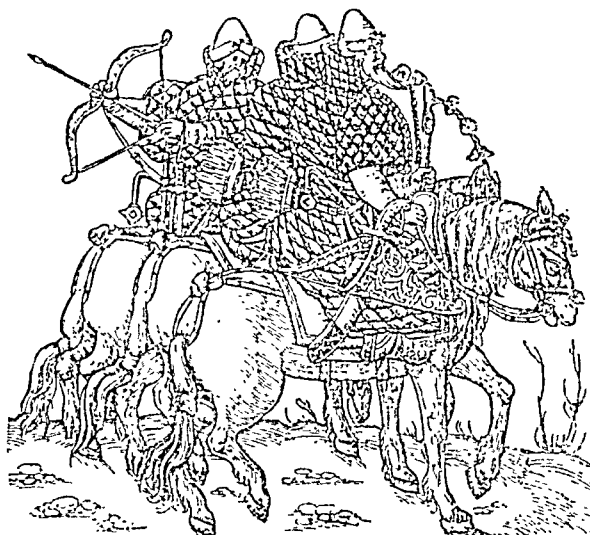
Once the residence of the Russian tsars, the Kremlin, in the centre of Moscow, stands upon a hill 130 feet above the waters of the river Moskva. Ivan III erected the high stone walls with fan-shaped battlements which enclose this inner city with its five gates and nineteen towers. How little its general aspect has changed despite fires, including the conflagration of 1812, may be judged by comparing the photograph (top, from a slightly different point of view) with the engraving of 1764.

Engraving from Brückner, 'Katharina die Zweite'—

Troubles' have their origin in the wild-beast folly of a not ungifted autocrat who lost control of himself. Power tries men. Seldom were the temptations of absolute power more ruinously triumphant.

But however troubled at home, and however unsuccessful against settled and civilized neighbours of the West, the Russia of Ivan the Terrible was favoured by fortune in her colonial expansion.

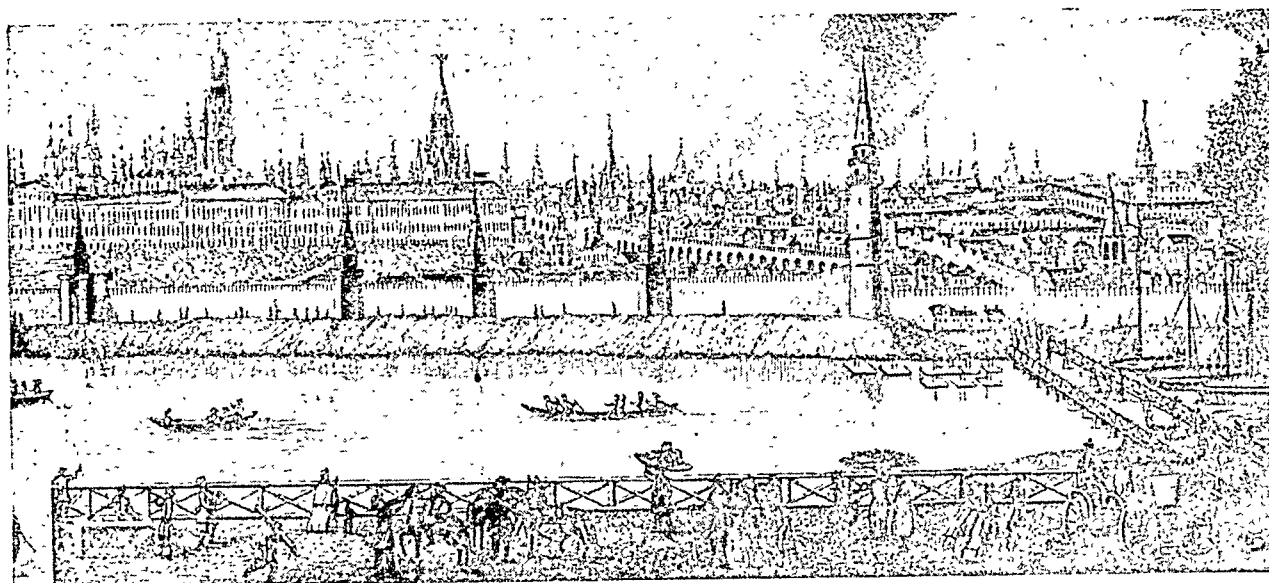
On one side the daring and stubborn, ever baffled enterprise of the English, especially in 1553-4, to discover a north-east passage for trade to Cathay and the Indies led to the opening of direct maritime intercourse between Muscovy and western Europe. The arrival of Richard Chancellor in Moscow in 1553, and his safe return to England with Muscovite representatives, were great events in history. Never were Anglo-Russian relations more truly cordial and intimate than in this later Tudor time. English merchants and explorers like Anthony Jenkinson, with his trade ventures to the Caspian, to central Asia, to Caucasia and to North Persia—we find him even at Bokhara or 'Boghar in Bactria'—did something to stimulate Russian enterprise. English diplomatic representatives like Giles Fletcher, Jerome Horsey or Jerome



#### CAVALRY OF THE EARLY TSARS

As depicted in Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, published at Basel in 1556, Muscovite cavalry of Ivan the Terrible's time wore quilted coats reaching from helmet rim to stirrup. The bow was their missile weapon.

Bowes now appear at Moscow, and give valuable and interesting descriptions. From Fletcher especially we can realize something of the life—and misery—of the Russian peasant. Yet none of these equals the picture drawn by the earliest of modern foreign envoys to the White Stone City, Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, the Hapsburg ambassador under Basil III (1517-26).



#### —SPIRED TOWERS OF THE FORTRESS CITY THAT DOMINATES MOSCOW

The centre of the view in each case is occupied by the great campanile 'of Ivan Veliki' erected by Boris Godunov in 1600. It is 320 feet high to the top of the cross and towers above the Uspenski Cathedral built in the Lombardo-Byzantine style with Indian cupolas by Ivan III, who also built the Arkhangelski (S. Michael), in which many of the tsars are buried. The Great Palace, not remarkable architecturally but magnificent inside, is in the opposite page (left, photograph; right, engraving).

—in *Oncken, 'Allgemeine Geschichte'*

Where the English showed the way—by the White Sea—other commerce and exploration followed, especially Dutch, and Russia began to emerge from her isolation, and to enter into the political and economic and religious consciousness of the Christian West, both

**First Intercourse** Roman and Protestant.  
**with the West** Ivan the Terrible, as his sky darkened at home,

fixed his hopes more and more on distant fields. Especially with England he hoped to develop a real alliance. He negotiated assiduously with Elizabeth; he expressed great anxiety for an English marriage. He even wished to make certain of a refuge in England, if driven to fly his country.

By this intercourse something was really accomplished for Muscovite Russia herself. She came in touch with a wider and more cultivated world. The English especially represented to these eastern Europeans, whom they treated with so much scorn, a new learning, a new commercial spirit, a new impulse to distant and daring enterprise. The Elizabethans had little understanding or appreciation of the nobler sides of Russian character:

Wild Irish are as civil as the Russes in their kind,

Hard choice which is the best of both, each bloody, rude and blind.

Drink is their sole desire, the pot is all their pride;

The soberest head doth once a day stand needful of a guide.

Such were characteristic English verdicts in Tudor days. Yet this barbarous race of toppers, who had been sacrificed to the Mongols of the thirteenth century that Europe might be saved, who had suffered as few peoples have ever suffered, and whose martyrdom had only been rewarded by contempt, had already done great things for Europe, and were to do much more. Especially they were about to extend Europe over all the far north of Asia. The discovery and conquest and settlement of Siberia were destined to expand appreciably the area of Christendom and of Aryan civilization, and to give to both marvellous new opportunities little realized for ages.

Russian Siberia sprang from the Volga expansion of 1550–6, from the conquest of

Kazan and Astrakhan and the great river course between them. Along with the mastery of the Volga khanates went commercial and colonial enterprise.

After the subjugation of Kazan, Ivan the Terrible, by his charter of 1558 to the Stroganov family, already active and prominent among Russian colonists on this frontier, really laid the foundations of the great Siberian advance. To a large grant of land (one hundred miles) in the basin of that mighty, beautiful and precious waterway, the river Kama (leading up from the middle Volga into the eastern forests and the Ural mountains), the tsar added rights and duties of colonisation and exploitation, with exemption from taxes for twenty years. He stipulated in return for the defence of the Russian land, on this side.

By 1573 we find the Stroganovs planning conquests in Yugra, the land beyond the northern Urals, the north-west of Siberia-in-Asia. Parts of this Yugra had already been visited by Nov-

gorod traders and ex- **Expansion beyond**  
plorers, and even by **the Ural mountains**  
tax-gatherers, perhaps

as early as the eleventh century. Ivan the Great, more energetically and impressively, had touched this country and interfered in it. Considerable armed forces sent out by him had thrice crossed the Urals in the far north. But these had been only temporary storms of tribute-gathering or conquest. Now there was to be permanent subjugation and settlement. Russia was stretching out her hand for that Canada of the Old World which she took so long to appreciate.

For their projects beyond the mountains the Stroganovs gained a fresh charter from the Terrible Tsar; there also they formed a serviceable alliance with Cossack adventurers and freebooters. The ablest of these, Basil son of Timothy, surnamed Ermak or Yermak—which is perhaps, being interpreted, Little Jeremiah—led the expedition which started up the Kama on September 1 (the Old Russian new year's day) and began the definite Russian conquest and colonisation of all northern Asia, in 1581. Even before the death of Ivan, and of Yermak, in 1584, the khanate of Sibir had been conquered—its 'capital'

of Iskir or Sibir, on the Irtysh, had been taken. The Muscovite empire had been extended to the Ob-Irtysh, but scarcely beyond, as yet. It was a conquest from the Urals up to the first great river valley of North Asia—a territory perhaps as large as Sweden, giving access to lands of illimitable extent right on to the Pacific. Although the Russian Cortés perished within three years, with most of his comrades, his work lasted—and the impulse he had given remained and developed with surprising rapidity and success.

Ivan the Terrible, before he died, had time and opportunity to hear of these developments, and to realize something of their value, present and future. But all else was overclouded by the troubles at home, by the imperilled succession, by the weakness of the heir, by the national weariness of the monster-despot, by the strength and aggressiveness of the Polish enemy, by the deepening misery and degradation of the common people, sinking steadily into complete serfdom. Yet in certain ways, on certain sides, Russian culture made advances even under Ivan the Terrible.

The first printing-press was set up in Moscow in 1553, and the earliest Russian printers worked under the special protection of the tsar and the patriarch of Moscow. As Ivan's character degenerated his enlightenment waned, and after 1564 he permitted the printers to be driven out, not to return until the days of Michael Romanov. Muscovy, therefore, lost the honour of being the homeland of the first complete Slavonic printed Bible. This appeared in an Old Russian land, indeed, but one long alienated—at Ostrog in Volhynia, under Polish rule, in 1581. The legal measures of the reign, moreover, are not to be forgotten. Such are the Stroglov or 'Book of the Hundred Chapters, regulating Church affairs, and



#### MOSCOW'S FANTASTIC CATHEDRAL

Ivan the Terrible began the cathedral church of S. Basil at Moscow in 1554. Dark little chapels on two floors are surmounted by bulbous cupolas and a scale-covered spire, all painted in rainbow colours and topped by gilded crosses.

*Photo, S. J. Beckett*

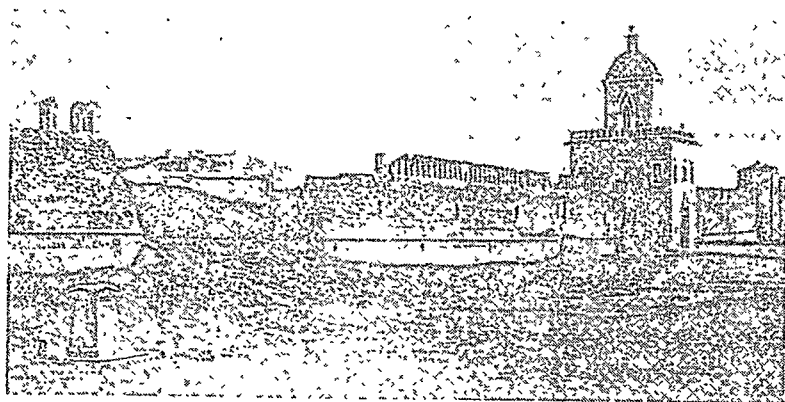
the Sudebnik of 1550. This new code of general legislation was itself a new edition of the Great Ivan's Sudebnik of 1497, and a precursor of Tsar Alexis' Ulojenie of 1649. And the Hundred Chapters themselves may be considered a result of that well known ecclesiastical commission of Ivan Grozny's earliest days, from which springs the new sixteenth-century development of Russian church schools, and so many measures for the improvement and instruction of clergy and laity.

Whatever else he was, the Terrible Tsar was Orthodox—neither Rome nor the Protestants, neither Possevino the Jesuit nor John Rokita the Moravian could make any impression on him. And his subjects pardoned much in one who so completely satisfied the fierce religious nationalism of the time. The deepest subtleties of statecraft did not strengthen his grip of power more than that Defence of the Russian Church in which (like Henry VIII, whom



he so much resembles) the Russian sovereign appears as author-patriot, championing the faith of his people. And all his spies and hired ruffians were perhaps less truly useful to his security than his Letter to the Monks of Byeloe Ozero.

But the famous Book of Degrees, or Steppennaya Kniga, with all its pretended genealogies of tsars and its legends of S. Andrew and S. Vladimir, however quaint and singular, is not of much value, except as preserving a very photograph of the uncritical temper of the time. Vladimir the Great receiving the title of tsar at his baptism, S. Andrew the Apostle visiting Russia before the days of Rurik and 'setting up his staff' or fixing his residence in Druzino, to indicate the future greatness of Moscow—such assumptions are typical. To the same time belongs the curious and famous Domostroi. This Book of Household Economy (perhaps from the pen of Sylvester the Priest, one of the good angels of Ivan's earlier and brighter years) has left us a most striking picture of Russian life, contemporary with the Tudor Age, and especially of the 'patria postestas' in the family. And, once more, the furious correspondence exchanged between the Terrible Autocrat (who considers the noblest of his subjects mere slaves, fit only to die at his nod) and his renegade general and courtier Prince Andrew Kurbsky (who dares to beard the despot—from a distance) throws a lurid light upon this reign of blood and terror which had begun so differently.



**BORIS GODUNOV'S CITADEL AT SMOLENSK**

Its position commanding the Dnieper gave Smolensk great strategic importance and its possession was a constant source of contention between Moscow and Lithuania-Poland. It was developed by Boris Godunov into a powerful fortress with towers and massive walls that now are falling into decay.

*Photo, E.N.A*

Now follows one of the most difficult, tangled, romantic and tragic periods of Russian history (1584-1613). The whole of it may well be called by a name officially given only to the last portion of the epoch (1605-1613)—the Time of Troubles.

Behind the weak and guileless devotee who next sat in the seat of the Terrible Tsar—a Russian Edward the Confessor—looms the enigmatic, arresting; imposing figure of **Boris Godunov** elected Tsar planter. His sister Eirene is married to Tsar Feodor (Theodore); he himself is the all-powerful councillor of the crown. Even in the last days of Ivan IV he had been one of the most trusted, perhaps the most influential, of the great men at court; he is now monarch in all but name—for fourteen years (1584-1598). Then on the death of the sovereign-saint in 1598 this Muscovite Richard III, this Slavonic Macbeth (as the mass of his people thought of him)—Boris Godunov himself—is elected tsar. To Orthodox feeling this was not only usurpation but blasphemy. The sacred crown of the anointed Caesars, of the divinely commissioned protectors of the Church and rulers of the faithful, had passed out of the true line of succession into the hands of a semi-Tatar, stained with murder upon murder, vice upon vice. He had made away, men believed, with the child Dmitri, Feodor's only brother, last of the children of the Terrible, last of the rightful line of Rurik. A little less positively, he was also credited with the murder of Tsar Feodor's only child.

Against this almost universal distrust and loathing, Boris, more than Richard, more than Macbeth, fought with success. When he died in April, 1605, himself at last perhaps a victim of the poison that he may have often used against others, he had just won a striking victory over the pretender, the first 'False Dmitri' (the Perkin Warbeck of Russia) and his Polish allies. Until his death he had maintained, with vigour and renown, the power of his

state, both as regent and as tsar. He had developed the port of Archangel, and with it the important foreign maritime trade, especially with England and Holland. He had made a great fortress of Smolensk, as of Moscow itself. He had gloriously repulsed a great invasion of the Krim Tatars in 1591. He had fostered Russian relations with other nations: like the Great Peter after him, like the Great Ivan before him, he fought hard against the isolation, ignorance and backwardness of his countrymen. He was indefatigable in sending young Russians to France, to Britain, to Germany—for travel and education: Lübeck was a favoured resort of his émigrés. He gave close and incessant attention, in his diplomacy, to the international relations of his Russia.

And even if he helped in the movement towards serfdom, giving fresh legal sanction to the degradation and enslavement of the peasant, and binding him more closely than ever to the soil, he was but following the evil lead of the sixteenth century, he was but anticipating the complete serf system of the seventeenth century, as crystallised in the legislation of 1649. And in fairness we must remember how vigorously Boris faced the terrible year of famine (in 1601), and in how many ways he worked for the material prosperity of the Moscow realm. In Moscow itself he was a great builder—the tower of Ivan Veliki witnesses to him.

And after Boris national collapse and anarchy seemed, for the time, complete (1605-1613). First through their agents, the False Dmitri and his Polish wife Marina, then through their own armed forces (in the invasion of 1609) the Polish leaders almost mastered Moscow and its empire. For years they occupied as conquerors the White Stone City; their own Ladislav, son of King Sigismund III, is 'elected' tsar, at the point of the sword. The New Russia—the great creation of the Moscow princes, of East-Slav Orthodoxy and of Russian nationalism—seemed verging on extinction.

The first False Dmitri, no sooner installed in Moscow and married to Marina (an apostate unfrocked priest to a Latin



FALSE DMITRI THE FIRST

Lucas Kilian engraved this portrait of the first pseudo-Dmitri in 1606 shortly after the assassination of the pretender who actually secured the crown. Dmitri's origin is obscure, but his exceptional genius and resource are indisputable.

*From Droysen, 'Geschichte der Gegenreformation'*

heretic enemy, cried the Orthodox), is overthrown and killed by an uprising of the whole city, in the year of the English Gunpowder Plot. But a new pretender, a second claimant to the name and heritage of Dmitri Ivanovich, from first to last a vulgar brigand outlaw, starts into life. Marina joins him, acknowledges him, unites all her power with his. The last Moscow general who appears to uphold the national cause with any effect, Vasili Shuiski, elected tsar by patriotic notables after the death of False Dmitri the First, is put to flight by a mob of pitiful rascals, the brigand bands of the Second False Dmitri. And by the autumn of 1609, when the Dutch Republic has at last won its recognition from Spain, Shuiski is a prisoner of the Polish armies, paraded through the streets of Warsaw. Old Novgorod is surrendered to the Swedes, like Moscow to the Poles.

O God, merciful Saviour, why is our realm destroyed? Why art Thou so angry with us?—these are natural cries of agony in the Bilyni of the time.



The situation indeed appeared a desperate one: it was like that of France between Agincourt and Jeanne d'Arc, of Germany at the close of the Thirty Years' War. At the heart and in the limbs of the hapless giant were triumphant foreign conquest, treason, brigandage, famine and disease. Cannibalism was appearing in some regions. Government, except by hostile kings and generals and armies, had almost ceased, in this land of such stern centralised government.

Then came deliverance. France in the days of the Maid 'explored the depths of her people's being, and found—France.'

So it was with Russia. From every class —from nobles, clergy and commons—there welled up a movement of such ardent, wide-spread and well directed patriotism that the whole face of affairs was changed as by a miracle. Outstanding were the energy and the inspiration of the Church, working now from a fresh centre, already famous in religion, now to be famous in war and politics, the Troitsa (Trinity) monastery-fortress near Moscow, a last refuge of Orthodoxy and nationalism. All over the Muscovite Empire went the appeals of the Trinity monks, not falling on deaf ears. For this empire, and this faith, the butcher-hero Kuzma Minin stepped forward to lead the burghers of Nijny-Novgorod. For the same cause men came even from the far north-east, from the Kama, the Urals and Siberia. For the same cause Prince Dmitri Pojarsky of the Starodub country took command of the new great national levy which rolled in from all sides to be led to Moscow.

An earlier and feeblér levée-en-masse had failed. But this was a sword of power forged in a white heat of iron resolution by despair and hope and by love of all that was most dear—of self and home and faith and country. When the army of Pojarsky and Minin had once joined forces with other Russian bodies, and especially with the Kazaks of the Don (who were still carrying on a forlorn-hope struggle against the Poles and traitors in Moscow itself), success followed success. Despite all the weaknesses and mistrusts of the allies, despite the crimes and

cowardices and treasons of some of them, they are able to work together—sufficiently, if not happily. 'Popular movements are not adequate by themselves; leadership is always needed to make them effective.' Never was this more brilliantly illustrated than in the Russia of 1612. Minin, Pojarsky, Trubetskoi, Abraham Palitsyn—do not such men save a mighty national current from diversion, waste and failure?

As the troubles of Russia have come up, quickly and mysteriously, like storm-clouds, so do they pass away. Once the Polish garrison of the Moscow Kremlin and Kitai-Gorod have surrendered to siege and starvation, the Poles show little energy or tenacity in maintaining their grip upon Muscovy. In like manner, the local anarchy, the pretenders, the partisans, the brigands, who have seemed so puissant to devour all, relax their hold everywhere. Heaven seems once more to help those who help themselves. Countless are the perils and the difficulties, but the good will of the people as a whole gradually rights all.

The Romanovs came to the throne for the salvation of the nation in a crisis of life and death. The Russian people had expressed itself physically and morally by Michael Romanov a giant effort of self-preservation. And now, after the Poles had been driven out of Moscow, and the weary line of tsar-pretenders had come to an end, for a time the Russian people also expressed itself constitutionally. Michael Romanov was elected at a 'zemsky sobor,' a gathering of the land, or national assembly, which appears to have been the nearest thing to a true parliament ever yet seen in the Russia of Moscow.

Young Michael represented a sufficiency of genealogical, legitimist, continuity. He was a cousin of Tsar Feodor Ivanovich—last of the old Rurikid line, the gentle sovereign whom so many Russians (we have seen) regarded as a martyr, and something of a saint, the most illustrious victim of Godunov. And Michael also represented the best and most honoured elements of the old Moscow nobility; for his family came down from the days of

Ivan Kalita, first of the great Moscow princes. They had in the worst times maintained a good name. By persecuting them Godunov had given them still higher honour, an almost religious reverence. In the Church as in society they were very powerful. The head of their house and of the Russian hierarchy, the patriarch of Moscow, Philaret, the father of Michael, had played a noble and conspicuous part in the national resistance to foreign conquest, to internal disruption and revolution.

Could Philaret have now become a layman once more, and emerged from his Polish prison, he might well have been elected tsar. This being out of the question, the name of Michael, his young son of sixteen, was put forward by the leaders of the two parties in the Sobor—what are called the Cossack Party and the Party of the National Levy. Minin, the butcher-warrior and tribune of the people, Prince Pojarsky and Prince Trubetskoi, the aristocratic generals and men of affairs, who had so well co-operated with the popular armies and led them, now joined forces in the Romanov interest. The Sobor, with vehement patriotism, had already decided on a native sovereign—no foreign candidates were admitted—and the matter came to an astonishingly rapid, unanimous and enthusiastic agreement in favour of young Michael.

Thus Russia was saved, a convalescent after a terrible illness. But she had been shaken to her foundations, and for many years after exhaustion she lived a very quiet European life. Her only efforts at expansion for half a century—and very remarkable and effective were these efforts—occurred in Asia.

It is in the reign of Michael Romanov that Russian expansion reaches the Baikal, the Lena and the Pacific (at the Sea of Okhotsk). As in French Canada, so in Russia's Canada, the colonists for the most part advanced by water. A network of rivers covered much of Siberia. And while the great streams, with the exception of the Amur, flow south and north, their tributaries, many of them navigable by fairly large craft, run east and west. Throughout western Siberia the Russians found a land of plains broken by no con-

siderable highlands. Thus it was not difficult to pass from one of the great fluvial basins to another—especially to the west of the Yenisei. From the affluents of the Ob-Irtysh to those of its mighty eastern neighbour men could pass at one point by a portage of five miles; at another over an isthmus scarcely three miles across.

Before the death of the first Romanov (in 1645) the Russians had really mastered the bulk of their vast historic sphere of influence in northern Asia.

Besides the main eastward Colonisation advance in more southern of Siberia regions (reaching Tomsk, for instance, by 1604, Yeniseisk by 1618, and Krasnoyarsk by 1628, and roughly corresponding to the course of the Siberian railway to-day), there was a far northern line of progress (in and about the Arctic Circle, in the latitude of Berezov, Turukhansk or Jigansk) which was a striking witness to the daring hardihood of the Russian pioneers. By this route colonisation began in the Arctic and sub-Arctic reaches of the Ob at least as early as 1592, in the same regions of the Yenisei basin before 1608, in the lower valley of the Lena before 1620, and even at the mouth of the Kolyma, in the extreme north-east (one of the most remote and inhospitable spots on the globe) just before the death of Michael Romanov (1644). Farther south, the Russians had reached the Pacific at the Sea of Okhotsk by 1636. World history gives few examples of more rapid, of more essentially brilliant colonising advance. And, as yet, it was mainly a free colonisation. Infinitely scattered, wonderfully slender and fragmentary, it was not yet dominated by penal policy. Siberia had not yet been made into a dumping-ground for criminals.

With these colonial glories we have to contrast the social degradation of the Russian peasantry at home. Especially under Michael Romanov was this process completed. True, it had been lamentably quickened under Ivan the Terrible and in the Troubled Time which followed him. Yet the bulk of the Moscow labourers until now had been nominally free, though they had long been steadily sinking into a more absolute dependence upon the land lords.

By the famous census of 1627-8, based upon the 'Domesday' work of 1619-1626, the peasantry were tied down to definite localities by the government, as they were tied to definite masters by contract or economic need. Such masters allowed their peasants to use a part of their land, and in return exacted an abundant rent in labour services.

The result of all this was that the Russian peasantry, having now lost all their independence, and having now become merged with the old traditional slave class (numerous and important in the earliest Russia), became the simple chattel-property of their land lords, while the latter were made collectively responsible for the taxes which the state claimed from the peasants. Thus was legalised (mainly between 1620 and 1650) that state of serfdom (already for some time practically existent) known as the Law or Right of Security—the secure possession by the masters of the bodies, families and goods of

their servants. Thus also was perfected a traditional government policy of classifying the Russian people into a few great categories. All kinds of labourers, peasants and servants were legally rolled up together. It was an artificialisation of life and history rather similar to much of the work of the Norman lawyers in medieval England. And it satisfied one important secular purpose of the dominant land-holding class—the limitation, and indeed suspension, of the freedom of labour. It was apparently an essential part of the alliance between the new dynasty and the Boyars.

Under Alexis Romanov, the son of Michael, the father of Peter the Great, Muscovite Russia makes decided progress. And in various directions. Territorially Russian expansion advances, even in the west. Here, in the most difficult quarter, in the face of the strongest foes, the long-lost western lands begin to be recovered. The Little Russian regions, east

of Dnieper, and even Kiev on the western bank of the great river, are won back. Thus the centre of politics and religion in Old Free Russia again becomes a national possession, after four centuries of alienation. Both the primitive capitals, both the great nerve centres of the race in the early days before Tatar slavery and Latin conquest—both Novgorod and Kiev—are now parts of the new Russia of Moscow. The secular enemy, Lithuania-Poland, is clearly weakening. The successes of 1653-56, the Peace of Andrusovo in 1667, look forward to a future not so far distant, the future of the collapse of Poland and the reunion of nearly all the western Russian lands with the new Russia.

In Asia, again, the Russian colonial empire steadily and rapidly widens. When Simon Dejnev the Cossack in 1648 passed through the strait which a later age called that



PEASANT FAMILY LIFE IN RUSSIA

An eighteenth-century cottage interior is shown in this picture by Jean Baptiste Leprieux. The baby's cradle swings from a post fastened to wall and ceiling, the rest of the family sleeping on the stove, wooden bowls and spoons were the eating utensils; on a shelf in the corner are the holy ikons.

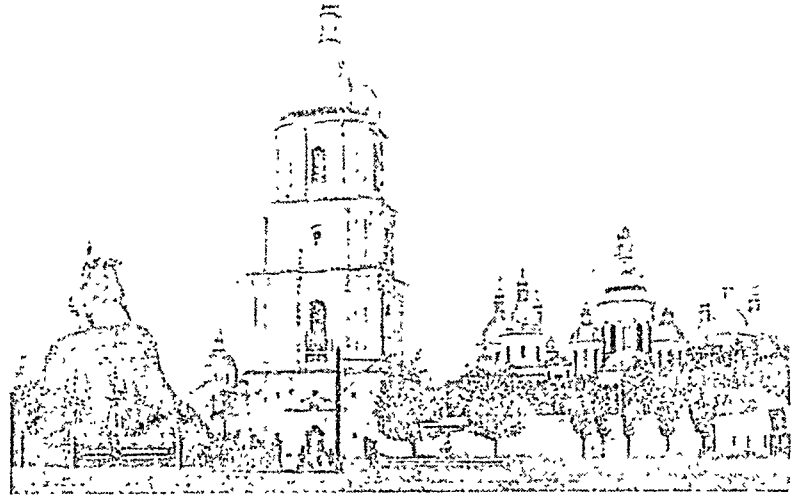
From Dittmer, 'Kotbarina des Zweite'

of Vitus Bering—discovering the north-eastern extremity of the Old World and the north-western extremity of the New—he summed up in one astonishing achievement, scarcely noticed at the time, long forgotten afterwards and only disinterred in modern times, a whole epic of discovery and conquest and settlement, nowise inferior to any American, African or Australian chapter. It was less than seventy years since Yermak had crossed the Urals (1581-1648). And now the Russians were touching Alaska.

Another outstanding feature of Russian development at this time is 'Westernism,' Europeanisation, the willing reception and absorption of instruction, suggestion and light from Europe, west of the Slavonic world. Even under Michael Romanov this tendency, first observed (since the Tatar deluge) under Ivan the Great, and very noteworthy in some epochs

of the reign of Ivan the Terrible and under Boris Godunov, began to show itself afresh. And now there was a more evident Russian desire to learn. The awful lessons of the interregnum, of the Time of Troubles, had shaken the racial and national and even some of the religious pride and confidence. Foreign officers and military instructors began to be employed. Largely with foreign help better arsenals and foundries were established, as in 1644 in the Upper Volga basin. It was in the latter days of Michael, in and after 1632, that important factories began at Tula, the Russian Sheffield, under Dutch inspiration and leadership. There was even talk of the development of a Russian mercantile marine, which somewhat prepared the way for the practical achievements of Peter the Great.

While Western science proved its value in the realms of engineering and metallurgy, Western civilization began to be appreciated by Russians for its revelation

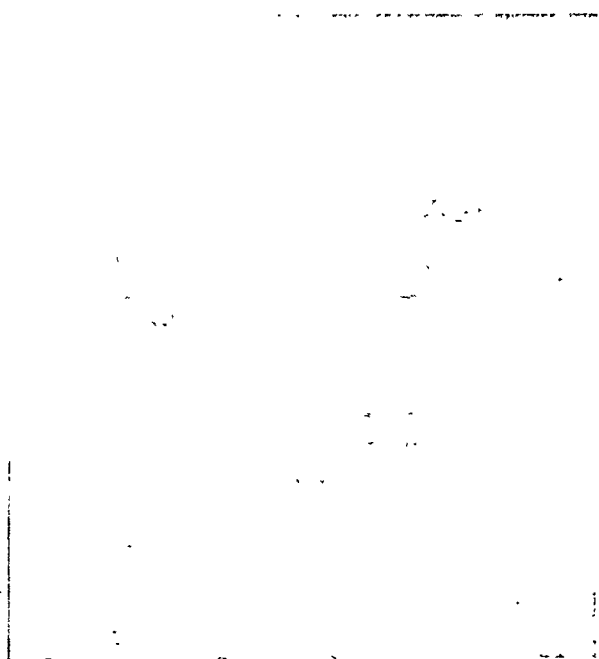


CRADLE OF RUSSIAN CULTURE

It was with the monks at Kiev that the intellectual revival in Russia began. Kiev's cathedral of S. Sophia, one of the oldest in the Russian Empire, was built in the eleventh century, and is surmounted by fifteen gilded domes. On the left is a monument to Bogdan Khmel'nitsky.

*Photo, E.N.A.*

of the comforts and luxuries of life. Education began to attract far more attention. And not only were these impulses noticeable as derived from Europe, especially Germanic Europe, but there was also a certain intellectual Renaissance largely of philosophical, theological and classical character, derived from the Russian lands (Little Russian and White Russian) hitherto under the Polish yoke, and hard pressed by Roman Catholic propaganda. Above all this new learning sprang from Kiev. When the Old Russian capital began to be united with the new Russia of Moscow (from 1656) this Renaissance had a great opportunity. Even from 1660 Kiev monks, invited to Moscow by the government of Alexis, had commenced a new translation of the whole Bible into Church-Slavonic. All the three foreign ministers of Muscovite Russia in this reign (none of them insignificant in ability and achievement), Morozov, Ordin-Nashchokin and Matvéev, took real and effective interest in this movement, as did Alexis himself. The life of Rtishchev, the scholar-saint (something of a Russian Colet), who was on such intimate terms with the tsar, and whose monastery-college near Moscow, staffed by thirty scholar-monks from Little Russia, did such remarkable work



#### PETER THE GREAT

All Peter the Great's qualities were on a colossal scale—demonic energy, violent passions, relentless cruelty and withal a strain of nobility. In this colour portrait by an unknown artist we can see the man as he was.

*Musée Condé, Chantilly; photo, Guardian*

for learning, is an idyll of this movement of consecrated intellect.

Nikon's reform of the Russian Church service books, with all its tragic consequences, was connected with this new learning (1655-56). It seems to us natural enough that this brilliantly able and tirelessly energetic patriarch of Moscow, as chief ecclesiastic of the national church, should wish to free the Russian liturgy and offices from the mistakes of copyists, notoriously numerous and gross. But this proved to be a last straw upon the back of a devout conservatism, which was not merely religious but also patriotic, already alarmed and shocked by the innovations and the 'Latinism' of the court and the government and the learned world. And so arose (from this and from other causes, such as a certain alienation of the masses from the new type of higher Orthodox clergy) that great schism of the Russian church, the secession of the Old Believers, Staro-obriadtsi or Raskolniks—irrevocable from the excommunication of 1667.

Yet, wretched as this was for the Russian church, the whole dispute seemed on the whole to increase the tendency and desire for change, movement, wider know-

ledge. Religious prejudice, asserted in so extreme and unreasonable a form, was not strengthened, but discredited. And at this time, we must remember, the temperature of religious enthusiasm was falling throughout the Christian world. The later seventeenth century led quickly to that early eighteenth wherein the very life of Christianity seemed to wither. Even Russia is no complete exception, here. The enlightened devotee Alexis is followed by a Peter in whom all the materialism of the new age finds expression. If an observer could write of the father that he never missed divine service, that his prostrations in such service might be counted by the hundred, that out of the year he seemed to fast from flesh well nigh eight months, a contrast is offered by the son. He had no love for religion. It has been said with exaggerated truth that the Church to him meant obscurantism and stagnation, the hierarchy obstruction. We pass into another world.

Meantime, in seventeenth-century Russia, before Peter, we have from Kubasov, from Krijanich and above all from Kotoshikhin some valuable and interesting pictures of life and history and institutions. Their presentation is a gloomy one; but there are few memoirs more vivid and arresting, in certain aspects, than Kotoshikhin's; and Krijanich is a very early and remarkable harbinger of Pan-Slavism.

It was under Michael Romanov, in 1631, that Peter Mogila, in defence of Graeco-Russian Orthodoxy and nationalism, founded the college or academy of Kiev, the **Movement towards first new centre of a higher culture** higher learning among the Russians, the spiritual home of men like Simeon Polotsky. To struggle successfully against Polish and Roman Catholic propaganda, in the days of the Catholic revival, of the Thirty Years' War and of the highest Jesuit activity, it was necessary, men cried, to educate more highly the upper classes, and especially the clergy of the Eastern Church and the Russian race. More than ever, after Kiev had been recovered, in the next generation, did this college on the Dnieper

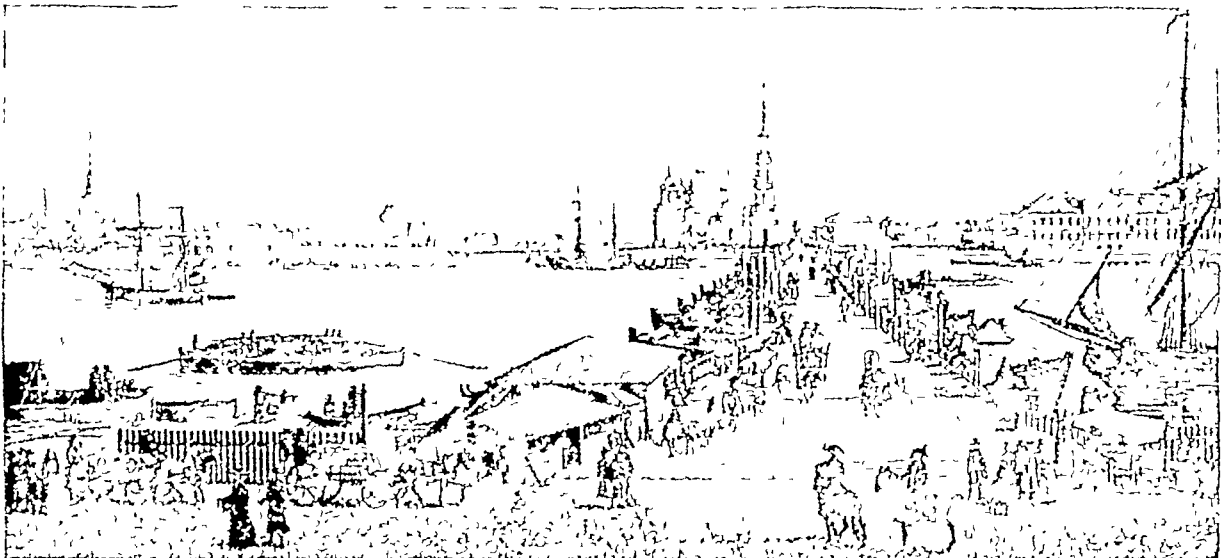
play a part in the history of Russian politics and culture. And it was largely from this higher culture, and the opposition thereto, that the reforms of the patriarch Nikon and the consequent schism of the Old Believers originated.

The age of Peter Alexievich is by common consent one of the decisive periods of Russian, as of world history. And Peter himself, with all his brutalities, is undoubtedly one of the world's great men. Few human beings have ever set things in motion more vigorously. What he achieved was a mighty work, though it has often been described with reckless exaggeration. He was not the founder of the Russian Empire (that title belongs to Ivan the Great, if it can be given to any single person), but he brought Russia, far more clearly and fully than ever before, into European life, politics and civilization. He made it in a fresh sense a vital and important part of the civilized Christian world (as we may still call it in 1720, however nominal its Christianity was apparently becoming).

The one thing for which he lived was the good of his country, willing or unwilling. He felt that his Russia might well play a great part on the world stage. And he did not suffer it gladly that most Russians were so contentedly backward in that

material civilization which was the only civilization he prized, and which to him meant power over nature and over mankind, and included the highest possible skill and efficiency in waging war. He was a violently enthusiastic, an almost recklessly ambitious yet high-minded man of genius, in effective control of a slow-moving but rapidly growing, intensely conservative and religious race, of infinite patience and inertia, dreadfully lacking in system and in mental or material neatness. That race had a fund of artistic and moral resource, for which Peter cared almost nothing. It was in practical matters remarkably inefficient and ill-organized, and here he cared very much. In temperament the typical Russian was easily depressed and easily exalted, whereas the tsar was neither. The Russians in fact, as a whole, offered extraordinary contrasts to their new ruler, contrasts so violent that one might expect from Peter's heroic treatment and startling experiments nothing but failure.

And yet in the main he was a wonderful success. Not only in his great struggle with the Swedish power, in forcing his way through to the Baltic, in acquiring a new and valuable coast, his window in the west, from Riga to Viborg. Nor only in his new imperial title and in his new



PROSPECT OF ST PETERSBURG IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Benjamin Paters painted in 1794 the picture of which this is an engraving. The pontoon bridge, later known as the Palace Bridge, was then called S. Isaac's Bridge. At its far end is the equestrian statue of Peter the Great with the cathedral of S. Isaac, replaced by the present church in 1819, behind it. On the right of the picture is the parliament building, formerly the imperial chancellor's palace. On the left is the admiralty building, with spired tower, and the dockyards on a fortified island.

*From Brühlner, 'Katharina die Zweite'*

claims over all the Russias to the Bug and the Carpathians. Nor only in the gain of the prestige of Poltava and of the Peace of Nystadt. Nor only in the foundation of the new capital, city of Peter and of Peter's patron saint. But also perhaps in things much less famous, yet sometimes hardly less momentous. As in leaving Russia entirely free from public debt. As in trebling the public revenue. As in developing trade and the natural resources of his country. As in pouring into the Russian mind to the utmost of his power (translation on a vast scale was one item) the results of foreign science. As in making that Russian mind study useful knowledge for itself. As in sending Russians abroad to learn about the world, and bringing foreign intellect into Russia. As in creating a navy and a mercantile marine. As in developing one of the greatest armies then known—200,000 strong, in a nation of some twenty millions.

At the end of his life, when in the ordinary course of nature perhaps twenty years of daemonic energy might have still remained to him, it is curious to note how he returns to a field where his success might well have been phenomenal, where Russian leaders of less genius and resource had already done so much. His remarkable success against Persia, winning for the tsardom at a stroke the whole southwestern and southern littoral of the Caspian, was accompanied by other indications of awakened interest in his Asiatic empire, from Omsk to Kamchatka. Had Peter lived and ruled even another ten years, the refuse-heap treatment of that empire by the Russian government would probably have been arrested—even if only for a time. For here, as elsewhere, Peter's successors would infallibly have distorted and wrecked much of his work. All the same, there was some truth in Defoe's suggestion (a few years before Poltava) that the tsar of Muscovy might conceivably have conquered all China, if he had 'fallen this way.' Europeans had begun to realize how feeble was the power of the Celestials (as of the Persians and Indians) in war, and if Peter had really given his whole mind to Asiatic matters for a few

years the world might have seen surprising changes, remarkable anticipations.

Peter's reforms touched subjects numberless—all these measures being pervaded by his ideals of a well ordered, thoroughly subordinated, carefully articulated, efficient paternal autocracy, devoting all its energies to the good of the people, and stimulating all the energies of the people (by however stern and bitter a compulsion) to the same end. Thus the Moscow patriarchate was abolished, because it was too powerful and too independent of the sovereign. Peter was resolute to prevent the least danger of a papalist spirit in the Russian church. He had not studied in vain the history and institutions of the Protestant communions in western and northern Europe. Nor had he failed here to catch something of the true spirit of Eastern Christianity, so steadily averse from papalism. His Reglament or Book of Regulation for the Church, issued in 1721, is a curious monument of the same tendencies.

The supreme title to honour was now to be state service. All the nobility were to enter this service, either on the civil or military side. All the merchants were divided into guilds. All serfdom was to be utilised for the benefit of the state. For this purpose, for greater simplicity, Peter confounds in a common serfdom every hitherto privileged element with the unprivileged. There were few things more characteristic of Peter than his universal scheme of national service. He endeavoured to make all the nobility, and all the land owners and serf owners work for the state, in return for their land and their labourers. The subjection of the peasants to the land owners was in his eyes the very thing which enabled those land owners to do their duty by the state. Much of the land he regarded, as the older tsars had regarded it, in the light of national property bestowed on the aristocracy and gentry for this very purpose.

None is better known among Peter's reforms, and few are more interesting, than his campaign against the older semi-oriental usages of Russian society. The women had lived in their 'terems' in



almost Mahomedan seclusion. Peter changed all this, and brought both sexes together in the 'assemblies' which he instituted. Kaftans—the long cassock-like coats coming down from the Tatar age—were frowned upon, and in their place we find the costumes of the court of Louis XIV, perruques and all. The old ceremonial of the tsardom, with its prostrations, was greatly modified. Even beards were to be shaved away at Peter's command (the thrifty tsar permitting those to escape who paid a special tax). After this, what was it to reform chronology, to stop computation from an 'Era of Creation,' to begin computation from the Birth of Christ, or to begin the year no longer in September? Successful in so many of these uprootings and re-plantings, Peter curiously fails in his effort to introduce primogeniture into the succession to property. Yet

not in his own forceful lifetime is failure admitted; only under the empress Anne.

But for the judicial murder of his son Alexis (who might well have been sentenced by any but a father, so heinous had been his political crimes and follies) history might have judged Peter far more favourably. His towering vitality, his wealth of conception, his practical capacity, his Caesarean power of work, his



#### SARTORIAL REFORM UNDER PETER

Peter the Great's reforming policy extended to the substitution of western uniform, such as he is shown wearing in this portrait by Casanova, for the Tatar kaftans shown in Hans Burgkmair's woodcut (top; see also page 3146) of ambassadors from Vasili III in audience with the emperor Maximilian I. From Burgkmair, 'Der Weiss Kunig,' (top) and Lichtenstein Collection, Vienna

noble ideals of public service, his disdain for ease and luxury, for convention and laziness, his essential manliness and naturalness—these were fruits of a nature at once virile, original and courageous, almost partaking indeed of the heroic. They are not to be denied. On the reverse of the medal are much coarseness and brutality, and terrible lack of self-restraint, sometimes leading to disgraceful exhibitions and more disgraceful cruelty. There was also some imperfection of judgement. His Westernisation of Russia was often exaggerated and unwise. Yet on the whole how sweeping were his successes. And such was his grasp of workable theory and efficient practice, such was his devotion to duty, such was his conscientious carefulness, such was his freedom



from the worst intoxications of conceit, of power and of ambition, that one does not wonder at his bountiful measure of success. In any time, like Bismarck, he would have done great things.

In civilization as in politics the really revolutionary work of Peter the Great meant a break with Byzantine and native traditions and a sustained and determined imitation of western European models. And this spirit prevailed throughout the eighteenth century. But whatever the faults of this age of imitation (and they were terrible) the new Enlightenment did at any rate produce the first critical history of Russia—by Basil Tatistchev (1686-1750). It also gave us the satires of Kantemir and the native plays of Sumarokov—for, though beginning as an echo of French drama, his art did at last produce something more original, as in his study of the False Dmitri. Far more famous were the writings of Michael Lomonosov—poet, grammarian and scientist (1711-1765)—whose frigid classicism was hailed with positive rapture by his countrymen, as the beginning of a real literature free from the taint of Russian soil and of nature, and in perfect obedience to the now fashionable conventions.

Never perhaps before or after had the Russian tsardom such a political opportunity in the world as at the era of the death of Peter. Such was the exhaustion of Britain and Holland, and still more of France, at the close of the wars of Louis XIV, such was the disintegration of Germany (non-existent as a political unity), such the ineffectiveness of the House of Hapsburg, such the unripeness of Prussian power, such the decline of Turkish, that one is tempted to speculate uselessly on the vistas open to Petrine Russia if the Petrine energy had continued in full force. Especially one cannot be

blind to the chances of Asiatic empire, even in more favoured lands than the Siberian—and why not in Persian, Indian and Chinese territories?

But after the death of Peter the spirits of efficiency, energy and initiative in this

great empire seem paralysed for nearly half a century. And the progress of that empire is choked by the luxuriant growth of every kind of political and social corruption. Thus to the French cynic the Russians are 'rotten' before they are 'ripe.'

Court intrigues incessantly nullify the efforts of honest workers in war and peace. Externally there are few more victories, little more expansion (until the age of Catherine II), even though a great military chief like Marshal Münich may be in Russian service and at the height of Russian court favour.

Internationally tsarism squanders enormous opportunities. We have only to contrast the position at the death of Peter with the position at the death of Elizabeth (1725-1762). Russia has relinquished the Persian and Caucasian gains of the 'Pater Patriae' and has made no appreciable advance in any other field, although the weakness of Turkey and the anarchy and disintegration of Poland are far more manifest than ever. She has also squandered much blood, treasure and energy in a senseless war against Frederick of Prussia, to gratify the personal whims and hatreds of an even more than usually dissolute empress, the last of the true Romanovs. And now by 1762 she has faced right round again, has discovered a new and more fruitful line of policy, and has formed a Russian-Prussian entente which, with some interruptions and some refrigerations, may be said to last for a century and a quarter, from 1762 to 1890.

Internally Russian conditions deterio-



THE TSAREVICH ALEXIS

This engraving after Dinglinger's painting shows Alexis Petrovich, eldest son of Peter the Great. His death was encompassed by his father, who judged him unsuitable for the throne.

From Brückner, 'Peter der Grosse'

rate in grievous wise. We have a more complete enslavement of the peasantry, a more complete emancipation of the gentry. The degradation of the labourers had been the result of an agreement between crown and gentry, whereby serf

labour was to provide the land owners with the means of ensuring efficient military service. Peter the

Great, while strengthening the grip of the land owners over the peasantry, had compelled both classes to work, employers and employed. 'I will have no idlers on my ship.' But after his death the employers gradually get quit of their obligations, while the employed are ever more hopelessly loaded with obligations and became ever more thoroughly enslaved.

Another fresh development of interest in this post-Petrine age—this golden age of corruption, of intrigue and of palace revolution—is the power of the new standing army, so largely the creation of Peter himself. Especially important is the power of the new Russian Praetorian guards, the 'Gvardiya' regiments, now composed entirely of young nobles and gentry, who made and unmade sovereigns and favourites and army leaders. 'While the bureaucracy . . . Peter . . . created to be the servant of the country made the country its servant, the army . . . he created to be at the disposal of the throne had the throne at its disposal.' It is the apposite epigram of a stern critic of tsarist Russia.

This age of palace plots and of feminism presents an astonishing mixture of Byzantine absolutism and Western enlightenment. All political and social life centre in the court. The court itself, like the country, is controlled by the favourites of the sovereigns and by the favourites of those favourites. Court, sovereigns and favourites alike are largely at the mercy of the aristocrats of the army. One favourite follows another and one intrigue follows another. Delation is everywhere. Arbitrary favour and disfavour

succeed like day and night. Insecurity and instability pervade the whole of Russian political life.

And one of the chief roots of this astonishing uncertainty and irresponsibility is the 'regiment of women,' for they are weak women of little worth, these tsaritsas, until we have a German-Russian 'Semi-ramis' in Catherine II. As these sovereigns, theoretically absolute, are profoundly unfit to wield supreme power, that power in part falls away to others, in part evaporates altogether, for the time.

We can only wonder that the autocracy successfully passed through all this weakness and degradation without being (as it were) taken into custody, compelled to listen to voices without, obliged to submit to some kind of limitation, even to some shape of a constitution. In 1730 (on the death of Peter II and the accession of the duchess of Courland as the empress Anne) this nearly befell. The Russian tsardom was within an ace of becoming a limited monarchy, under aristocratic control. Yet it escaped from this danger and held on its way, full of its new vice and indolence, but with all the Petrine absolutism. It was not yet to approximate to British and Polish and Venetian models.

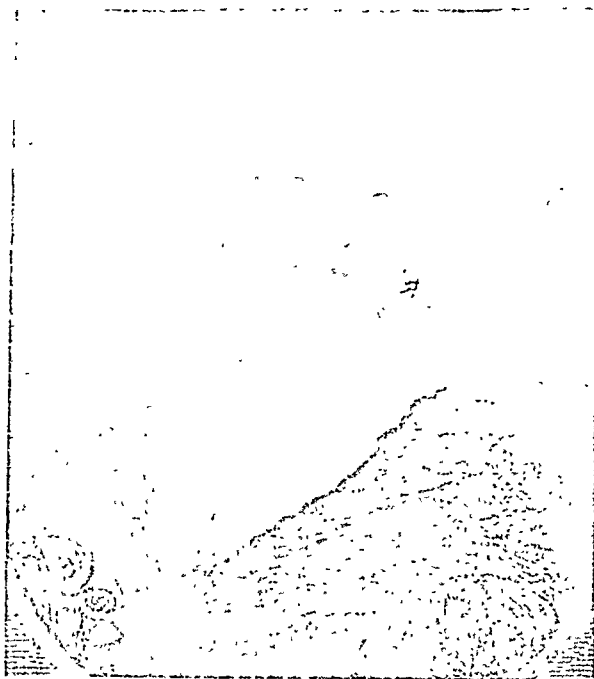
And here again, in the mid-eighteenth century, as so often in her earlier and later history, Russia astonishes us by her vitality. She who had survived the Time of Troubles, and had emerged from the



ENGLISH RELIC OF PETER THE GREAT

Sayes Court, on John Evelyn's estate at Deptford, was rented by Peter the Great during his visit to England in 1698. The tsar, eager to learn British shipbuilding methods, served a three months' apprenticeship in a Deptford dockyard. Wren estimated that he did £350 of damage to Evelyn's property.

Photo, Wm. A. Field



EMPRESS ELIZABETH I

This engraving by Tschemeson shows Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, who became empress of Russia in 1741. Throughout the Seven Years' War she consistently opposed Frederick the Great, and her death in 1762 saved his failing fortunes.

*After the painting by L. Tocqué*

Tatar servitude of ages—she whom the frenzied tyranny of Ivan IV could not disintegrate—she is not killed nor broken, but only retarded and misled, by the wretched incompetents and wastrels who follow Peter and precede Catherine. The masses of her people, her peasant people, degraded as they are by state law and land-lord theory and economic circumstance, refuse to despair of the republic, and of themselves. From those masses are recruited the brave and stubborn troops whose exploits ring through the world of the next age, the age of Catherine and Suvarov, of the French Revolution, of Napoleon and of Alexander. Mere hopeless servitude the Russian peasants refuse to accept. We are yours (they say to the land lord, in a famous proverb) but the land is ours.

The tsardom itself, under a sovereign of wisdom and of genius (licentious foreign woman as she was to a hostile eye), renews its youth in the latter days of the century (1762–1796) and leads a Russian nation on towards the political horizons of Peter Veliki, towards the dreams, beyond the

hopes, of Ivan Veliki. Catherine II dies empress in deed of All the Russias—all but the Red Russia of Galicia. Polish dominion, the terror of ages, has disappeared. The very state of Poland has been blotted out. The Russia of Moscow has reunited well-nigh all the race. And she has windows on all her seas. She has reached the borders of Prussia on the Baltic. She has a great Euxine coast. And the shadow of Russia lies heavily over Stamboul. Men are talking again of a revived Orthodox Empire on the Bosphorus, under Russian tsars.

The renewed strength and success of Russia, in the Catherine age, largely rested on a new and wiser direction of policy. It was in great measure the central European alliances and friendships of the tsardom—the Russian Revival under Catherine—the Prussian and Austrian ententes—which enabled this Russian-German tsaritsa to reap such impressive advantages, to triumph over internal dangers and hostile conditions, to aggrandise her realm so strikingly, to become for Russia 'La Grande Conquérante.'

The death of the empress Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, the anti-Prussian, the enemy of Frederick, not only saved that great captain in the lowest depths of his fortune, decisively and finally altered the course of the Seven Years' War, and resettled the balance of European power. It also opened the way to a pro-German policy and to pro-German tendencies in Russia. More narrowly, it opened, as we have seen, a Russian-Prussian friendship of four generations and of almost incalculable import. Princess Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst had been chosen in 1744 by Frederick of Prussia to be the wife of the Russian heir-presumptive, the half-German Peter III. She had long since entered the Greek Church—whose overwhelming claims, she tells us, she early recognized. And as Grand Duchess Catherine, and as empress, she identified herself with Russian nationalism and the Old Russian party to a remarkable degree. With almost infallible instinct she remained true to that allegiance throughout her reign. The most patriotic Russians forgot to grumble at her origin.

She became the 'mother of the land' to her subjects.

Yet it was true, from the beginning to the end, that in her the German race, Germanism, had a relative and a friend on the throne of the great Slav power. She was infinitely more discreet than her husband, with his toasts and apostrophes to his adored Frederick ('My brother, we will conquer the world together'). She had not that kind of idolatrous weakness. No one could accuse her of neglecting, even of postponing, Russian interests. But she was instinctively drawn not to distrust and oppose the German courts and the German influences, but to understand them and co-operate with them. And so we find her in constant and close relations with Vienna and Berlin. In her offensives against the Poles she works essentially both with Prussian and Austrian statesmanship. In her offensives against the Turks the close sympathy between the two imperial cabinets is always important. Her meetings and conferences and journeys with Joseph II (as in 1787, in New Southern Russia) were more than picturesque—they were of real political meaning.

At the same time, between 1779 and 1789, Russian policy becomes for a while more friendly to France, less friendly to Britain. It joins with France, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Austria and Prussia to proclaim the rights of neutrals in the American War against the claims of British naval policy. With the armed neutrality of 1780, after centuries of good relations and some periods of close friendship, begins an Anglo-Russian alienation, which becomes permanent and effective in the days of Nicolas I and of Palmerston. It was significant that by 1792, in Catherine's last days, the younger Pitt had been brought to adopt quite an anti-Russian

attitude, and already to lay down the main principles of British suspicion and opposition to the tsardom in the Eastern Question and in world politics. British public opinion would not as yet support its government in such an attitude of Russophobia. But the time was coming.

Far more than ever under Catherine II that Eastern question begins to assume its later form, so familiar to the nineteenth century, in which Russia dominates the whole political and social situation in the Levant of Turkey and of Persia.

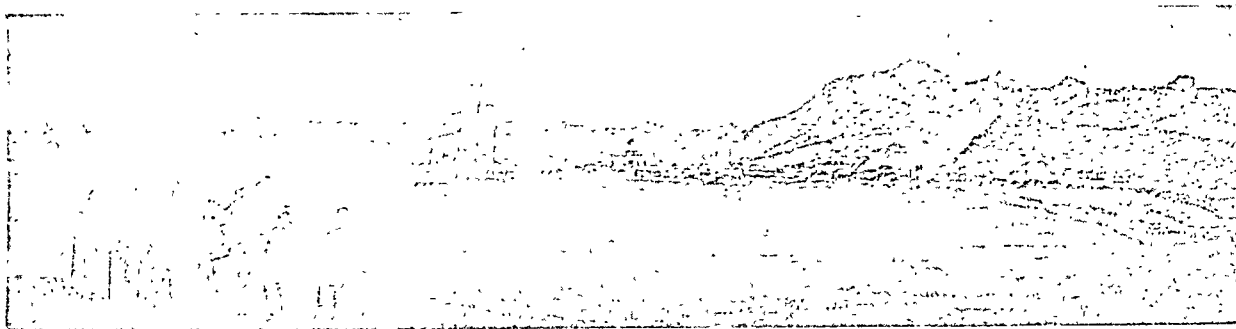
The peace of Kuchuk Kainarji, the peace of 1774, opened and proclaimed the new state of affairs quite definitely. It established in Russian possession the all-important right of intervention and intercession on behalf of the Orthodox Christian subjects of the Ottoman sultan in the Danubian principalities, or Rumania. That right would soon be



CATHERINE THE GREAT

Catherine II (1729-1796) became empress of Russia upon the murder of her husband, Peter III, in 1762, and under her capable rule the power and dominion of Russia became greatly strengthened. She introduced many beneficent reforms. This engraving of her is after Schebanoff's original painting.

Engraving by James Walker



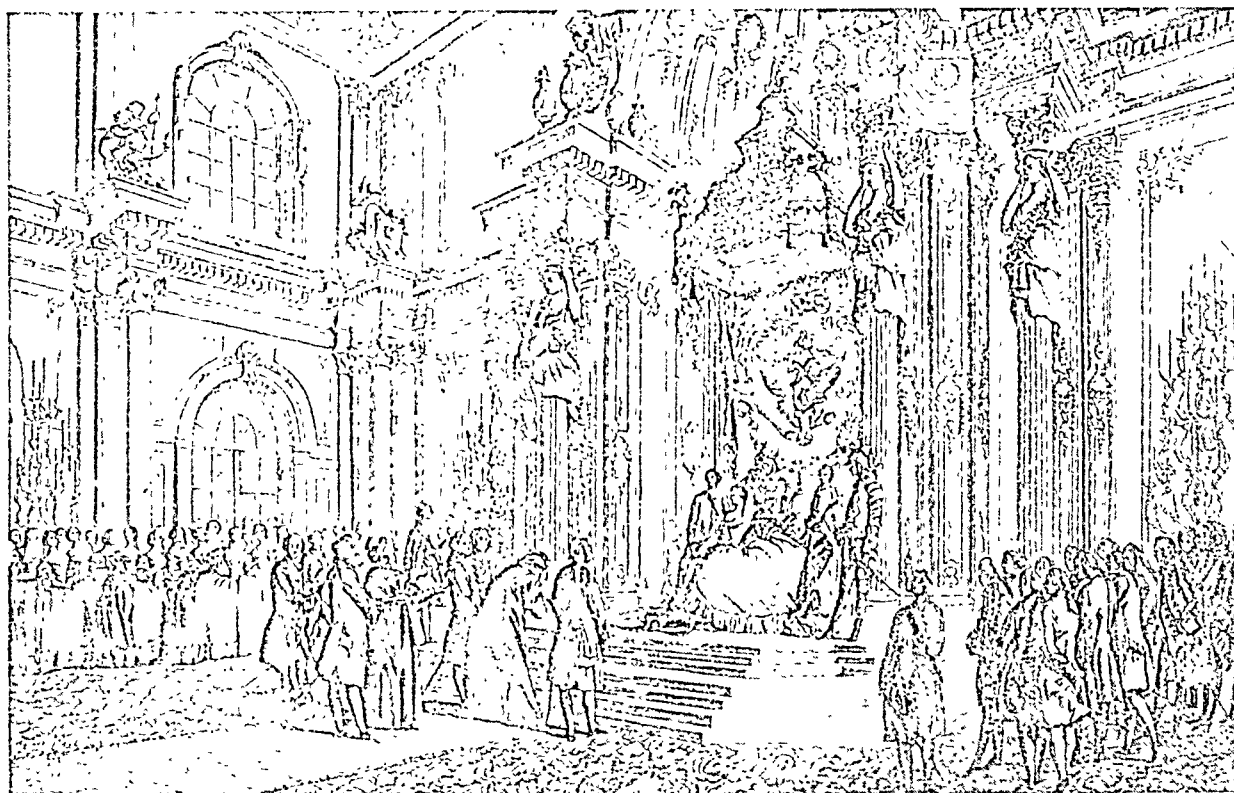
#### VIEW OF KERTCH IN THE TIME OF CATHERINE THE GREAT

Kertch, on the Strait of Kertch, between the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea was founded as the Greek colony of Panticapaeum in the sixth century B.C. Romans, Tatars, Genoese and Turks owned it successively and in 1774 it was ceded to Russia by the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji. Its appearance at this time is shown in the engraving above by Nicolai Sablin; under Catherine it was developed as a centre of Russian naval activity, was strongly fortified, and became a depot for coastal trade.

*From Brückner, 'Katharina die Zweite'*

extended to include all adherents of the Greek Church under Turkish rule, while retaining a special application to Moldavia and Wallachia. Until the Crimean War it lay at the very root of the position. Equally did the new importance of Russia on the Black Sea—her Euxine navy and naval establishments, her new southern commerce and harbours, her Sevastopol and Odessa—emerge under Catherine.

For the first time since the death of Peter reappears Russian expansion in the Caucasian lands, and towards Persia—Russian pressure upon Persia itself. The Russian protectorate extends beyond the great range, and settles over Georgia. The sunny south of Caucasus (as of the Crimean chain) is passing under Russian influence. The venerable and fascinating Christianity of the Tiflis country, so long encircled by



#### EXCHANGE OF COURTESIES BETWEEN RIVAL POWERS IN THE LEVANT

Catherine the Great's stately reception of the Turkish embassy after her coronation is commemorated in this engraving after the court painter Jean de Bely. Her firm policy in regard to the Ottoman empire was consistently directed to the advancement of Russian interests, and by the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji she determined Russia's commanding position in the Levant and established the right of Russian intervention on behalf of all Orthodox Christians under Turkish rule.

*From Brückner, 'Katharina die Zweite'*

unbelievers and threatened by a whole world of enemies, is finding a powerful helper at last.

And Russia is now stretching even beyond Tiflis. At the end of her reign Catherine commissions Valerian Zubov to conquer Persia. Georgia cannot be considered safe until Persians and Turks have been defeated.

The internal policy of Catherine, the constitutional, social and economic history of the reign, are also very noteworthy. The Legislative Commission of 1766, producing by the way some truly remarkable suggestions of (or towards) serf emancipation, failed to accomplish its full official task, a new codification of the laws of Russia. Yet it was an extraordinary enterprise and a most suggestive national gathering, representing all Russian races and regions and attempting to offer a sort of philosophic-legal justification of the Russian autocracy.

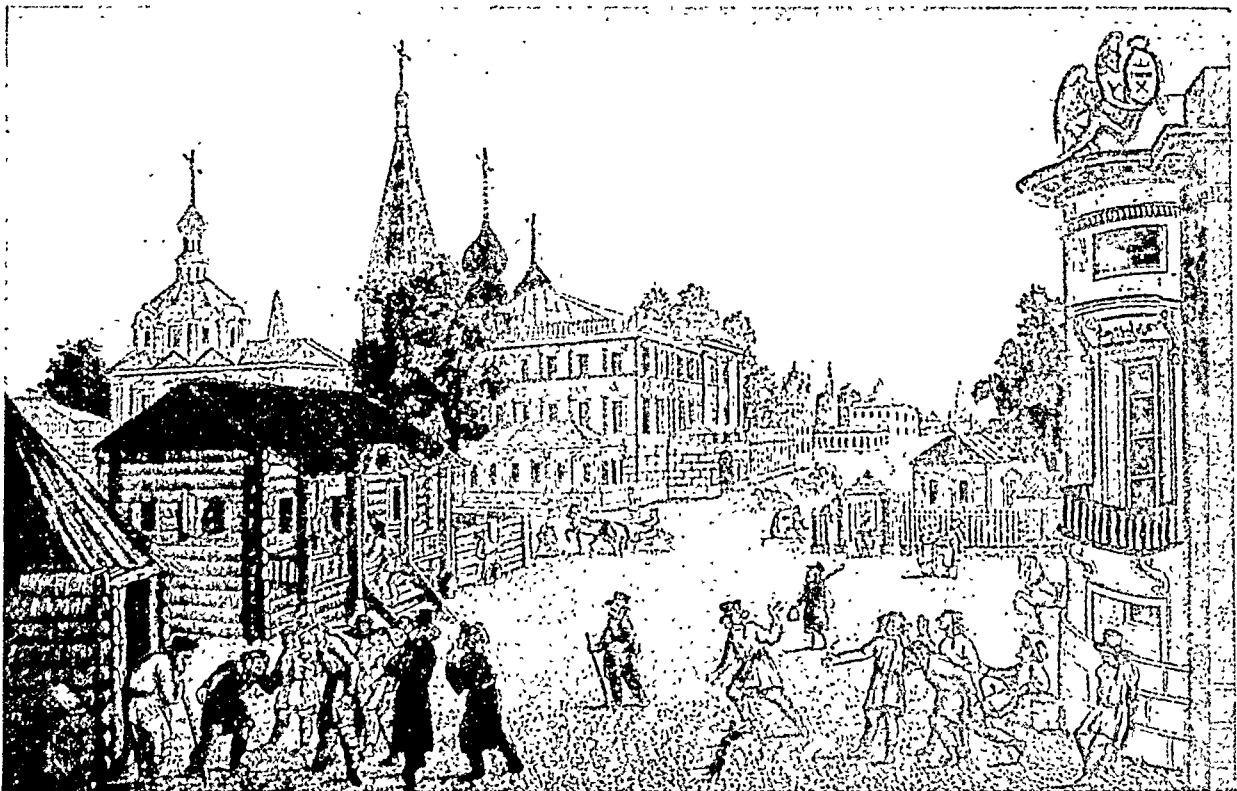
Its work had been preceded by the Church legislation of 1764, one of the most remarkable measures of the empress and



**HUSBAND OF CATHERINE THE GREAT**

A portrait by Grooth shows Peter III, who succeeded the Empress Elizabeth in January, 1762. Peter was unpopular with his subjects and fell the victim to a murder plot in July, 1762.

*Engraving by Antony Walker*



**A STREET IN MOSCOW WHEN CATHERINE RULED THE EMPIRE**

There is a remarkable juxtaposition of primitive with highly developed architecture in the Moscow of Catherine's day, as shown in a contemporary engraving by Ducfeldt. In the left foreground are a drinking booth and a police station—mere log cabins appropriate to a pioneer's forest. Yet opposite these, and higher up the spacious if roughly paved roadway, are stately mansions with Palladian façades, that would be an ornament to any modern capital, and ornate cupolas and spires.

*From Brückner, 'Katharina die Zweite'*



her statesmen. Where Peter III had failed—the detested and unlucky husband, unwise and unskilful, but not without large and just ideas and ambitions—on this very field the tactful, brilliant, popular and ever fortunate wife, with remarkable ease and celerity, won another of her spectacular successes. She was aided by the immense growth of laicism and intellectual liberalism, the immense decline in religious fervour, in the educated world of the eighteenth century. What Peter the Great had desired, she did—and effected without revolution or serious disturbance. Through the work of her

Mixed Commission—lay and clerical—on these matters ecclesiastical, she succeeded in reasserting the state rights upon the Church lands and the Church peasantry. And all without a Pilgrimage of Grace.

Not to be forgotten (among other administrative measures of the reign) are the fresh and permanent division of European Russia into the famous Fifty Governments, the complete practical absorption of Little Russia, the creation and organization of the New South Russia in freshly won territories north of the Euxine, the sweeping changes in the status and even in the

geography of the Cossack world. And from this as well as from other points of view the colonising measures of the Catherine age are as interesting as any. On one side they recall methods and measures of ancient Roman policy. On another side, by their frequent use of German immigration, and that on a great scale (to teach and elevate the native Russian peasantry, and to give a new start to ambitious developments of civilization in the vast empty spaces of the south and south-east), they have a peculiar and temporary modern Russian character—suitable only to the tsardom of the eighteenth century.

As a literary and scholarly epoch, as an Augustan Age, the reign of Catherine marked a new period in

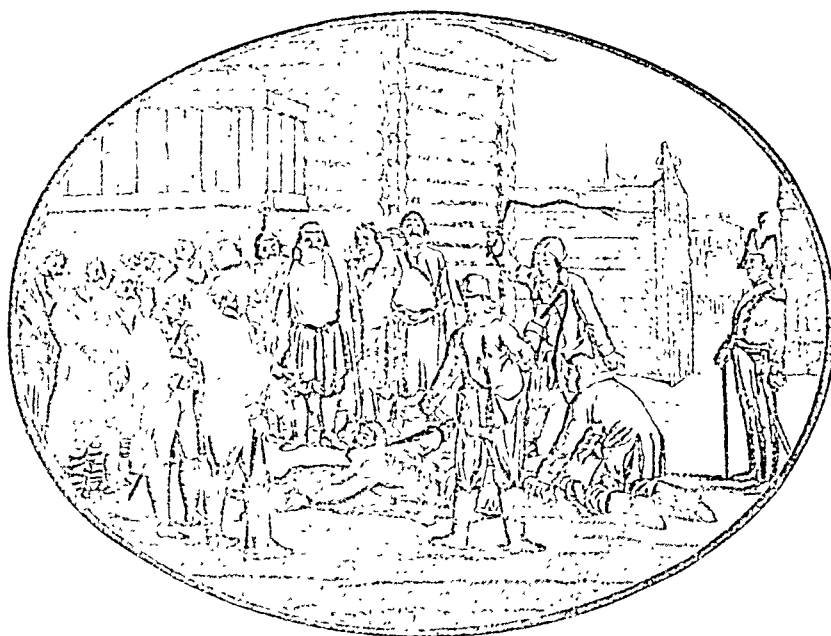
Russian history. However artificial and un-Russian we may now think

Literature of Catherine's Age

much of the literature of her time, at the moment it seemed to make a more brilliant show, as literature, than the country had yet seen in the modern centuries. Much of its best performance, though by native Russians, was in French. For admiration, imitation, idolatry of French writers, genius and culture were notes of Catherine's court and Catherine's age.

Yet there were the beginnings of a thoroughly national drama—genuine Russian comedy begins to thrive alongside of Gallicisms.

In other important fields, as in the poetry of nature and of patriotic triumph, there is genuine and vigorous native production. Derjavin proves something. And, once more, in learning (though here again immense use was made of foreign energy and talent) Russia under Catherine made really astonishing efforts to wipe out the reproaches of barbarism and ignorance. Is not the work of Pallas the German, by itself, good evidence of this?



#### BARBARISM SUCH AS CATHERINE STROVE AGAINST

In 1768 Catherine appointed Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811), a German scientist, to a professorship in the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, and later sent him on an extended journey through the empire; afterwards he settled in the Crimea. His published narratives were illustrated with coloured plates drawn, like this one, on the spot by G. Geissler, who accompanied him.

# THE GERMANY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

An Awakening of Literature Art and National Consciousness  
after the Depression that followed the Thirty Years' War

By WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON

Author of *The German Empire, 1867-1914*, *German Life in Town and Country*, etc.

THE opening of the eighteenth century found Germany still under the receding shadow of the Thirty Years' War. Many years had passed since the restoration of peace, but the devastating effects of the struggle, in which a large part of western Europe had been engaged, with Germany as its cockpit, were visible in many directions. Whether in surveying the succeeding century one considers the course of social and political development, the intellectual movements or the state of religion and morals, it must be taken as the starting point.

The new century was destined to be far more than one of mere recovery; it was to be a century of real upbuilding, of construction and creation. Yet how unfavourable at first were the conditions, and how little hopeful seemed the prospect! The war had left the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation more demoralised and impotent than before, and had confirmed for over a century and a half the ascendancy of France. Germany was still only a geographical, or more truly a political, expression, a heterogeneous structure made up of some three hundred sovereignties of all sorts and sizes—a kingdom, electorates, duchies, principalities ecclesiastical and secular, and a great host of free cities.

The ties which united the federated territories and tribes were of the frailest, for a common sentiment of attachment either to the Empire or to each other was wanting. The North German regarded the Empire as connoting only the south and the south-west, and though the inhabitants of the imperial cities spoke of themselves as Germans, the people generally preferred to be known and

addressed as Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, Swabians and the rest.

It is a common reproach against most of the German rulers of that time and of much of the succeeding century that they had so little sympathy with the national idea. Yet it was natural, for their attitude was determined by one of the most elementary of human instincts—that of self-preservation. Had a national state been created, the majority of them would have been swept away; to have wished and worked for it would have been plotting for their own extinction; its absence was at once the explanation and the justification of their existence. The expansion and power of the larger German states in particular were proportional to the degree of their independence of the Empire. How, then, could it be expected that princes who, with all their fantastic pretensions, did nevertheless exercise real rule within the limits of their jurisdiction should sacrifice themselves and their prerogatives upon an altar raised to the unknown god of nationality?

Mention has been made of the tribal divisions. The orders within the various territories—the papal hierarchy, the nobles and the burghers and peasantry—were similarly alienated from each other, and social life presented a spectacle of privilege and arrogance on the one hand and impotence and humiliation on the other. The sons of the nobility were educated at special academies reserved for their sole use. So far did class vanity and exclusiveness go that the aristocracy of Saxony protested to the ecclesiastical authorities that it was against its dignity that



children of gentle birth should be baptised with the same water used for common children.' More than a century was to pass before the German nobility ceased to occupy a privileged position in society and the state, and was required, in relation to public office and service, whether military, administrative or diplomatic, to adjust itself to the conditions regarding educational and other qualifications which applied to the commonalty.

The war had certainly not advanced the political liberties of the German people. War is apt to prove a fruitful source of reaction, and thirty years of strife had left the rulers possessed of more rather than less power. The system of government which prevailed in most of the states was an undisguised autocracy, seldom of a benevolent kind. The arbitrary word of the 'Landesherr' was law; representative chambers did not exist, and where the ruler called councillors to his side they were expected to be the echoes of his voice and the instruments of his will. German rulers were still able to sell their subjects into the armies of foreign princes. Even far in the century Frederick the Great (1712-86), when arbitrating in a domestic

dispute in which the duke of Gotha was concerned, stipulated that his fee should be two hundred picked soldiers of the Weimar Guard.

The life and manners of the time were in general harsh and rude, and the war had left behind a spirit of lawlessness amongst people who had so long been familiarised with violence and bloodshed. Nevertheless, there appears to have been less hard drinking amongst the men than of old. A Saxon cookery book published early in the century attested with satisfaction the fact that the Germans were already beginning to be ashamed of drinking to excess, so that at marriages and parties it was becoming usual that 'everyone can help himself to much or little wine, just as he pleases,' and the writer went on to recommend yet greater abstinence and the use of tea and coffee in gallant companies.' For these innocuous drinks, with cocoa and chocolate, had already been introduced from France, and the coffee house, borrowed from England, was making its appearance as an alternative to the beer room. Later came the open-air coffee garden, which enjoyed popularity down to our own day.



#### FRENCH GALANTERIE THAT VITALLY INFLUENCED CONTEMPORARY GERMANY

The largely artificial refinement that was the particular glory of the court of Le Roi Soleil captivated the imagination of German princelings, and polite society in Germany was infected by an enthusiasm for everything French. The 'galanterie' which is so charmingly illustrated in such pictures as this *Halt in the Chase*, by Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), was aped on the other side of the Rhine, and fashionable society in Germany assumed a superficial French polish.

*Wallace Collection*

It would appear that the ladies were the first to fall victims to the tea and coffee drinking habit. From liking their coffee at home, first at breakfast and then again in the afternoon, they took to forming amongst themselves 'Kaffeekränzchen,' or coffee parties, in which domestic chatter and social gossip were freely indulged in. While coffee has been a national beverage of Germany ever since, tea cannot be said to have really captured German taste until quite modern times.

The culture of polite society in the early years of the century was altogether French, for great as had been the harm done to

Germany by Louis XIV  
 Parisian veneer (1643-1715) there were  
 of polite society sycophants at all the  
 courts who fawned at a  
 distance upon the Grand Monarque and  
 preened themselves with a superficial  
 Parisian polish which they took to be  
 refinement. These circles in general  
 looked to the same direction for guidance  
 as to how they should think and speak,  
 and what they should do and wear. Social  
 customs, manners, etiquette, standards of  
 taste and conduct—the entire code of  
 social life and relations was French.  
 French, or a medley of German and French,  
 was the medium of polite intercourse both  
 in conversation and correspondence. The  
 lady who became the wife of Johann  
 Christoph Gottsched (1700-66), the famous  
 reformer of the German theatre, was  
 warned by her tutor that 'nothing was  
 commoner than German letters.'

Amongst the noble and well-born a  
 debased form of the chivalry of the  
 troubadour days, again borrowed from  
 France, was cultivated. It was called  
 'galanterie,' and nominally meant homage  
 to the fair sex; but it was superficial and  
 unreal, and beginning in looseness of  
 thought it developed into looseness of  
 conduct and morals. The 'galant' man  
 had his counterpart in the 'galante'  
 woman, who often surpassed him in  
 freedom, frivolity and excess. Manners  
 were in a very fluid state when rules of  
 taste had to be taught like the game of  
 piquet or the latest waltz; there were  
 formal manuals that explained the whole  
 art of gallantry, and how compliments  
 should and should not be paid. Like all

amusements the theatre was also French,  
 in that it gave its patrons French plays or  
 German plays in French form.

The burgher or middle class of the  
 towns, which before the war had attained  
 a position of influence and comparative  
 affluence, was left by it impoverished,  
 while the military and official classes had  
 been strengthened. The most fortunate  
 of towns retained but a fraction of their  
 old prosperity, and many had become  
 little more than monuments of desolation.  
 In the open country the peasantry, subject  
 to arbitrary oppression by the great landed  
 proprietors, had fallen more and more into  
 a condition of dependence which was not  
 far removed from serfdom.

Both commerce and agriculture had  
 since made partial recovery, though the  
 prevalent mercantilistic policy pursued by  
 the rulers, with its monopolies and  
 privileges, oppressive import and export  
 tariffs and trade prohibitions, had checked  
 the rate of progress. Moreover, the  
 restrictions of an obsolete guild  
 system and the local regula- Industrial  
 tions in restraint of trade and depression  
 industry in the large towns  
 further discouraged enterprise. In the  
 woollen manufacture particularly Germany  
 had been left behind by England and  
 Holland, and the prohibition of the export  
 of wool from the former country added to  
 the difficulties of that industry. Only in a  
 few special industries did Germany main-  
 tain her ground; such were metal working  
 and the manufacture of linen, the latter  
 thriving in Westphalia and Silesia.

Again, the war had held back the  
 intellectual life of the country, and a time  
 of literary sterility followed. Science and  
 learning continued under the narrowing  
 influence of theology and the Church. The  
 profession of letters took its cue from  
 France and Italy, and popular literature  
 had practically disappeared. On the other  
 hand, it was under the influence of the war  
 that the German religious lyric reached its  
 highest level in the writings of Martin  
 Rinckart (1586-1649), Paul Gerhardt  
 (1607-76) and others.

The religious life of the people in  
 general was at a low ebb. Although the  
 wars of the two preceding centuries had  
 been fought, in the main, over confessional



FOUNDER OF PIETISM

Although Pietism was not to prove so enduring as Methodism, Philipp Jakob Spener occupies a place in the history of Germany comparable to that of John Wesley in England. This engraving from B. Kilian's portrait is by J. A. Wagner.

From *Kilian's 'Portrait of'*, Bruckmann A.G.

issues, they had not given peace to the rival churches, and the theological schools still contended with the old fervour over new dogmas and differences. The war had created hard natures, and life was poor in grace, suavity and love. And yet one of the most powerful influences of the period, softening the popular temper, was the religious revival which took the form of Pietism. This movement originated in North Germany late in the seventeenth century, attained its meridian in the middle of the following century, and exercised upon the thought and life of large sections of the population an influence similar in kind and depth to that which flowed from the contemporary Methodist and earlier Puritan movements in England.

The actual founder of Pietism was the Alsatian doctor of theology, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), who may have been influenced by the writings of the Silesian mystic, Jakob Böhme (1575-1624; see page 3622). While a clergyman at Frankfort-on-Main Spener held, first at his house, and later in church, meetings for edification known as '*collegia pietatis*,' whence the name of his followers.

Pietism laid emphasis upon the personal relation of the believer to his God; it subordinated dogma to experience and practice, and gave to ritual and the mechanism of Church life a secondary place. It was like English Puritanism in that it did not connote any specific body of reformed doctrine, except that it represented a definitely 'evangelical' or 'Gospel' conception of the Christian faith. It endeavoured to conciliate confessional differences and to unite the warring religious schools and parties, to exchange symbols for realities, to restore the spirit of primitive Christianity, and to convert a languishing faith into a dominating rule of life. So far did the evangelical ardour of the Pietists go that as early as 1694 they established a mission to the heathen.

Like John Wesley, Spener was to the last opposed to sectarianism. Not only did he stand out manfully against the bigots who sought to eject him from the Church, but he vigorously condemned secession and eventually came to an open rupture with his followers over that very question. While, however, in the early days the Pietists continued in communion with their fellow churchfolk, in the end of Pietism they came more and more to stand apart, being driven into isolation by the force of their strict spiritual discipline, to the hard sacerdotalist a stumbling block, and to the worldlying foolishness. They even came, like the Quakers, to cultivate forms of language, intercourse and dress peculiar to themselves. The more, however, the Pietists segregated themselves, withdrew from the state church and set up their own conventicles, the greater became the antagonism which the movement excited amongst the orthodox of all classes.

After the death of Spener, August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), who had come under his influence, became the head of the movement. As professor of theology at Halle, Francke was successful in popularising its principles in the universities and other learned circles. Later in the century Count N. von Zinzendorf (1700-60), an ardent disciple who founded the Herrnhut Society, the nucleus of

which consisted of Moravian Brethren driven by persecution from Austria, won for Pietism the support of reigning princes and aristocratic families, so that the Reformed Church was compelled at last to open its doors to the hitherto disapproved movement. At not a few courts and great seigneurial houses worldliness, in the form of hunting, gaming, dancing and 'galanterie,' was combined quite successfully with a large amount of piety and the strict observance of religious duties.

Spener's influence had been to the last moderating, but when it weakened the movement passed under the control of extremists, with the result of developing extravagances which recalled the same expressions of Puritanism. Not only were theatre-going, dancing and the wearing of any but the simplest attire banned as wicked, but pleasures in general, even joking and laughing, were prohibited as unseemly. Yet in spite of all the exaggerations which the movement developed in course of time, Pietism continued a strong and moving force in the religious life of Germany for the better part of a century, and even to-day traces of it linger in the remoter centres of its greatest influence.

The eighteenth century was in Germany emphatically a century of intellectual movement, of alternate advance and reaction, at times of rebellion, and literature reflected its changing moods as in a mirror. A natural reaction against the restraints which had long narrowed the people's thought and obscured its outlook proved the precursor of the remarkable movement which goes by the name of the 'Aufklärung' or Illumination. The seeds of that far-spreading movement were sown by the rationalistic school of philosophers which sprang up in western Europe in the later part of the preceding century, and they found in Germany a fertile soil. While the churches and confessions had been disputing and fighting, science had advanced with quiet but sure steps, and the study and the laboratory had come to look down with a certain pitying condescension upon scholastic theology. Some of the keenest intellects of the

day were concentrated upon the eternal objects of human research—the mystery of the universe, its whence, whither and wherefore, the mind and destiny of man, and the idea of God.

Even in theology a new school of thinkers had arisen which looked with suspicion upon certain dogmas hitherto accepted as axiomatic.

These men were intensely **Awakening of the critical spirit** critical rather than negatively sceptical. They did not pretend to abolish the supernatural, but it received from them less emphasis than from the orthodox, and as far as possible they tried to explain it naturally; they would not accept the view that theology was a self-contained science or that revealed religion was its last and truest word; holding rather that 'natural' religion made faith easier to thinking minds. Their conception of God was more that of the deist than the theist, and they rejected the idea of a personal Providence interfering in every detail of the life of the universe and mankind. In general, spurning the forbidding orthodoxy of the Pietists, they viewed religion from the standpoint of utility and the happiness which it was able to confer upon its professors.

The critical spirit that was now abroad called into existence reformed universities like those of Halle (1694) and at a later date Göttingen (1737) and Erlangen (1743). The creation of the Halle university was specially significant, since it was the first German university to recognize the principle of freedom of opinion and of teaching, a principle admitted into the first Prussian constitution only a century and a half later. This university was deliberately founded on free-thought lines as a counterpart to the narrowly orthodox universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig, and its reputation amongst the orthodox of that day may be concluded from the current saying that a student was sure to leave Halle as either a Pietist or an atheist.

The leader of the rationalistic movement at Halle was the philosopher Christian Wolff (1679-1754), disciple of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716). He frankly taught a natural theology, and though



#### A RATIONALIST PHILOSOPHER

Christian Wolff (1679-1744), portrayed in this engraving by J. M. Bernigeroth, was the leader of the rationalistic movement at Halle. The university there was founded deliberately to sanction freedom of thought and teaching.

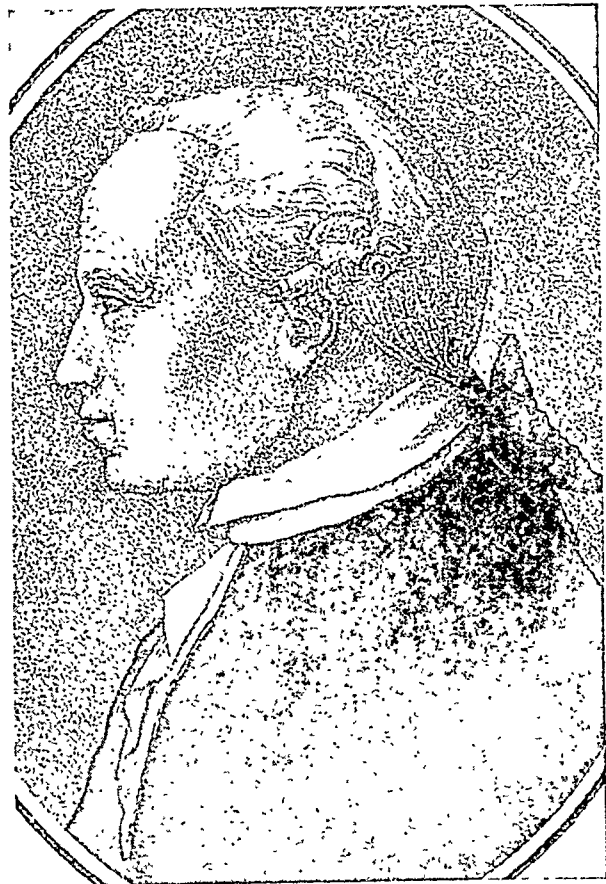
*Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.*

like Browning he 'believed in soul' and was 'very sure of God,' the ultra-orthodox among his university colleagues, and particularly the Pietist Francke, succeeded in compassing his downfall. In 1723 on the strength of a cabinet order he was harried from his chair and from the town, and threatened with the hangman's rope if he failed to quit Prussian territory within forty-eight hours. Seventeen years later, on coming to the throne, Frederick II (the Great), who had already translated one of Wolff's books into French, recalled him to Halle with honours, while the elector of Bavaria raised him to the nobility. In the meantime other universities had imbibed the same convulsive spirit, giving greater prominence to modern philosophy and science and encouraging free inquiry and research. Academies and scientific societies were also formed, and scientific treatises and magazines became common.

Nevertheless, in its practical influence the Illumination has far less significance for the history of philosophy and theology than for that of culture. Immanuel Kant

(1724-1804), who may be said to have given its crown to the movement, formally defined the 'Aufklärung' as the advance of man beyond the state of voluntary immaturity—in other words, of a willing intellectual dependence upon others. He saw, however, that the popular spokesmen and propagandists of the movement were too confident both in their beliefs and disbeliefs, and that, considered from the philosophical side, the Illumination, far from representing finality in dogmas of any kind, was only a stage on the long way to truth and certitude.

It seemed as though another spring-time, a second Renaissance, had come to the German people. Classical antiquity, its culture and achievements in the arts, sciences and letters, were now studied not simply for the sake of learning and as an intellectual discipline, but for the sake of the light which they threw upon



#### PROPHET OF THE 'ILLUMINATION'

The great service of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), author of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, was his endeavour to find a bond of union between realism and idealism. This sketch by Hans Schnorr von Karolsfeld was made in 1789.

*From Kœnnecke, 'Bilderatlas zur Geschichte der Deutschen Nationallitteratur'*

modern problems. Further, by uniting the distant centuries with the present in an unbroken chain of development the researches of archæology gave to the history of civilization a profounder meaning.

Simultaneously with this new interest in the ancient world, there was a strong revolt against foreign influences. Germans asked themselves more and more why, if the French and Italians, the English and Dutch, could speak and write in their own languages, they should not do likewise. As early as 1688, at the university of Leipzig, Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), who has been called the Luther who gave to Germany her second Reformation, lectured upon the theme, 'In what manner should the French be imitated in ordinary life and behaviour?' On that occasion he spoke in German, and earned the disapproval of some of his colleagues by so doing. Half a century later, at Halle, the philosopher Wolff boldly abandoned altogether the use of Latin in academic teaching and in his writings, and his example was at once widely followed. German now became the language of science side by side with Latin, soon to be superseded altogether as a written language. A distinctly national current began to run in literature, particularly in poetry.

The entire life of the nation, in all its departments, social and political, intellectual and economic, spiritual and material, received a strong stimulus at this time, insomuch that the advance made in a few years was greater than that of decades aforesaid. The most important side of the work of the Illuminists, however, was their enthusiastic effort to bring knowledge within reach of the masses of the people, hitherto out of touch with literature. The Germans may be said to have become a reading people in the eighteenth century. Books in plenty had been read and written, but hitherto reading had been the pursuit of the professed scholar. Most of the literature which had hitherto entered the homes of the burgher and peasant classes had been of a religious and didactic character—bibles, prayer-books, theological treatises, sermons and general works of edification. As early

as the fifteenth century, indeed, popular books, answering to the old English chap-books, containing in their scanty pages old folk fables and legends, and stories of romance and adventure, had been published; but that type of literature had died out, and belles-lettres and fiction had been beyond the common people.

In this work of extending popular knowledge England was able to give a helping hand. Early in the century the societies for the reformation of manners which English aid in had become common in popular education England were copied in Germany, and from the second decade there were many translations and imitations of English moral books and publications of the serial kind. Weekly prints of a religious and didactic character also came from England and found a ready welcome in Pietist households. In the more educated circles the early *Tatler*, *Spectator*, *Guardian* and *Examiner*, immortalised by the names of Pope, Addison, Steele and Swift, implanted seeds in fertile German soil which quickly turned to leaf, flower and fruit. Admirers of these papers were particularly numerous in the south, and in those parts of the country in which English influence was specially strong, like Hanover and Hamburg.

The first German publication of the magazine class dates from the end of the seventeenth century, but from the second decade of the following century onward a constant stream of popular literature of this kind poured from the press of the capitals and the great centres of the publishing trade. Not only literary hacks of the Grub Street order, but famous scholars—poets, essayists and scientists—contributed to this literary output.

Gottsched, already named, was an early pathfinder in this domain, and another was Christopher Friedrich Nicolai (1733-1811), a Berlin publisher and bookseller and a prolific writer. He did much to popularise English classical literature in Germany; he published in 1757-58, in conjunction with Justus Möser (1720-24), a *Library of Belles Lettres and Fine Arts*; and in 1765 he founded the *Universal German Library* (*Allgemeine Deutsche*

Bibliothek), volumes of which continued to appear for many years, until the sales flagged under the blighting influence of new and more attractive literary wares. In 1769 J. E. Bode, the famous astronomer (1747-1826), published a popular *Monthly Guide to the Knowledge of the Starry Heavens*; and the modern popular curiosity in psychical matters might have been anticipated by the *Magazine for Experimental Psychology: a Reader for the Learned and Unlearned*, which had the long innings of fifteen years. Philosophy was offered to the people in a massive three-volume work entitled *Philosophy for the World*, published from 1775 forward by Johann Jakob Engel (1741-1802). One of the last of these popular prints was the *Berlin Monatsschrift* (*Monthly Magazine*), to which Kant and the brothers Humboldt contributed; it appeared from 1783-1811.

It was a sure sign of an awakening national consciousness that people began to be sensitive to the past, and to seek the meaning of the past for the present. In the middle of the century there was a revival of interest in the German songs and legends of the Middle Ages. The English ballad literature of that time, as exemplified by Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), and Macpherson's collections of old Highland poetry and ballads attributed to Ossian (1760-3), aroused great interest in Germany, and led Herder, Gottfried August Bürger (1748-94), for more than half a century the favourite poet of the masses, and still greater men to be named later, to enter the same field.

Another type of literature which became very popular was that represented by the fables and stories of Baron von Hagedorn (1708-57), Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715-69), and Johann Gottfried Schnabel, an author of whom little is known except that he wrote an ingenious work of imagination of the Robinson Crusoe type called *The Island of Felsenburg*.

From the Leipzig book fair, long a centre of light in the country, local booksellers brought home twice a year as much literature as their means and the intellec-

tual curiosity and resources of their patrons warranted. The second-hand book shop, before the front of which piles of miscellaneous tomes were sold indiscriminately by measurement—so much or so little for the ell—was a favourite rendezvous of bookworms and poor scholars. For the first time also books and other literature for the young were given a place upon the publishers' lists.

A new life was in flood in Germany, and it made its own channels, coursing where it would. One of its expressions was the emphasis given in the literature of the second half of the century to contemplation, feeling and sentiment. Again English influences were at work. Of the elegiac and lyrical poems of contemporary English writers the *Night Thoughts* of the Hertfordshire cleric Edward Young (1684-1765), first published in 1730, the melancholy moralisings of Robert Blair, the Scottish pastor (1699-1746), contained in a volume bearing the inspiring title *The Grave*, and in particular the *Elegy* written in a Country Churchyard of Thomas Gray (1716-71), which appeared in 1751 and was translated into nearly all European languages, and into German by half a dozen interpreters, were welcomed with a degree of interest only to be understood by the strength of the moods to which they appealed.

The same period saw the appearance in Germany of the novel in the modern sense. Here, again, impulses had come from across the North Sea. Some of the stories of Daniel Defoe (1663-1731) were well known. His *Robinson Crusoe*, published in London in 1719, appeared in several independent translations in Germany in the following year, and gave rise to many imitations. The novels of Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), Henry Fielding (1707-54) and Tobias Smollett (1721-71) circulated largely both in the originals and in translations. Richardson and Fielding in particular were very popular, the latter becoming a classic in Germany almost earlier than in his own country; Sir Charles Grandison and Tom Jones were the heroes of countless drawing-rooms, and ladies long sighed over the



stories of *Clarissa Harlowe* and *Pamela*. Gellert's novel, *Life of the Swedish Countess* (*Leben der schwedischen Gräfin*), which appeared in 1747, in imitation of *Pamela*, was much read. Later *The Vicar of Wakefield* of Oliver Goldsmith (1728–74) also won enthusiastic admiration.

A host of nature and travel books of a descriptive kind likewise appeared from the middle of the century. Translations of *The Seasons* of James Thomson, the Scottish bard (1700–48), were eagerly devoured; at a later date even the rural musings of George Crabbe (1754–1832) attracted attention in Germany. Thomson's popularity lasted to the end of the century. As late as 1789 we find Schiller writing to his Rudolstadt friends, 'Send me . . . Tomson, which is still with you. I would like to read Tomson through; he has attracted me.'

The beauties and sublimities of natural scenery appealed now to others besides the painter and the poet. Ordinary German folk began to travel for pleasure as well as for business, and to find hitherto unsuspected charm in the Black Forest, Thuringia, the Harz Mountains and other beauty spots of their own land. Altogether there was far more outside life and amusement of every kind. Pictures of the time show groups of children reclining in shady bowers or rambling in lovely gardens, and fine ladies and gentlemen playing blindman's buff (*Blindekuhspiel*) and battledore and shuttlecock (*Federballspiel*) in field and woodland glade on summer days. Outdoor private theatricals were popular in court society; pastoral plays and *Singspiele*, or musical plays, were written by Goethe specially for the open-air stages which were constructed



BLINDMAN'S BUFF IN A GERMAN GARDEN

Daniel Chodowiecki (1726–1801), German painter and engraver, concentrated upon representing the actual life and manners of his time much as Hogarth did in England. Many of his pictures, notably this *Blindman's Buff*, painted in 1768, thus have a double interest, exemplifying at once the pleasure now newly being taken by Germans in beauties of nature and alfresco amusements (see colour plate facing page 3982), and also the extent to which French influence was affecting German life and art.

*State Museum, Berlin; photo, Brückmann*





BATTLEDORE AND SHUTTLECOCK

In *The Shuttlecock*, painted in 1760, as in *Blindman's Buff*, Chodowiecki shows how French social amenities were spreading among the upper classes in Germany. Parasols to protect the complexion were in common use among the ladies in Paris years before they became familiar in Germany or England.

*Photo, Brückmann*

for the purpose at the duke of Weimar's summer residences. The stages and their scenery were of the simplest, clipped hedges serving for the wings. At least one of these stages, long disused, exists to the present day.

Rural life also began to have new attractions, and people revised their ideas of gardens, putting into them less art and more feeling, less symmetry and more soul. William Kent (1684-1748), painter, architect and landscape gardener, and Lancelot Brown, known as 'Capability Brown' (1715-73), memorable for his garden designing at Kew, Blenheim and elsewhere, had popularised what was known as the wild, nature, or 'English' garden, from which geometrical stiffness

and precision were banished, and tree, shrub and plant, instead of being symmetrically 'arranged,' were allowed to 'occur.' The innovation pleased the prevailing taste of the time in Germany, so that the English garden came to supplant the French and Italian gardens, with their clipped box and yew bushes, straight paths, avenues of polled trees resembling at a distance lines of soldiers standing at attention, and general formality.

This widened interest in nature was also reflected in the art of the time. A school of painters arose who went back to nature for inspiration. They painted real German landscapes instead of the bowers and flowers of the Elysian fields; real German hills and mountains instead of speculative vistas of Parnassus and the mountains of the moon; and put into their canvases real German herdsmen and milkmaids, wearing coarse homespun, instead of nymphs and dryads wearing hooped petticoats or nothing at all.

The naturalism of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), the supreme rebel of intellectual history, found receptive minds in Germany at that time. His writings were everywhere received with enthusiasm, and left an enduring mark upon German thought and literature; men so far apart in intellectual bias as Kant and Fichte on the one hand and Goethe and Schiller on the other acknowledged his influence upon them.

Education was already a speciality of German savants, and, while admiring Rousseau, in practice they followed lines of their own. Before Rousseau published his *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1760), and his *Emile* (1762), German thinkers were writing of natural religion, natural piety, and even natural education. They

held man to be 'naturally' good and inclined to virtue; all that was necessary to his happiness was to develop the instincts already implanted in his soul. Midway in the century new rules and methods of pedagogics, based on 'natural' principles, were expounded and applied by Johann Georg Basedow (1723-90), and these were later carried further by Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818), Christian Heinrich Salzmann (1744-1811) and others. Compulsion and punishment were discouraged, for the pursuit of knowledge was represented not as a penalty but a pleasure. Basedow laid emphasis upon physical exercises out of doors—riding, dancing, running, swimming and skating according to the seasons—all with the object of hardening growing youth and driving away ill humours; to this end even hunger cures were a favourite device. Great importance was attached to 'object teaching' by means of pictures and nature walks. Campe used to take his pupils into the field and forest, and then, having worked himself into the right mood, he bade them fall on their knees with him in prayer to the Deity.

Whatever may have been the success of the Basedow-Campe methods of education, the rulers were in no mood to hand over to idealists the control of this domain. The second half of the century gave a strong impulse to the state school system

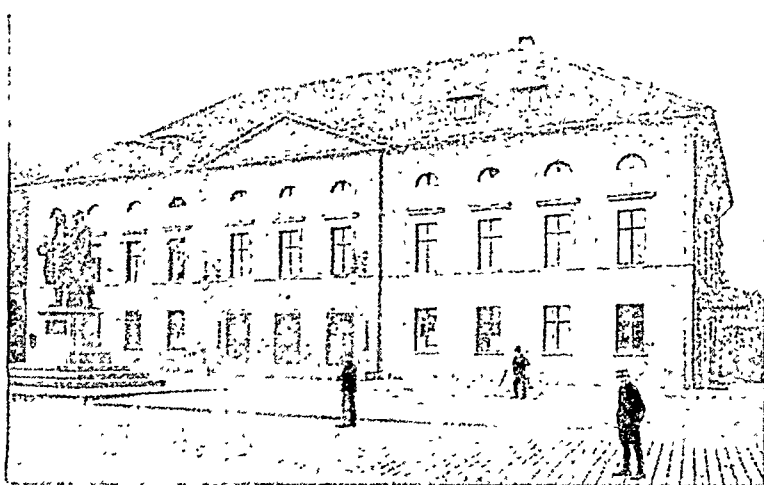


AN OBJECT LESSON IN MANNERS

Johann Georg Basedow (1723-90) published his *Elementarwerk* in 1774, setting forth in text and pictures his system of primary education. Essentially, it aimed at bringing children into contact with realities instead of mere words.

in Germany. The so-called *gelehrte* (learned) or classical schools, with Latin as the foundation, continued, though with a more elastic curriculum, and with less pedantry in the methods of teaching; greater attention was given to German, and French was taught more systematically. Now, however, a new class of modern higher schools was created in the special interest of the sons of the burgher class whose future careers might not call for such qualifications as a classical education was supposed to supply.

From this time also date most of the systems of popular or elementary schools (*Volksschulen*) which, with modifications, were later to become such a feature of the German educational system. When the century began these schools, like most of the universities, were still appendages of the Church; before its close they had been largely transferred to the more efficient but less tender hands of the state, though the clergy continued to take a large share both in supervision and in the work of teaching; while, following the example set by Weimar as early as 1619, the principle of compulsory instruction (*Schulpflicht*) had been systematically introduced



THE OLD NATIONAL THEATRE AT WEIMAR

Goethe supervised the building of this theatre at Weimar in 1825 and it occupied a leading place in the history of German drama until 1907, when it was pulled down and replaced by the present theatre. The monument that stands in front of it is to Goethe and Schiller.

Photo, E.N.A.

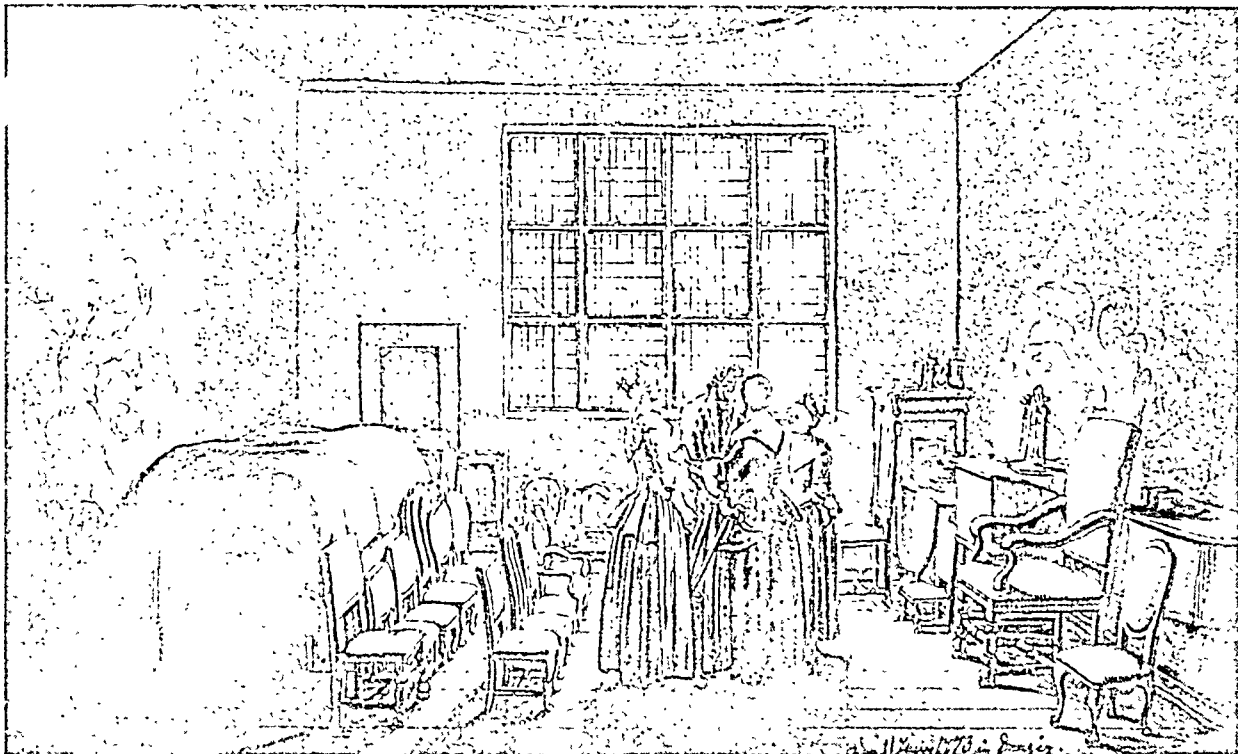
into Prussia and other parts of the country. Instruction was confined to the three R's, supplemented by plenty of religion; though Latin was taught for a time in the village schools of Gotha as early as the seventeenth century.

The teachers in the town schools were in the main narrow in outlook, crude in manners and socially disparaged, yet they were usually conscientious and devoted to their thankless and ill-paid calling. There was a good deal of the drill master in them, and they exercised a severe discipline, yet already they did much to gain for education the respect which it has enjoyed in Germany ever since. The rural schools, on the other hand, were less capably staffed, and in Prussia many of them were taught by tailors as a by-occupation, or by non-commissioned officers who had probably had no education themselves. No great demands were made upon such teachers, however, for to the last Frederick the Great insisted that country boys should not be taught too much, or they would

migrate to the towns. The common stipend of these part-time pedagogues was from £4 to £6 a year.

The universities in the meantime had further multiplied. At the end of the seventeenth century they had fallen somewhat into disrepute, being regarded by the courtly scholars of the day as obsolete and archaic, insomuch that Leibniz and Lessing kept aloof from them; but by the end of the succeeding century they had fully retrieved their position and had become again the honoured patrons and custodians of intellectual life.

It would appear, however, that the manners and morals of academic youth still left much room for improvement. Students continued to 'bummeln' (idle), drink, swagger and quarrel as of old, and town and gown frays were not rare. The universities had different degrees of moral excellence; the smaller ones were the most boisterous, and such centres of disquiet gave the greater offence because in towns the university gave the tone to the rest of the community. The students of Jena were said to take the palm for



AN IMPROVISED CLASSROOM FOR A KINDERGARTEN

Daniel Chodowiecki's mother kept a school for little children, and this sketch shows the simple arrangement that she deemed adequate for a class room. This drawing was made in 1771, but already in 1763 legislation had been passed regulating the provision of schools and the course of instruction, and giving directions for the examination and supervision of teachers. In 1794 schools were made subject to the control of the state, without whose sanction none could be established.

From Chodowiecki, 'Danziger Reise'



### GOETHE : BRIGHTEST STAR IN GERMANY'S LITERARY FIRMAMENT

Of these two portraits of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, that on the left was painted in 1773 when, with *Götz von Berlichingen* and *The Sorrows of Werther*, the poet was launching and leading the Sturm und Drang movement in German literature. Ferdinand Jagemann's portrait of him (right) was painted in 1806, the year before the publication of *Faust*, when the poet had passed from the Sturm und Drang to the tranquil classicism of his old age.

*From Kónnecke, Bilderatlas zur Geschichte der Deutschen Nationalliteratur, and photo, Brückmann*

diligence and application. The old 'Landmannschaften,' which were associations of students from the same state, continued to flourish, but in the second half of the century the 'ordres' or 'corps' came into existence. These corps were formed on the model of Freemasons' lodges, with all sorts of names—Harmonists, Amicists, Constantists, Unitists, and the like. Later still came the 'Burschenschaften,' which followed distinctly patriotic and political purposes. Fencing was common amongst the students and serious duels occurred at times, but little attention was given to athletic exercises, the physical energies of the budding scholar of that and a much later time being as a rule sufficient only for indoor games like billiards and dancing.

The full fruition of the Illumination came in the classical epoch of German literature, which took most definite shape after the middle of the century, and to which belong some of the immortals, two of the earlier among them being Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803) and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81); to whom came later C. M. Wieland.

These men, turning away from foreign influences and eschewing mere imitation,

laid the foundations of a genuine national poetry. They differed greatly in temperament and intellectual bias, Klopstock finding his inspiration in religion—his poem *Der Messias*, marked by so elevated a spirit of reverence and piety, he regarded as the supreme achievement of his life—and Lessing being influenced by generous humanitarian ideals and devotion to the beautiful in nature, art and life, while Wieland's strength lay in a healthy vivacity and realism. Nevertheless, all three were reformers, each in his way, and all brought to the calling of letters profound moral earnestness and a pronounced national spirit. Wieland also made the first German translations of Shakespeare, and did much to popularise in Germany the English school of fiction represented by Fielding and Richardson.

The reform movement in literature so begun was carried further by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) and above all by that amazing, many-sided genius Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832). The last quarter of their century marked the halcyon period of German literature; nothing like it had gone before and nothing comparable to it

has followed. It was mainly due to the influence of Goethe and Schiller that the drama was raised to a position of dignity and honour which it had never enjoyed hitherto in Germany. Down to the end of the seventeenth century the fortunes of the acted drama lay in the hands of a learned class of writers, who sought chiefly to meet the needs of the court theatres which already existed in many 'residences' of the great and smaller rulers, and in the estimation of courtly patrons only French dramas or dramas in the French style were fit for German ears. Outside this select circle the theatre was held in disregard. The theatre-loving instincts of townsfolk generally continued to be met by bands of strolling players who, following early English example, wandered about the country, lugging with them the meagre properties called for by limited repertories, and halting wherever outward appearances seemed to make it worth while to try their luck. The plays presented were for the most part comedies characterised by broad Rabelaisian



#### ARDENT STAGE REFORMER

Johann Christoph Gottsched made earnest endeavours to subject playwrights to rigid rules, but his reforms, though valuable as an antidote to prevalent extravagances, went too far. This portrait is by J. F. Reiffstein, engraved by Bernigeroth.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückman A.G.*



#### LESSING THE DRAMATIST

A new period in the history of the German drama began with the works of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-81), who popularised the domestic play in Germany. This portrait by Anton Graff shows him at forty-two years of age.

*Lessing Collection, Berlin*

humour or full-blooded melodramas suited to rude and uncritical audiences.

The reform of the theatre began in Saxony and Hamburg. The Leipzig professor of philosophy and poetry, J. C. Gottsched, who at the zenith of his career exercised a practical dictatorship over literary taste in Germany, had purged the Saxon stage of its grossness, had divorced comedy from buffoonery, and turned Harlequin and Hans Wurst (Jack Pudding) out of the wings; but in so doing he had deliberately confirmed French and Italian influence. Lessing complained that Gottsched had destroyed without building up, that his reforms had either related to insignificant matters or had been changes for the worse, and that it would have been better if he had left the theatre alone.

The real founder of the German national drama was Lessing himself. His domestic play, *Miss Sara Sampson*, published in 1755, which reads like an adaptation of Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* (1745), may sound stilted and impossible in modern ears, yet it was the first important step in the emancipation of the drama from foreign influence. With this play and his *Emilia Galotti*, an altogether new type of

play was introduced to the German public—the drama of burgher and domestic life. Later came his *Minna von Barnhelm* (1764), a thoroughly North German national comedy, which Goethe hailed as the most genuine product of the Seven Years' War, and the first German drama founded upon important events of actual contemporary life. Long before the century was over the exotic play was practically banished from the stage, and its place taken by historical and classical plays and realistic dramas of social and family life. The climax of this movement was reached in the closing years of the century, by which time Goethe and Schiller had raised the German drama to its loftiest height. Schiller did not long survive the century, but Goethe, the most brilliant figure in the movement, lived until 1832, long after his maturest work had been done.

Opera was nationalised more slowly. As early as the last quarter of the seventeenth century attempts were made to introduce an independent national opera in Hamburg, but French and Italian traditions were too strong, and they failed. The most famous German composers of opera in the succeeding century, Handel (1685–1759), Gluck (1714–87) and Mozart (1756–91), must all be counted to the Italian school. In the sphere of pure harmony the noblest expression of the German spirit

must be sought in that century in the works of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), much of whose music fathomed the profoundest depths and soared to the loftiest heights of human feeling.

Not the least noteworthy characteristic of this literary movement was its spontaneity. Though national in spirit it owed little to patronage in high places. Here and there princes more enlightened than their fellows had begun to take an interest in literature, and even to lighten the burden of life to men of genius who chose to follow the unremunerative occupations of art, letters and philosophy; but they were rare exceptions. It stands to the lasting honour of Karl August of Saxe-Weimar that men like Goethe, Schiller, Wieland and Herder owed much to his encouragement and practical assistance. In a smaller way the grand duke of Baden followed his example.

Nowhere were literature and its craftsmen more disregarded in courtly circles than in Prussia under Frederick the Great. He was a dilettante scholar and he even wrote books, yet when, after two decades of fighting, times of quiet came again to his country he was too much occupied with affairs of state to give his heart to those of the spirit. He was then, as he once confessed, too old to master the new German learning; yet while he professed to admire in others fidelity to 'good



### THREE GREAT MASTERS OF MUSIC SACRED AND PROFANE

George Frederick Handel (left), here limned by B. Denner, and John Sebastian Bach (right) are supreme as composers of music inspired by and consecrated to the service of religion. Handel perfected the oratorio, Bach the chorale, the mass and music of the Passion. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (centre)—the portrait is by Jos. Lange—established himself in the front rank of opera composers with his imperishable *Le Nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *Die Zauberflöte*.

*National Portrait Gallery, London; Mozartmuseum, Salzburg; and from Erdmannsdörffer, 'Deutsche Geschichte'*





#### DUCAL PATRON OF LITERATURE

The literary movement in eighteenth-century Germany received little princely patronage. Karl August, duke of Saxe-Weimar, shown in this lithograph by Muller, is therefore greatly to be honoured for his encouragement of such men as Goethe, Schiller and Wieland.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.*

German' in speech and writing, his preference for French continued, and his own German was that of a Pomeranian boor. Only too well justified was Schiller's reproach, contained in a poem of later date, that the German Muse 'turned from Germany's greatest son, from the great Frederick's throne, unprotected and unhonoured.'

The intellectual history of Germany, as of other European countries, is essentially the history of the rise of the educated bourgeoisie. From the ranks of this class have emerged at all times the great majority of the thinkers, the scientists, the representatives of art, music and letters. If one were to inquire into the social origin of the better known German men of letters it would be easy to show how large and important have been the contributions of the Protestant parsonage and the Roman Catholic presbytery to the intellectual life of that country. An obvious list of eighteenth-century names of note, taken at random,

would include Lessing, Gottsched, Wieland, Schiller, Herder, Jean Paul and the two Schlegels; all were sons of clergymen, were intended for the Church, or changed theology for the even more precarious occupation of letters.

For those were lean days for literature, when neither publishers nor public spoiled the writer's profession. Only men of mark in academic circles or in science could count on adequate returns, while unknown authors and the smaller fry had to be satisfied if their lucubrations were put into print without cost to themselves, and they were positively in luck if they received a nominal payment in kind, in the form of other men's books which had long mellowed upon the publisher's upper shelves. Schiller wrote in Wieland's magazine, the German Mercury, and the worried editor lamented that he was the 'dearest of his contributors,' for he 'asked and would have no less than 500 thaler (£75) for 24 sheets.' Nevertheless, as a sheet contained sixteen pages the payment would hardly represent more than six or eight shillings (in the value of the time) per 1,000 words. It was not different with art. The great Chodowiecki in 1773 spent two months in Danzig painting portraits, landscapes and studies of all kinds, and earned a paltry 760 thalers—say £110—for his pains. With the creation of a larger educated and well-to-do reading public authorship became a more attractive vocation, in spite of the very modest material rewards which still awaited even popular writers.

It is an interesting fact that it was in the eighteenth century that German scholars began to form large libraries. Collections of 10,000 Foundation to 20,000 volumes—representing considerable affluence of libraries in those days—became common, and the Dresden theologian Valentin Ernst Löscher (1673-1749) left a library of 50,000 volumes. A mania for collecting extended to other directions in that century—to weapons, snuff-boxes, coins, china, copper-plate engravings and other rarities and antiquities.

Contemporary portraits and engravings usually depict the scholar of the time as a man of lean build and stooping presence,

his upper lip shaven or at most covered with what would be called to-day a tooth-brush moustache, and wearing either a skull cap or a wig, for long hair was not in fashion. Goethe has left us a comical picture of the great scholar Gottsched, whom he visited as a youth, accompanied by a friend:

We announced ourselves, and a servant conducted us into a large room, saying that his master would come at once. Whether we rightly understood a gesture which he made I could not say, but we thought he directed us into the adjoining apartment. There we were confronted by a singular scene, for in the same moment Gottsched entered by the opposite door—a tall, broad, gigantic figure, attired in a dressing-gown of green damask, lined with red taffeta, but his great bald head uncovered. The latter deficiency, however, was at once remedied, for suddenly the servant sprang through a side door with a big, long-curved wig in his hand (the curls fell to the elbow) and reached it to his master with a terrified look. Without expressing the least annoyance, Gottsched lifted the wig from the servant's arm with his left hand, and while he swung it dexterously upon his head gave the poor fellow with his right a box on the ears which sent him staggering to the door, whereupon the eminent patriarch quite solemnly begged us to be seated and then with perfect propriety plunged into a somewhat long discourse.

To the second half of the century fell a further remarkable literary movement known as the 'Sturm und Drang' or Storm and Stress. It was an outgrowth of the Illumination, the offspring of an age of unrest and protest, and it ran its furious course broadly between the years 1770 and 1785. The intellectual father of the movement was the versatile Johann Georg Hamann (1730–88), known as the Magus of the North; Friedrich Maximilian von Klinger (1752–1801), the dramatist and novelist, supplied its name (Sturm and Drang is the title of one of his dramas); Herder nursed

it, and Goethe and Schiller were its most distinguished sponsors.

It would be futile to attempt to define exactly the characteristics of a movement which was so eclectic and essentially subjective that every adherent claimed to interpret it, and determine his part in it, as he liked. It was, of course, a movement of youth—that time of indomitable courage and faith, of daring adventures and superb illusions. Midway in the movement Goethe and Klinger were still under thirty, and Schiller had not entered the twenties. Essentially it was a collision between two generations and the conceptions of literary art and of life which they represented. Modernists and realists at heart though they were, the men of the Storm and Stress school accepted the classical conception of life as a unity. They held that the true art of living was to live completely and above all intensely. Man must live and think and act as a



DANIEL NICOLAS CHODOWIECKI

A certain childlike simplicity was a notable attribute of Daniel Chodowiecki, which largely explains his sympathetic understanding of the child mind. It is revealed in many portraits of him, and most engagingly in this oil painting by Anton Graff, sometimes called the Van Dyck of Germany.

*Akademie der Künste, Berlin; photo, Brückmann*

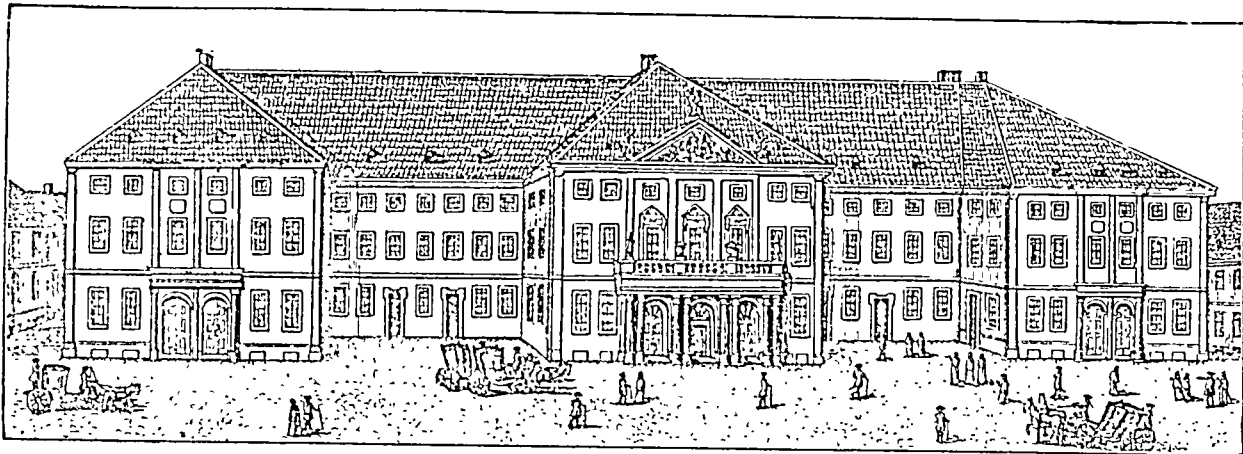


whole and as himself : all the faculties of his nature, spiritual, mental and physical, must be given full expression. Because it was subjective, the movement emphasised the value of free personality and intellectual independence. To copy is human, to create is divine : hence originality should be cultivated at all costs.

The spirit of rebellion was at the heart of the movement—rebellion against the restraint of individuality, to which expression and recognition were denied by current glib phrases like 'community,' 'society' and 'the state'; against the uniformity of grinding systems, against harassing rules, conventions and traditions. The writers of the Storm and Stress put aside the stilted periods and

of advance after another, and in its ceaseless striving to express itself in new forms eschewing neither exaggeration nor incongruity, was never shown more impressively than in this period.

The universities were the nurseries of the movement, and none more so than that of Göttingen, which gave to it an auxiliary corps in the 'Dichterbund' or Poets' League, an organization, composed almost exclusively of undergraduates, which specially took under its protection lyrical poetry ; but it is to the contemporary drama of the time that we must look for the strongest and most vigorous expression. Of the many Storm and Stress dramas Goethe's historical play *Götz von Berlichingen*, and Schiller's



THE NATIONAL THEATRE, MANNHEIM : SCENE OF SCHILLER'S TRIUMPHS

Mannheim Theatre was built in 1776, and almost immediately became famous by reason of its association with Schiller, whose play, *The Robbers*, was produced on its stage on January 13, 1782 ; this etching by F. Schlechter shows the façade of the theatre in that year. From September, 1783, to September, 1784, Schiller was its official dramatist. In that capacity he wrote *Fiesco* and *Kabale und Liebe*, which were produced here in January and March, 1784, respectively.

From Kōnnecke, Schiller

artificiality which had come with the era of French influence, and cultivated what was called naturalness. Above all, a strong patriotic impulse was behind the movement, which represented, indeed, the last and victorious assault upon illegitimate foreign intrusions made by the champions of the spirit of nationality in language, thought and life. At last there were Germans who recognized that the old generous cosmopolitanism did not work successfully in an imperfect world, in which nations like individuals were taken at their own price. The immemorial restlessness of the German spirit, always aspiring yet never wholly attaining the ideal, accepting and rejecting one line

revolutionary outburst *Die Räuber* (*The Robbers*), which appeared in 1773 and 1781 respectively, most faithfully mirrored the heat and ferment of the time.

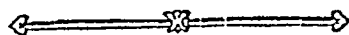
Like the movement itself, however, these plays represented only an aspect and a stage of spiritual development. After the flush of elation and the rush of passion the muse passed again into a severer atmosphere, and the Augustan epoch of German literature opened. The greatest and most enduring work of both Goethe and Schiller came after *Götz* and *The Robbers* had ceased to enthral the imaginations of their admirers. Early in the century a French writer had asked dubiously the question 'si un allemand

peut avoir de l'esprit. The question would have sounded ridiculous long before the century closed.

Before the Storm and Stress movement was exhausted it had led to a flood of hyper-sentimentality. There had been an anticipation of this in Goethe's first novel, *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (The Sorrows of Young Werther), written in a few weeks early in 1774. Werther was one of those morbidly introspective, hypochondriacal egoists whose meddlesome souls are troubled about the meaning of the 'Weltall,' its whence, wherefore and whither, and who refuse to apply the only effectual cure for their malady, which is to let the 'Weltall' alone, and sensibly and serenely go about their proper life's task, whether it be making laws or sawing wood. What made Werther's reputation was not his life, but his death, for in disappointment at unrequited love he took his life. The tragedy of the story was suggested to Goethe by an actual occurrence, for a young acquaintance of his own had just before committed suicide in similar circumstances.

The appearance of Werther was the signal for an unexampled exhibition in literature and social intercourse of mawkish sentimentality and effeminacy. Recalling Goethe's remark that he had 'never thought about thinking, Carlyle adds the dry comment, 'How much wasteful still is it to feel about feeling! . . . the healthy soul avoids that.' But feeling about feeling is just what the Wertherites did, and the reason was that an unhealthy mood was abroad. Large circles of literary and pseudo-literary society, for the most

# Die Räuber.



## Ein Schauspiel.



Frankfurt und Leipzig.

1781.

### AN EPOCH-MAKING PLAY

This is the title page of the first edition of Schiller's play *The Robbers*. The imprint 'Frankfurt und Leipzig' is incorrect; the work was published—at his own expense—in Stuttgart.

From Könncke, 'Schiller'

part of the well-to-do class, had succumbed to what the modern psychoanalyst would call the Werther complex.

The mischief having begun, and there being no Riot Act against emotional disorders, it had to run its course. In Werther coterie friendship between the sexes degenerated into a gushing, platonic philandering. High-strung and frenetic young men and women addressed each other as 'souls' and descanted in meaningless phrases upon soul intimacies. The normal reticences and restraints of friendly intercourse were discarded, and people who had never met, and were but names to each other, exchanged letters in which their most intimate thoughts and emotions were revealed like trump cards thrown upon a gaming table.

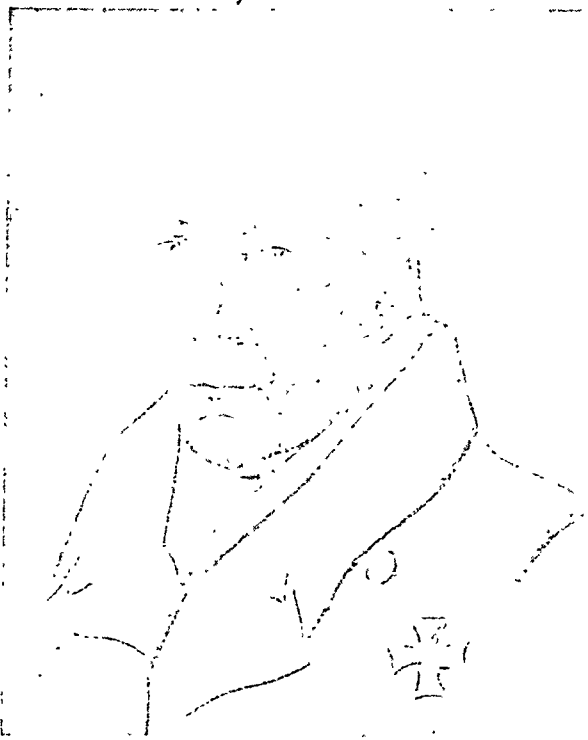
The collection of letters of William and Caroline von Humboldt throws a remarkable light upon the hold which this



### SENTIMENTAL DOMESTICITY

Werther, calling to take Lotte to a ball, surprised her cutting bread and butter for her brothers and sisters. Chodowiecki chose the incident for this vignette for the first part of a French translation of Goethe's famous story.

From Könncke, 'Bilderatlas zur Geschichte der Deutschen Nationalliteratur'



## MEMBER OF A LEAGUE OF SOULS

The sentimental aspect of the 'Storm and Stress' movement infected even Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1855), who joined a league of souls whose members wrote each other passionate letters. This drawing is by J. Schmeller.

From Ruland, 'Goethe National Museum'

sentimental movement obtained even in the circles of intellect and high birth. Speaking of a league of 'souls' to which the two belonged, the editor of the Letters says that 'they laid open their inner natures without reserve, analysed the most delicate sensations, often long before they had met eye to eye.' The intellectual Caroline of the Letters was a typical 'soul' of the fiery sort. Passionate epistles, couched in the most extravagant language, passed between the two. To be fair to him, Humboldt was drawn into this competition in emotional extravagance, and he appears to have been somewhat ashamed of his lapse; for when his more prosaic brother, Carl Alexander, the famous traveller, took him to task, he pleaded that he had 'a sort of passion for making the intimate acquaintance of interesting people,' his purpose being to study and classify them like entomological specimens under the microscope.

The published correspondence between Schiller and the sisters Charlotte and Caroline von Lengefeld contains many emotional passages of the same high-

pitched and overwrought kind, and the modern reader is apt to hold his breath at the liberties and intimacies which a still but budding acquaintance was then held to justify. The intercourse between the trio, with its abnormal sentimentality, its gush and extravagance, its passionate protestations of regard and love, and its unrestrained revelation of their inmost feelings, was, of course, perfectly innocent and idyllic, yet to the modern ear it is dissonant and rings untrue and unreal.

Though in due course the aberration died out in intellectual society, it continued long to influence popular literature. Sentimental novels and stories poured from the press, and the tragic muse enjoyed an unequalled popularity. Indeed, an unsavoury reputation for melodramas and narrative literature of the weakly sentimental kind clung to Germany until far in the nineteenth century.

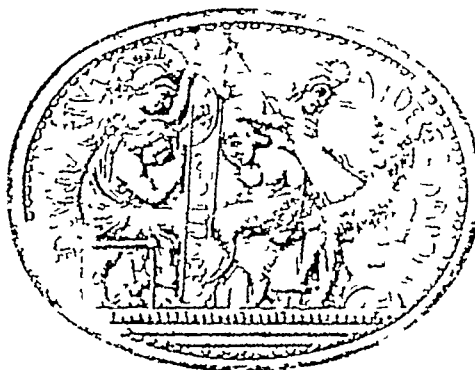
Just as in the literature of the Storm and Stress period the overflowing current of subjectivism, with its violent emotions and temperamental extravagances, fell back into the walled channel of the classical movement, so art and architecture, after having had their fling in the caprice, excess and frivolity of the Baroque and Rococo periods, returned with lamblike docility to the same tranquil course. In the middle of the century Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68) had written his great critical work on art, in which, rejecting the maxim of Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) that all true art must be rooted in nature, he had taught that art could be great only in so far as it aimed at beauty of form and figure, and accepted as absolute the forms and types presented by the art of antiquity. For a time a voice crying in the wilderness, he now became acclaimed as an infallible guide. Even Goethe, who had written that 'nature alone makes the great artist,' and that 'only where intimacy and simplicity exist is all artistic vigour to be found,' returned from his Italian travels of 1786-8 a confirmed classicist, convinced that true art consisted in following the great Greek exemplars, and that German art was on the wrong track and

until reformed would achieve nothing great and enduring. Much of the work of Anton Graff (1736–1813), A. A. Carstens (1754–98) and D. B. Chodowiecki (1726–1801) illustrates the return to classical traditions.

If one were to define summarily and broadly the principal and permanent intellectual gains which remained to the German people as the fruit of the Illumination, it would be necessary to particularise before all others the transference of authority from the Church to the temporal power, the secularisation of the spirit and purpose of the universities, by undermining the theological basis upon which these institutions had hitherto rested; the modernising of the schools by broadening their curricula in the direction of a humanistic or literary culture, the extension of knowledge and of the opportunities of acquiring it to new circles of the population which had heretofore been more or less outside their influence, and the transfusion into education, literature and intellectual movements generally of a national spirit.

An interesting conspectus of the age, as contemporaries in central Germany saw and interpreted it, is contained in a document bearing the date 1784, which was found in the knob of the steeple of a Gotha church undergoing repair.

Our days compose the happiest period of the eighteenth century. Emperor, kings, and princes affably descend from their awe-inspiring heights, despise pomp and show, and are fathers, friends and confidants of the people. Religion tears off the parson's gown and appears in its true divinity. Enlightenment advances with giant strides. Thousands of our brothers and sisters, who formerly lived lives of sanctified inactivity, now give themselves to the service of the state, confessional hatred and coercion of conscience are abated, and philanthropy and freedom of thought are winning the upper hand. The arts and sciences flourish, and our gaze penetrates deeply into the workshop of nature, handicraftsmen like artists approach perfection, useful knowledge extends in all classes. Here you have a true description of our time.



Gotha was then and later one of the homes of liberal ideas in Germany, and while the rhapsodist's words may have been true for his little state, they cannot be held to apply to the country as a whole. In general the great nurseries of enlightenment, emancipation and progress at that time were Leipzig, Göttingen, Berlin, Hamburg and the capitals of central and northern Germany—all centres of Protestantism, while the Roman Catholic south, as represented by Bavaria, still lagged behind. What can be justly said, however, is that in intellectual matters Germany had been finally lifted out of a position of disregard into one of pre-eminence, and that a generation had arisen worthy of the spiritual awakening which had placed its country in the front rank of the cultured nations of the world.

This survey would be incomplete without an attempt to picture in broad outlines the social life of the later part of the century. In the higher circles French culture and fashion were still in the



**FAMOUS ART CRITIC**

Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68), shown in this portrait by Angelica Kaufmann at the age of 47, believed that the true end of art is beauty. The cameo (top) is from the title page of his great critical *History of Ancient Art*.

From Könnel's, 'Bilderatlas'

ascendant. Still the scores of rulers, big and little, continued to ape the ancien regime, and persuade themselves that their courts were miniature Versailles, dispensing patronage and favour with regal hand to their crowds of functionaries and hangers-on. To the courts only the nobility had entrance. If men of burgher birth were admitted to the offices of state, however high, they were not allowed to communicate direct with their sovereign: every report had to go forward through an aristocratic intermediary.

The pomp and state of the courts found ready imitation in the mansions of the greater nobles. Even their country

*Pomp and ceremony among the nobility* run on palatial lines, and not a few old aristocratic families

dated the decline of their fortunes from this absurd mimicry of their superiors. In their way the nobles were just as arrogant as their sovereigns, and often much more so, being divided from the untitled multitude by a dense and impenetrable hedge of caste and prejudice. Yet time was on the side of the disparaged burghers, and already many of them were filling their money bags while the aristocrats were losing their lands.

In general the territorial nobles who lived on their estates led a dull and empty existence, for there was little to do in the country districts except for the isolated administrative officials. Those who found the monotony and meanness of rural surroundings intolerable sought to attach themselves to the court, or to enter any official positions which required or enabled them to settle in the 'residence,' that little oasis in a desert of humdrum tedium, while younger sons often followed the profession of arms in the service of their own or other rulers. In some states every public position worth having was occupied by the petty nobility, and even aristocratic collectors of taxes and postmasters were common.

All accounts agree that the current superficial culture covered much licence. Morality was at a low ebb in high places. Amongst men, wine, women and play were causes of much domestic disharmony and misfortune; the marriage tie had

lost in respect; divorces were numerous and easily arranged; the old-fashioned piety was tabooed as out-of-date; reverence had decayed, and to cast smart gibes at sacred things passed for wit.

In the leisured circles generally the women appear to have had what would be called to-day a 'good time.' Writers of the period tell us that it was a well-understood rule that ladies of titled rank should not rise before eight o'clock; 'déjeuner,' the elaboration of dress and personal embellishments, and a little exercise, if desired, were expected to occupy the time until the midday meal; there was a light repast at four, after which my lady was free to amuse herself as she best might until seven or eight, when the evening meal was due; and at twelve came bed-time and the prospect of eight hours' sleep. Not much time was wasted by fashionable ladies on domestic matters, and still less on maternal duties.

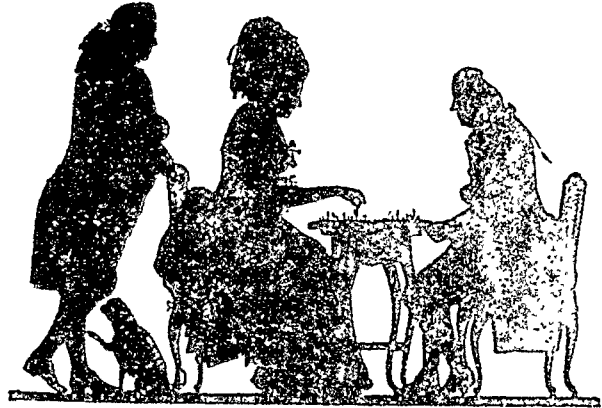
Amusement, entertainment and social intercourse were cultivated by clubs, casinos and more or less private and exclusive circles variously known as 'Har-

*Social converse in monien,' 'Sozietäten' Clubs and Casinos* and 'Ressources,' and what were already known as 'thés dansants' were common. To these assemblies went well-born ladies, wearing high coiffures above their powdered faces, and gallant men, not insensible to the delicate frou-frou of dainty dresses and the seduction of insinuating French scents. Congenial couples played chess, draughts and piquet for honour; but there was also card playing for stakes, the interest in which was shown not only by young people but by parchment-faced dames of the old school who had never broken off the habit of taking snuff. Except in the large towns the public resources of pleasure were still very limited. In the 'residences' of the ruling houses the permanent theatre had made its appearance, but in general the dramatic needs of the people were still supplied by visiting companies of actors.

In well-to-do homes, particularly those of the landed gentry, tutors were engaged to give instruction to the children of both sexes. These tutors, called also

'Informatoren' and 'Hofmeister,' were by no means drawn from the élite of the academic world, and often they were but poor makeshifts. Some of them were young jurists of uncertain past and equally uncertain future; more were theological students or 'Kandidaten,' equivalent to deacons, waiting for any kind of benefices or minor cures that might come their way. For budding clergymen without means or influence, as most of them were, tutorship in the house of a landed proprietor who had the gift of one or more passable livings was at least worth while, if only as a gamble. Not a few tutors came from very humble homes. The well known writer Johann Heinrich Jung Stilling (1740-1817), who first pined and later flourished in the eighteenth century, though he began his career on the tailor's bench, became both Informator and later university professor.

In fashionable society knowledge of French, and particularly of French ways and etiquette, was the essential part of a young lady's education. What German girls of that type had not to learn was

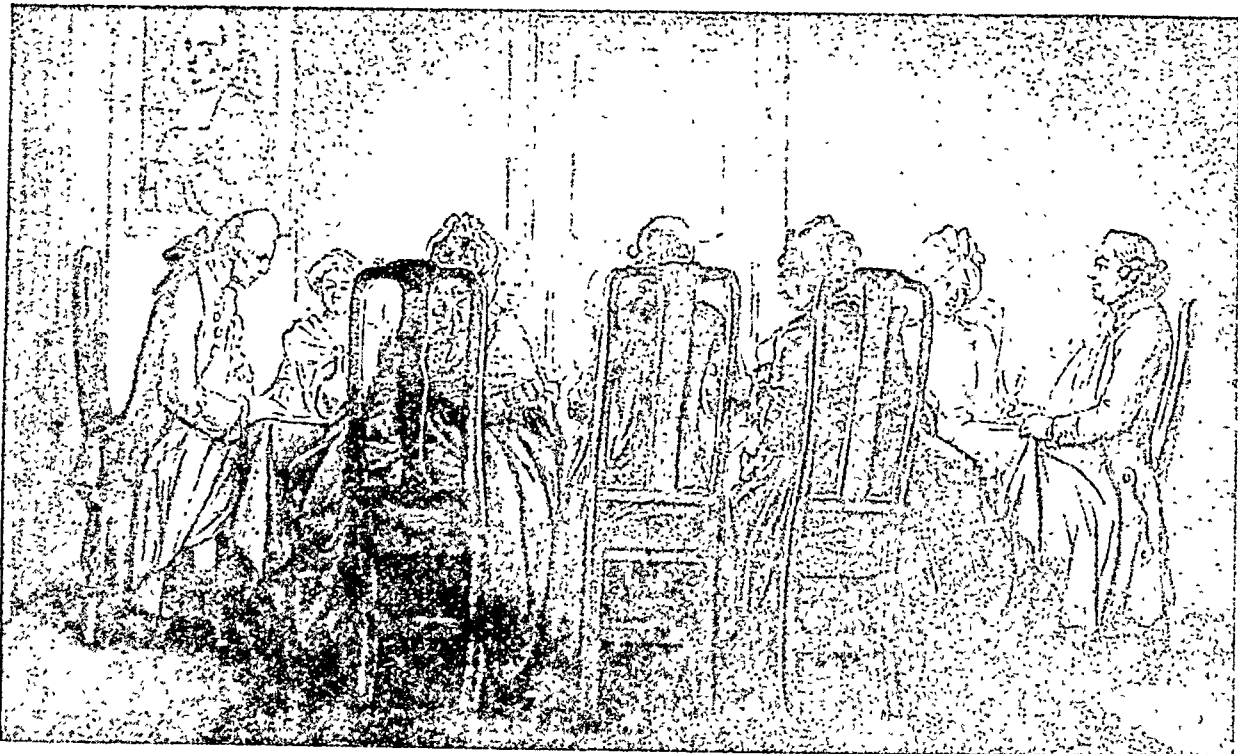


#### A FRIENDLY GAME

As in Johnson's England so in contemporary Germany social intercourse was much cultivated in clubs and casinos. This charming silhouette at Schloss Kochberg showing a chess match illustrates the interest taken in indoor games.

*From W. Bode, 'Charlotte von Stein'*

how to speak and write their native language. A manual of 1796 on 'the education of daughters of the middle class' stated: 'To talk German is only for the daughters of burghers and for spinsters; young ladies, on the other hand, must rather be able to say "Bon jour" and "Bon soir," and "Je vous souhaite une



#### SUPPER BY CANDLELIGHT AT THE PASTOR'S PARTY

The note accompanying this drawing from Chodowiecki's sketch book explains that the event portrayed, namely, Pastor Bocquet's evening party, had been much discussed before it actually took place. The extension of hospitality to friends was a popular practice among the middle classes as well as with the noblesse. The pastor has gathered a few friends around his table and the supper is proceeding amid conversation and high good humour. The only light is given by three candles.

*From Chodowiecki 'Dantiger Reise'*

bonne nuit," than to call God their greatest benefactor.' So there came into vogue in the families of the well-to-do the French 'gouvernantes,' who often put the tutors out of their jobs, though many of the number who passed as swans were really far more insignificant birds. Just as the tutor usually taught Greek and Latin, so the governess was expected to be an expert on the piano.

A vivid light is thrown upon the intellectual quality of social converse in fashionable circles by a frank letter in which Caroline von Bèulwitz (born von Lengefeld), Schiller's sister-in-law, criticises two ladies of the Weimar court—one her own mother, the 'chère mère' of the Schiller-Lotte letters, and the other Frau von Stein. Writing to Schiller of an intended visit to Weimar (October, 1789), she says:

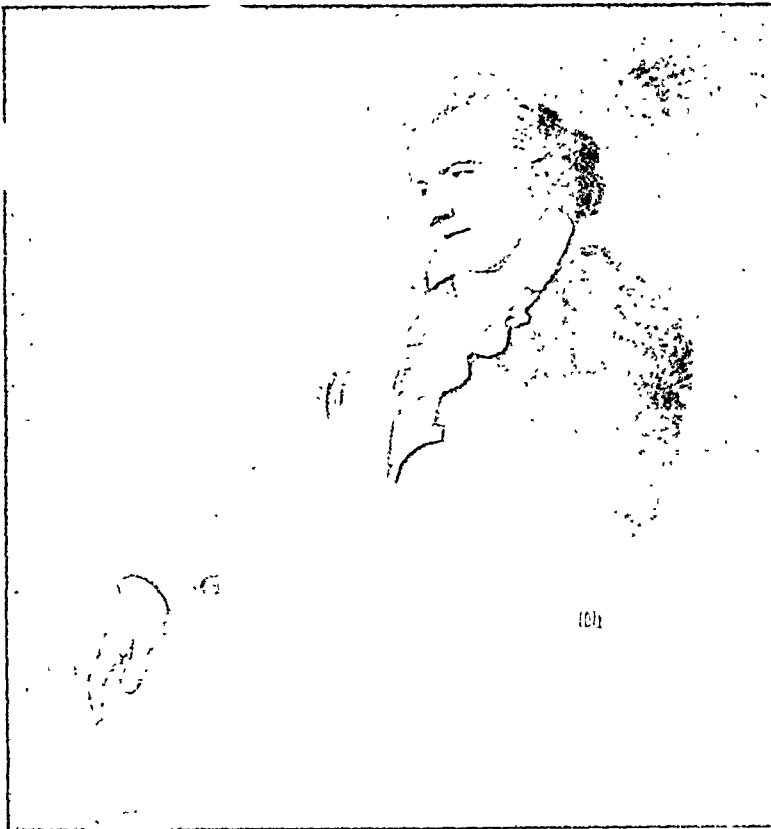
The company of the two women is very empty, and there is no question of any development of ideas with them, for their



LOTTE SCHILLER

Schiller married Charlotte von Lengefeld in 1720. The dramatist was attracted by her charm and her intellect, which are shown in this oil painting of her, executed by Frau Ludovika Simanovitz, four years after the marriage.

From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.



GERMANY'S GREATEST DRAMATIST

This oil painting of Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) is the work of Frau Ludovika Simanovitz. It shows the dramatist at the age of 35. Both his plays and his poetry have endeared Schiller to his countrymen, for his works are masterpieces of construction and his characters vital.

Photo, Brückmann

ideas revolve altogether round the circle of ordinary life, and they make petty things important, so that time becomes tedious to me. The tissue of coquetry, rivalry and paltriness which is displayed by their stories gives me an unpleasant foretaste of my stay there.

Perhaps Caroline was posing here, yet her more affable sister Lotte was no less severe a critic of the butterfly mother's love of the gauds and fripperies, the formalities and conventions of court life. The ladies of the 'chère mère's' circle took their cue from French society, and the *Französische Zeitung* appears to have been their guide and mentor. This circumstance explains a cutting quip at her mother's expense contained in one of Lotte's letters. Writing to Schiller on the eve of their marriage she reminds him that he has not returned to her mother a borrowed copy of the *Französische Zeitung*, and adds, 'When before the altar



she will first ask for the French newspaper before she gives me to you, for she has remembered it again. If you want me, therefore, do take some trouble about this paper'

Schiller himself fell foul of the society of Jena, where in 1789 he took a professorship, in order that he might be able to marry. The mental atmosphere of the place soon palled on him. He found the town 'full of pedantry and petty intrigue,' and in a letter to the sisters Charlotte and Caroline jointly he paid a poor compliment to his fellow dons and their wives

I make daily one melancholy discovery after another that I shall find it difficult to live with these people. All are commonplace, and the women in particular are a dismal set. The grim faces of the scholars scare away everything that breathes of freedom and joy. Come back soon, come and make me a man again

But the negative presumes the positive, and merely to quote criticisms of this sort attests the existence of social circles, of whatever extent, to which frivolity and banality in intercourse were distasteful

In the towns life in burgher circles followed narrow and more or less mechanical rules, and so fell into a dull, drab routine which intelligent people would to-day find intolerable. As a rule people rose early, but went to bed proportionately early, though not timing their retirement by sundown, as was the way of rural folk. There was much formality in social intercourse, particularly in relation to ceremonies connected with domestic episodes like betrothals, marriages and funerals, for which even now German men dress as for the opera. The attitude of well-mannered men towards their lady friends was effusively 'gallant,' and at meeting and parting the fair one's hand was invariably kissed to the accompaniment of a complimentary phrase. The Germans, however, were ever an emotional people, apt to wear their hearts upon their sleeves, and when feeling was called for it was shown in abundance.

The relation between parents and children was cordial, yet not without a certain stiffness, which accorded with a strict compliance with the fourth commandment as sternly recapitulated by Dr. Martin Luther. On the other hand, when left to themselves, young people of different sex associated with less restraint than a later age approved, and in rural districts this freedom often degenerated into licence. In general, however, friendly intercourse in the towns was restricted to the family circle, and public balls and parties of the modern kind were as yet unknown. Marriages were usually arranged by the parents, though these considerably allowed the young people to do the love-making. In the nuptial contracts practical considerations weighed heavily. Girls of the solid burgher class were expected to bring with them ample trousseaux and solid dowries, but paternal or maternal money was exchanged readily for the prospect of assuring to them a reasonably secure future. Many matches were hard business bargains in which the betrothed had no say whatever.

Like their sisters higher in the social scale women and girls of this class were deeply concerned to keep abreast with the Parisian fashions in dress, deportment and etiquette, and they readily sacrificed the old modesty in so doing. With the abolition of the informal sumptuary regulations women again luxuriated in purple and fine



SCHILLER'S HOUSE AT WEIMAR

This picture of Schiller's humble house, still existent, at Weimar was drawn by Stark in 1828. In 1802 the duke of Weimar doubled Schiller's salary of 400 thalers and he bought this house in which he had previously been a tenant. It was here that he died on May 9, 1805.

From Könnecke, 'Schiller'





**HAPPY DOMESTIC SCENE**

The atmosphere of peace and serenity in this burgher household portrayed by Chodowiecki shows that domestic harmony was yet existent in days of discontent and unrest. The drawing was an illustration to an almanack for 1796.

*From Kaemmerer, 'Chodowiecki'*

linen ; indulgence was only restrained by ability to pay the cost, and often vanity flaunted itself shamelessly in the streets. On the whole, girls counted little as compared with boys and, where private tutors were not engaged, their education was sadly neglected. Late in the century a popular educational journal, possibly generalising from partial observation, complained that the daughters of the middle classes were allowed to grow up in the densest ignorance.'

It is on record that in Berlin in particular domestic life was no longer as orderly and wholesome at the close of the century as under the drastic regime of the second king, who was hardly more a terror to evil doers than to those who did well, except that the evil doers knew that to commit any kind of crime was an effectual form of suicide. Even Frederick the Great came to regard his Berlin subjects, though to the last they almost deified him, as 'good-for-naughts,' and he once declared that he 'would give a finger if they would only become again as moral as they were under his father.' Contemporary writers, indeed, speak of Berlin as 'dissipated,' 'gluttonous'



**VIEW OF THE HEART OF BERLIN IN THE DAYS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT**

This contemporary engraving after J. Legeay shows us what is now known as the Kaiser Franz Josephs Platz of Berlin as it was in the time of Frederick the Great. In the centre of the picture is the Royal Opera House as erected by Knobelsdorff in 1741-3 ; on the right is the Roman Catholic Church of S. Hedwig, a circular edifice designed on the model of the Pantheon at Rome and erected by Frederick the Great in 1747-73. The Royal Palace occupies the extreme left of the view.

*From Oncken, 'Das Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen'*



#### PRIDE AND SIMPLICITY CO-EXISTENT IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY.

The records of extravagance and frivolity among the German upper classes do not apply to the lives of many simple-hearted, clean-living middle-class folk who were both industrious and god-fearing. These sketches from Chodowiecki's notebook show us the two types. On the left is an impression of a young woman of the upper middle class, peacocking her way to church. On the right is a young girl of a lower class, attired with almost puritanical simplicity, in sober talk with a Protestant minister.

*From Chodowiecki, 'Danziger Reise'*

and a 'Babel,' and all accounts attribute to it a low standard of morals.

Side by side with extravagance, indulgence and frivolity, however, there was much plain living and clean thinking. In many burgher homes simplicity still went with solidity, industry with frugality, and orderliness with piety. In such homes the fathers set their sons an example of diligence and sobriety which was seldom lost on them. Mothers and daughters shared the daily work of the house, and when that was done there was for both a choice between spinning and weaving, knitting and tambour work, for no idle hands were allowed. Thus long before the parents thought of marriage for their girls the trousseaux were ready in the well-stocked coffers upstairs. There was dancing for relaxation, but in such homes it took a secondary place.

Still more did the conservative and slow-going rural population hold in balance

the people's life, preserve wholesome if old-fashioned ideals, and keep the heart of the commonwealth healthy at a restless and transitional time. The life of the peasantry in general, narrow, crude and hard though it was, retained a vigour and constancy that gave promise of better things. The general level of countryside morality may not have been faithfully reflected by the fact that there was little open neglect of the externals of religious practice; yet the church continued to be the centre of local life, and the pastor was a real social as well as spiritual power among his flock. Of course, ignorance abounded, and with it superstition. Every old house had its ghost chamber, and every ruin and churchyard was haunted at night. Down to the end of the century, and later, belief in witchcraft and wizardry was common, though there had been a cessation of the brutal executions and lynch-law punishments which aforesometimes

were so often visited upon luckless people whose reputations were associated with incantations and magic power.

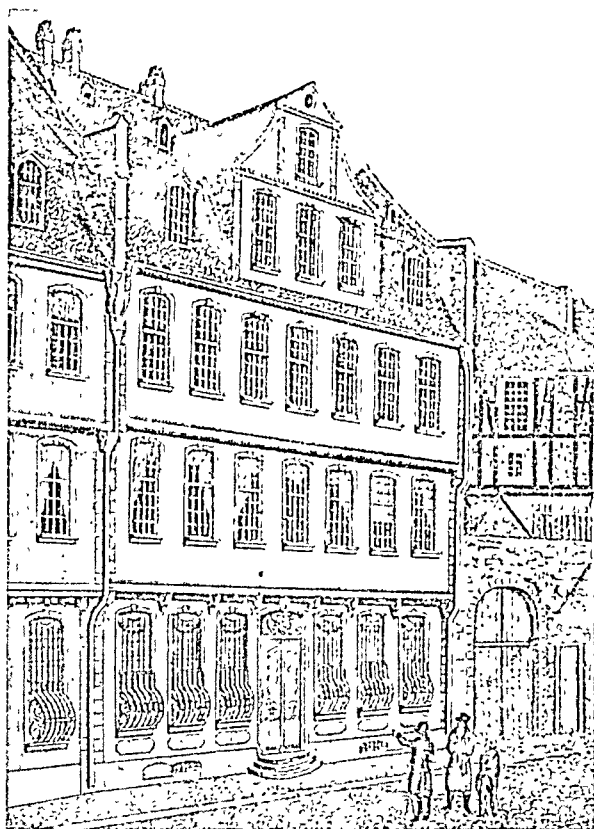
Gustav Freytag has drawn a picture of a typical old German town of medium size about the middle of the century, and with but little modification it would apply equally for some decades later. The old brick walls still remained with their bastions and angles, and their towers over the gates; some of the towers were dilapidated by age or had been wrecked in the wars, but the others were still strong enough to serve as lock-ups. The moat outside, no longer used, had dried up and given place to grass, on which cattle grazed, children played, or cloth



#### DIGNIFIED MUNICIPAL ARCHITECTURE

Baroque was the style most characteristic of German architecture throughout the eighteenth century. In its worst aspects it was all that is florid, as in the Zwinger at Dresden, but a restrained and pleasing example is this town hall at Schwäbisch Hall, built between 1730 and 1735.

*Photo, H. Linke*



#### GOETHE'S BIRTHPLACE

This engraving shows the house at Frankfurt-on-Main where Goethe was born in 1749. It was his home until 1775 when he accepted an invitation from the duke Karl August to live under his patronage at Weimar. It is now a museum.

*From Könnecke, 'Bilderatlas der Deutschen Nationallitteratur'*

weavers stretched their fabrics, the most usual colour of which, since the Pietists had ruled the taste of the devout, was 'pepper and salt,' instead of the red traditionally beloved of Germans. The town gates were plain but massive timber structures, which were locked every night by the watchman, whom late comers seeking entrance had to waken by knocker and bell. On the inner side of the walls might be seen traces of the wooden galleries in which of old the archers or arquebusiers stood at call.

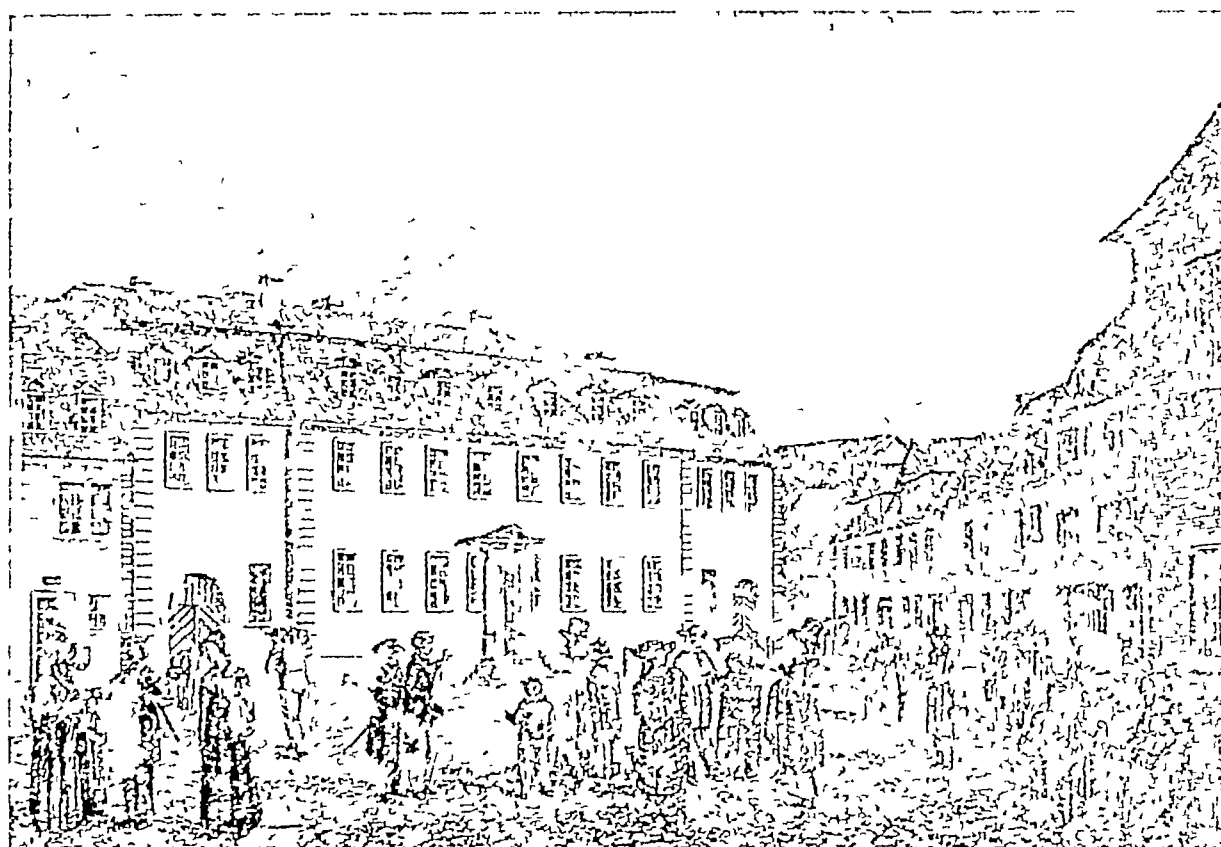
Within the town a more tasteful type of house had arisen, and many of the still unoccupied building sites were used as gardens. Here and there a coffee garden, with shady trees and hospitable benches, might be seen. Near the market place the houses were of a more imposing character; many of them had high gables, and among them were fine old churches or forsaken

monastic buildings with massive buttresses, lofty pillars and pointed arches. Upon the market place rose in solemn dignity the town hall. The most important of its rooms was the council chamber, but it was cold and inhospitable, the only feature which redeemed its bareness being the green-upholstered chairs of the aldermen, arranged on the raised dais which divided these notables from the commonalty, for the rest, the room had a plain, poor, unfinished look, and as likely as not it had not been colour-washed for years.

Few towns could claim as yet to be handsome, but at least order was maintained. The footways were regularly swept, the dung-heaps which formerly used to lie before the house doors for months together had disappeared, and the cattle and pigs, which were wont to disport themselves in the filth of the street, were now kept in yards and back buildings. The security police was also abroad, keeping a vigilant eye upon mendicants and vagabonds, and seeing that travellers

of the humbler sort duly carried passports, beadles regularly walked the thoroughfares and spied on the public inns, even a fire guard was posted near the Town Hall, and in the event of an outbreak a watchman gave warning from his tower by means of flags and a speaking trumpet.

At the time referred to public announcements were often cried from a window of the council chamber looking upon the market place, notice being given beforehand by the ringing of a bell, which quickly brought the gossips of the place together. In some towns the uncharitable custom prevailed of publicly 'ringing' insolvent tradesmen in this way, and in small communities, where everybody knew everything about his neighbours, the lives of many worthy men and women were made more miserable than they need have been by this open proclamation of their misfortune. In many old-fashioned little towns a bell known as the 'Bürger Glocke' (curfew bell) rang out at ten o'clock in the evening, warning all good citizens and



STREET SCENE IN WEIMAR DURING THE REIGN OF KARL AUGUST

Memories of Goethe and Schiller, whose genius flourished in the golden age of literature under Karl August, are intimately associated with Weimar, where both spent many years under the patronage of its duke. This street scene, drawn by Otto Wagner in 1827, and engraved by L. Schütze, is laid outside the house which Karl August presented to Goethe in 1792. It gives an excellent idea of the cleanliness and order obtaining at this time in a German city street.

their dependants to get at once behind the street doors on pain of being locked out. More generally the night watchman still cried the hours, never being particular to fifteen or thirty minutes, and on occasion giving benevolent help to late-homing tipplers unable to find the way or to locate elusive keyholes.

The life of the streets by day was busier, but much of its picturesqueness remained. The costume of the peasantry made a brave show on market days; oxen dragged over the cobbles the old lumbering wagons which brought in farm produce from the surrounding villages; and once or twice a week a post coach would rumble through the streets on its way from place to place. The townsfolk missed, however, the round of merry festivals, redolent of the old Hans Sachs days, which were once the pride and delight of the handicraftsmen and made red-letter days in the year's dull annals. Life for the multitude had become more sober and restrained.

There were two recognized public centres of intercourse in every well regulated little town—the pharmacy and the Gasthof

or inn. The pharmacy, from old times down to the present day a privileged and highly respected institution in Germany, was the morning rendezvous of the male portion of the local society. There the news and gossip of the day were exchanged, and politics were discussed with restraint, for the too frank avowal of opinions was indiscreet, and might even be dangerous, at a time when the right of free thought was denied and espionage was common.

The apothecary and the parson were, indeed, the foremost pillars of local society, and wherever in novels or social pictures of the period men are made to congregate in town or country these two figures are certain to appear. It will be remembered how they do so in Goethe's idyll *Hermann und Dorothea*, a poem which gives one many interesting glimpses of social manners and customs as they lingered in quiet little towns towards the end of the eighteenth century.

In further praise of the apothecary it may be said that he was a surgeon as well as a dispenser of drugs, and that at least



SPACIOUS WINDOWS ADORNING THE HOUSES OF THE WELL-TO-DO

With the increase of wealth in Germany, a higher standard of comfort obtained in the homes of prosperous burghers, and large sheets of glass, as in the windows shown here, replaced the little round panes of earlier times. This and other illustrations in following pages are taken from the *Danziger Reise*, a charming story told in pictures of a journey which Daniel Chodowiecki made from Berlin to Danzig in 1773. The drawings are a mine of information about social conditions at that time.

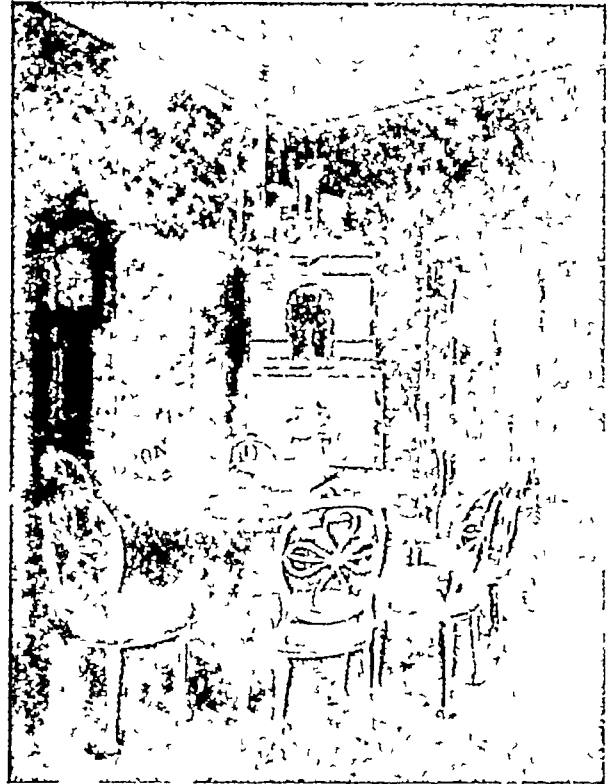
*From Chodowiecki, 'Danziger Reise'*

one half of the ailments of the community yielded to his skill in concocting mixtures and using the leech and lancet. Those were unscientific days, however, and there was a strong vein of fatalism in the patient toleration of disease and epidemic as amongst the unavoidable accompaniments of life. In time of ill health wise and simple alike trusted more to draughts infused from self-grown herbs and simples than to science and the approved nostrums of the physician. Smallpox slew its thousands and typhoid and tuberculosis their tens of thousands, yet the idea that cleanliness in person, home and surroundings had anything to do with health, and that these diseases need not exist, seldom occurred to the people.

In his autobiography Goethe records how smallpox visited his native Frankfurt when he was still a boy and attacked him with a quite special severity, his body was covered with sores, his face unrecognizable, and he lay blind and in great pain for several days. From contemporaries we know that the marks upon his face continued into old age. In referring to this experience he adds an interesting note on the conservatism of the medical practitioner at that time.

Inoculation was still regarded by us as very problematical, and although popular writers at once urgently recommended it, German doctors hesitated to resort to an operation which seemed to anticipate nature. But enterprising Englishmen came over to the Continent and for a high fee inoculated the children of such people as they found to be well-to-do and free from prejudice.

As wealth had increased and become more diffused a higher standard of housing and of home life had become common. More and more the well-to-do patrician and prosperous burgher families attached importance to comfort and a rude elegance, copying as far as they might the example of the leisured gentry. In the building of their houses they stipulated for more external ornament, wider staircases, higher rooms, spacious windows filled with large sheets of glass, in place of the little round or rectangular boss-centred panes which had descended from early times. The windows giving upon the street, both downstairs and upstairs, were often equipped with what were called 'spies'—small



A DANZIG DINING-ROOM

Many grand old patrician houses still remain in Danzig to recall the splendours of past centuries. This picture shows the parquet floor, elaborate candelabra and carved furniture in the dining room of the Uphagenhaus, Danzig.

*Photo, Goethe*

movable mirrors which enabled inquisitive lady gossips inside to observe from their chairs, themselves unobserved, what was going on in the street, and in particular the comings and goings of their neighbours and friends. Decorated ceilings, silken or velvet wall coverings, heavy window hangings, massive candelabra and parquet floors were also hall-marks of wealth.

Many such houses were museums of fine old furniture, artistic in design and rich in carving. In German pictures of sixteenth to eighteenth century interiors you will almost invariably find beautiful examples of carved furniture—tables, chairs, cabinets, coffer and the like. Now, however, furniture of lighter structure had begun to take the place of the massive pieces which had been handed down in families from generation to generation. For the graceful French forms associated in England with the names of Thomas Chippendale (who died in 1779) and Thomas Sheraton (1751–1806) were coming into vogue. Mahogany and oak were the woods usually preferred, and mountings



**A DOMESTIC INTERIOR : THE CHODOWIECKI FAMILY AT HOME**

The artist Daniel Chodowiecki himself drew this picture of his wife and family in 1771. The wealth of minute detail it contains is valuable as showing the type of interior decoration favoured by a man of moderate means ; though it is an artist's room, which no doubt explains the crowded pictures and statuary mounted on fantastically carved brackets. The chairs, however, are more simple in structure, this being indicative of the gradually increasing fashion for less elaborate furniture.

of brass or bronze were greatly favoured. Muslin was now largely used for draping windows ; carpets and rugs were still rare ; few pictures hung upon the walls ; but one large mirror at least was certain to be found in every well regulated living-room and salon.

An invariable feature of the urban dwelling of the period was the 'gute Stube' (the best room or parlour), an institution which was to count on a long life. There were collected the choicest pieces of furniture—an upholstered sofa (the seat of honour assigned to visitors) and chairs, a fine polished centre table, and perhaps a sideboard and a cabinet on or in which stood figures of porcelain, pieces of cut glass and silver vessels and knick-knacks. The furniture of the bedrooms was restricted to the irreducible minimum, the most prominent pieces being the heavy four-posters, above which, suspended in the middle, fell a curtain canopy of ample dimensions. The glory of the kitchen was the shining utensils of

copper, brass and pewter, the housewife's special pride, which hung against the walls.

The homes of the simpler folk were severely plain and inexpensively equipped with only the indispensable articles, though in the importance which she attached to her metal kitchen ware, her heavy carved coffers, the lids and sides of which were often covered with pictures of flowers or animals in gay colours, with the date of acquisition, and her store of linen, no housewife of the humbler class fell far behind her richer neighbours. The floors were usually of bare wood, often planed and polished, and sand to absorb the dust was commonly sprinkled once a week in the vestibule and upon stairs and landings. The wood-work was painted a dull drab ; and where the walls were not white or colour-washed they were at best covered with a cheap paper.

Down to the Seven Years' War (1756-63) certain class differences had been clearly marked by individuality of dress. During the war, however, many external



distinctions of the kind disappeared, for the merchant and even the artisan were often able to afford an expenditure on their wardrobes which was beyond the means of the official and professional classes. Yet peculiarities of costume were still common. In particular the learned classes—the lawyers, doctors and clergy—and the public officials, ranking as ‘honoratores’ or notables, were distinguished from the rest of the citizens by their clothing, head-dress and, of course, their titles, which might not be ignored with impunity. The identity of the parson was never to be mistaken, for his gown and the peaked hat or round cap above a short wig betrayed him. A gentleman of circumstance wore for his going-out dress a braided and gold or silver-laced coat of fine material, with tight breeches, silk stockings and embroidered linen, and a peruke, while his lady, her face artistically painted and patched (in the absence of dimples), and wearing a marvellous powdered coiffure, ambled about in stiff corsets, a hooped petticoat, or farthingale, and high-heeled boots.

Even the plain burgher ventured into the open on Sundays and holy days in silken breeches and stockings, and he still wore a dignified wig, though neither he



#### COSTUMES OF THE CLERGY

Daniel Chodowiecki's illustration to the Sebaldus Rothamer of Nicolai in 1774 shows the clerical garb worn at that time. A parson could always be recognized by his gown and peaked cap or (left) round cap over a short wig

nor the peasant might carry a sword. At home, however, the good man might be found at most hours of the day, ‘with spectacles on nose and pouch on side,’ attired in his beloved dressing-gown, with skull cap on his capacious pate and homely slippers on feet. Watches were still rare, though the pleasure of displaying from the fob a massive gold chain with heavy seal made them much coveted by males of all classes and ages.

Both sexes attached inordinate importance to head-dress. The long, flowing perukes of the men were giving place to smaller and lighter wigs, which stopped



#### SILHOUETTES REVEALING PREVALENT FASHIONS IN GOETHE'S GERMANY

A silhouette illustrating Lavater's *Essai sur la Physiognomie* in 1783 shows (left) Goethe with Fritz von Stein. Right the grand duchess Anna Amalia (seated) in Weimar park with her ladies. This parade of feminine fashion shows the exaggerated waists and hooped petticoats then popular. At the beginning of the last quarter of the century ever larger feathers were worn, and exaggerated head-dresses were a feature of the age; the hat crowning the lady with the fan is a mild example.

From K  nnecke, 'Bilderr  ss,' and Ruland 'Goethe National Museum'

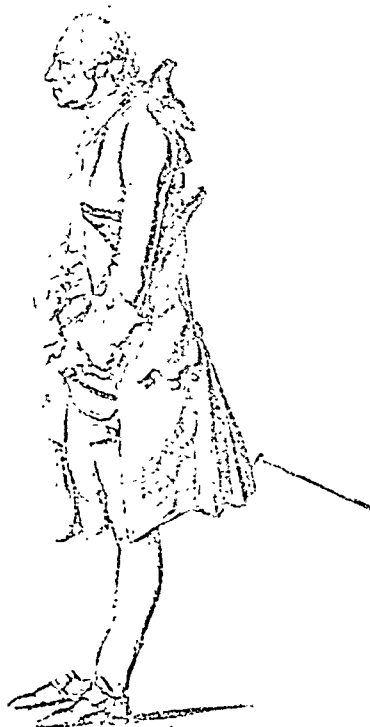


above the neck, ending with or without a pigtail; ladies, however, still wore elaborate coiffures, made up in all sorts of designs, which often towered six or eight inches above the crown of the head, sometimes tipped by small mob-caps of frilled lace and silk. So indispensable was an imposing coiffure that when big festivities took place in small towns there were not enough hairdressers to go round; and society ladies, rather than miss the fun, would have their hair made up a day before the junketing and sit up in stiff chairs all night so that the artistic design might not be disordered. Even servant girls, modest and well-disciplined though they were, at that time dressed their hair in style, and wore caps like their mistresses, though later they discarded head-dress both inside and outside the house.

As for the attire of youth, the children of gentle families were dressed to look like peacocks. Goethe says of his Sunday summer outfit that 'it consisted of shoes of fine leather, with large silver buckles, fine cotton stockings, black breeches of serge, and a coat of green woollen stuff [Berkant] with gold buttons; the waistcoat, of gold stuff, was cut out of my father's wedding waistcoat. I was curled and powdered, and my ringlets stood on my head like a wig.' He adds that he wore a three-cornered hat, and carried at his side a little sword, the case ornamented by a long bow of silk ribbon. That, however, was full-dress for town wear. In the country boys were clothed much more sedately. The poet Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860), recalling his youth, which was passed in rural surroundings, speaks of his 'home-made jacket and trousers and patched laced boots.'

Then, as later, Germans seem to have feared an excess of fresh air. Boys were coddled from the cradle upwards, and the better to ward off cold they wore heavy woollen caps all the year round and their necks were swathed in a fox-tail or a thick muffler. Town girls, however, following the French fashion, went about, as now, with open necks in all weathers, and were said to be all the better for it.

The cost of living was, on the whole, comparatively cheap at that time and, though rich people spent prodigally, small incomes still went a long way. It is curious to read to-day of the calculations in which, in 1788, Schiller, then a professor at Jena, engaged when contemplating early marriage to a young lady of noble birth. At his wish the establishment was to be a 'ménage à trois,' for Charlotte's sister, Caroline, who lived apart from an incompatible

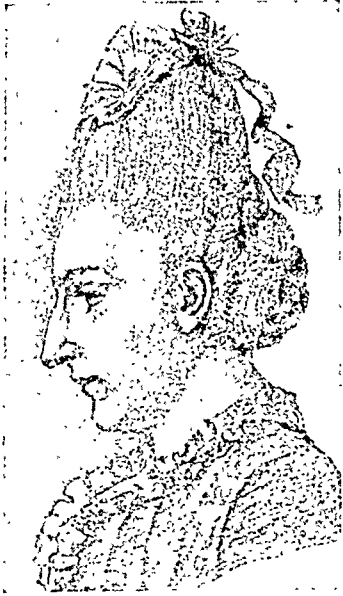


BURGOMASTER OF DANZIG

Chodowiecki's sketch of Eduard Friedrich Conradi, burgomaster of Danzig, shows in detail the costume worn by a well-to-do townsman of his day.

From Chodowiecki, 'Danziger Reise'

husband, and who would have gladly taken Lotte's place at the altar—of course, given release by due legal process—was to be the more or less joyous third in the partnership. The poet first budgeted for an income of a thousand thalers, or £150 at the value of that time, as sufficient to enable them to live 'in more than one select place'—he thought of Mannheim and Heidelberg as possibilities—but later he reduced even that moderate estimate to 800 thalers or £120, of which he was to obtain 300 thalers from lectures and 150 or 200 as a pension from the duke of Weimar, while the balance was to be easily gained by writing; for had he not earned as much as 900 thalers a year before he became a professor, and that 'with little industry'? In the event the 'chère mère' added the



sum of 150 thalers from her own purse.

It appears that at that time Schiller, living in lodgings, paid only twelve thalers a month, say 1s. 2d. a day, for dinner and supper (breakfast being only a 'snack'), and he writes that for that sum he had 'a really good table.' When his betrothed and her sister visited him in Jena, he engaged for them a furnished 'appartement,' consisting of one large room with six windows, and a large bedroom, with a corner for a maid. The rent for this



#### ELABORATE COIFFURES OF GERMAN WOMEN

Hairdressing was a profitable occupation when fashion sponsored such coiffures as those worn by the ladies (centre) drawn by Chodowiecki. That the style had also invaded the kitchen is clear from the artist's sketch of a servant girl (right) with hair well elevated beneath her cap. Goethe's sketch of his sister Cornelia (left) shows that she too conformed.

From K nnel, 'Bilderatlas,' Kaemmerer, 'Daniel Chodowiecki' and Cettingen, 'Chodowiecki'



accommodation was fifteen thalers or 45s. each half year, a figure working out at 1s. 8d. a week; and he thought this charge high. Even twenty years later (1808) Goethe wrote to a young painter that with from 100 to 110 thalers (£15 to £16 5s.) a year, he would be able to live quite comfortably at Weimar.

A word must be said on the subject of travelling. People in general did not go from home more than they needed, for travelling was both difficult and costly at that time, since the means of communication were still very primitive. For journeys beyond walking distance people who did not ride horses had to rely upon an irregular service of post coaches, lumbering wagons drawn and shoved at the rate of three or four miles an hour, provided the roads were free from quagmires. It was no wonder, therefore, that travelling



#### HEAD-DRESSES OF GERMAN CHILDREN

Vast importance was attached by both sexes to the head-dress and even young folk were often got up to look like dolls. Chodowiecki's drawings of more sober youngsters show (left) a fashionable style for a young girl and (right) the woollen cap and muffler thought essential for a boy's health at this period.

From Kaemmerer, 'Daniel Chodowiecki'



#### TRAVEL BY CARRIAGE

The costliness and irregularity of travel service as a rule prevented people from extensive travel that was not absolutely necessary. This sketch by Chodowiecki, however, shows friends driving in a light carriage to the country.

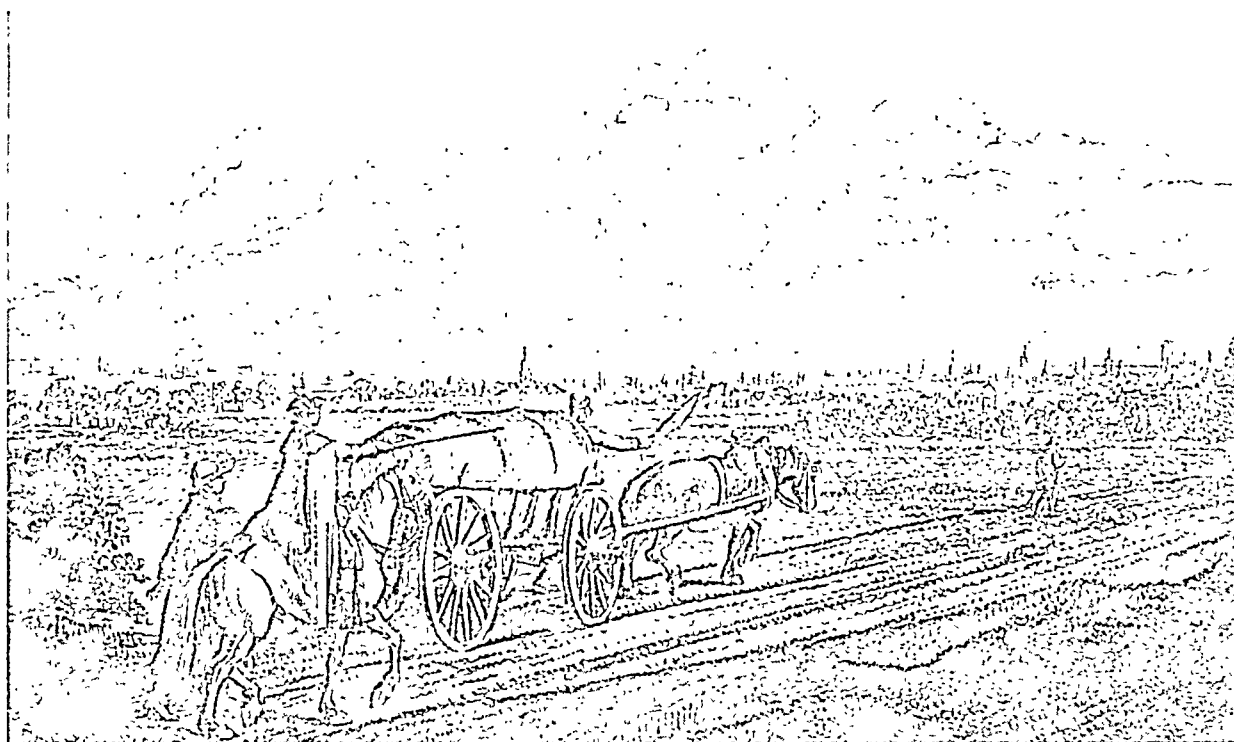
*From Chodowiecki, 'Danziger Reise'*

was regarded as an adventure, not to be undertaken without much reflection, preparation and prayer; for there was

always a risk of accident, or of equally unwelcome interruption by robbers, who on occasion did not stop at violence.

As a rule, the post coaches ran between important towns once in seven, ten or fourteen days, according to circumstances, though people of means could employ special vehicles at high rates. A much-broken run of about twenty-five English miles, representing ten hours of toilsome travelling, was the average distance covered in a day, though light coaches, if drawn by several horses, could do five miles an hour on occasion, this ranking as racing time. When Goethe, in 1768, travelled by stage coach from Leipzig to Frankfort, the journey took five days: the time by rail is now about five hours.

Five years later the painter Chodowiecki rode on horseback to his native Danzig from Berlin, where he had settled—say, a distance of about two hundred miles—and he was a full week on the way. As it was necessary to use the coaches to the best advantage the time of departure from the starting places depended upon the completion of a full quota of



#### CHODOWIECKI'S HORSEBACK JOURNEY FROM BERLIN TO DANZIG

When five miles an hour was regarded as a racing speed for a light coach drawn by several horses, it was only natural that travellers, especially male travellers, should prefer to make their journeys on horseback. It was so that Daniel Chodowiecki made his return to Danzig in 1773, and above is a picture drawn by himself of himself coming within sight of his native town. The picture gives a vivid impression of the miserable condition of roads even near so busy a commercial centre as Danzig.

*From Chodowiecki, 'Danziger Reise'*

passengers ; if seats were still vacant the coach would wait a day or more longer.

Often the traveller acted also as informal letter and baggage carrier, setting out upon his uncertain way laden with letters, packets and commissions of all sorts for friends and friends' friends. Not only was he under promise to dispose of these light articles faithfully, but if his journey was to a busy commercial town he was expected to return home even more encumbered than when he went. If he went to a book fair he needed to take with him special boxes for the purchases.

Letter and parcel transport between towns and villages near together was maintained by a more frequent vehicular service or by walking messengers, who were expected to trudge to and fro on the prescribed day, irrespective of season or weather, however heavy their loads might be. There was an official post,

Letter and parcel post but the private carriers were often preferred, since in delivering letters they were not loath to wait on the doorsteps—or preferably in the kitchen—for the replies. It would appear that even at the end of the century people did not trust the post over much. There was published at that time a little book which discussed the question, 'How can one assure oneself against letter-stealing and falsification?'

When we turn to the material employments of workaday folk signs of steady progress are visible. After the Silesian wars a long period of peace came to the country, and as conditions became settled industry and trade revived ; production followed hard on consumption and consumption on production, for in that time of tight money and little saving the wages of labour were, in the main, soon spent again on the goods which the workers produced. What is known as the industrial revolution came to Germany long after it had passed over England, but the second half of the century was for industry commerce and agriculture alike a time of steadily increasing prosperity. Towards this progress the constant improvements made in transport, both by canals and roads, the abolition of restrictive laws,

new discoveries and inventions and the spread of education powerfully contributed. Already important manufacturing centres existed in northern Germany. The great expansion of the coal and iron industries of western Prussia had yet to come, but the Rhenish lands were famous for their metal goods, woollen and small-ware trades ; towns farther inland like Berlin, Halle and Magdeburg had thriving industries ; and Saxony was already marked out for Expansion pre-eminence in the machine of industry and textile trades. In general, Germany led the Continent in linen, silk, steel and metal goods. Yet foreign fabrics and luxury articles of most kinds were still bought in large quantities.

On the whole the industry of the south and south-west was least advanced, while middle Germany had become more and more the centre of the home industries, which were largely followed in conjunction with various forms of agriculture.

The foreign trade which had languished during the Frederician wars had been gradually recovered, and commerce was becoming increasingly cosmopolitan. Many of the larger merchants constantly journeyed to and fro between Germany and the capitals of western Europe, and some of them even set up business in these cities. Commercial travellers also went abroad in numbers, regularly visiting Paris, Brussels, London, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Cadiz, well provided with samples of cutlery and hardware, textile fabrics, embroideries and 'galanteriewaren,' or ladies' fancy goods. Of the many German fairs of that time those of Leipzig and Frankfort-on-Main had an international reputation.

The tradesman, whether wholesaler or retailer, carried on his business on publicity conditions which to-day would be impossible. Externally his shop and warehouse were more like private houses than trading establishments, without either display windows or signboards of any kind, and often it was even necessary to ring a bell before entrance was obtained. One might look down whole streets of large towns without meeting any sign of shops in the modern sense. But the number of tradesmen was small in proportion to the

population, and those who succeeded had a good chance of rising to affluence.

It is claimed that from the middle of the eighteenth century onward the opulent merchants of Germany were in general men of greater strength and independence of character than either the nobles or the members of the learned professions. For already the age of 'big business' had opened, and the large-scale export merchant

**Beginning of** (Grosskaufmann) had appeared on the scene. In some ways he was a new type, since he was the product of a more complicated mechanism of commerce, yet substantially he did but revive the traditions of the early Fuggers and Welsers of Augsburg and Tuchers of Nuremberg, and of the Hanseatic League.

To agriculture likewise a great revival came in the second half of the century. Many enlightened measures and new departures contributed to it—the adoption of better methods of cultivation, the introduction of new plants, a large increase of the land under the potato, hitherto a somewhat despised crop; the improvement of the breeds of cattle, sheep and horses, improvements in vine and tobacco cultivation, the formation of agricultural societies and the dissemination of scientific knowledge by means of magazines. Further, serfdom was abolished in some of the states, like Oldenburg and Baden, though it continued in Prussia and Mecklenburg until the beginning of the nineteenth century; and here and there the laws and customs relating to the division of estates were relaxed. As in industry so in agriculture, there was greater prosperity in the north than in the south.

In the political life of the country the outstanding facts at the end of the century, temporarily overshadowed though it was by the exhausting wars with Napoleon, were the wonderful advance of Prussia and the growing menace offered by that vigorous state to the declining power of Austria. This rise of Prussia was pre-eminently the achievement of the first three of her kings—Frederick I, who in the second year of the century, with superb audacity, crowned himself at Königsberg, his son Frederick William I,

and most of all Frederick II; for while the first planted and the second assiduously watered, Frederick the Great, whose rule carried Prussian history forward to 1786, gave the increase. Within a hundred years dating from the end of the Thirty Years' War the electorate of Brandenburg had grown into a powerful kingdom, its area having doubled and its population increased threefold. Although relatively poor in natural resources, handicapped by an inhospitable climate and an unfruitful soil, peopled by a race of inferior culture and neighboured by strong and unfriendly states on all its land frontiers, Prussia had already become the first state in Germany, and the future of the old Empire was in her hands.

Historians differ in their judgements upon the pretences on which Frederick challenged Austria to an unequal struggle, and, outside Prussia, the seizure of Silesia will perhaps be regarded always as a harsh transaction; yet the campaigns fought between 1740 and 1763 established Frederick's re-

putation as a great **Prussia's debt to** general, and added **Frederick the Great** enormously to the strength of his monarchy, leaving Prussia one of the great military powers of Europe. Nevertheless, the immediate results of the Silesian wars were a great drain upon the man power of the still under-populated German states, the depletion of their treasuries and a heavy burden of taxation.

After the final conclusion of peace by the Treaty of Hubertusburg Frederick the Great devoted the remaining twenty-three years of his life to the renewal and reorganization of his kingdom. He rebuilt destroyed towns, revived decayed industries and created new ones, constructed canals and roads and supplied farm stock and seed corn to the impoverished peasantry. Long before the abolition of serfdom in Prussia he lightened the lot of the peasants who were liable to render corvée labour to their landlords, the large manorial proprietors, and he threatened with six months' imprisonment anyone among them who should assert his authority with a stick. The talons of not a few rural despots were

cut by this resolute ruler, though often they grew again.

If the Prussian people were never so before, he made them a working, laborious nation. He would not suffer idlers; he required that parishes should provide work for those who needed it, while malingerers were put to forced labour in houses of correction; and he cut down the Roman Catholic holidays from thirty-five to seventeen, the pope assenting. He extended and improved the school system, and, for good or ill, he also made Prussia what she has continued to be ever since, a military state. Frederick's great service to Germany was that he rudely shook her out of slumber and restored the self-respect of her peoples, giving them a truer consciousness of their powers and a firmer belief that a great destiny awaited them.

What the first three kings of Prussia did in and for their state the rulers of some of the smaller German territories imitated.

They likewise accepted more positive conceptions of government, and faced a wider range of responsibilities towards their subjects. The best governed of these states were Baden, Weimar, Gotha, Anhalt and Hesse-Darmstadt; the worst governed, at least for a time, were Württemberg and Bavaria.

With the end of Frederick the Great's reign militarised Prussia had a time of relief; after having stood at attention so long, the nation was now allowed to stand at ease. There was, in truth, too much standing at ease for an age which gave Europe the French Revolution, the Terror and Napoleon Bonaparte. The Prussian monarchy rotted under the lethargic and incapable rule of the two immediate successors of the great king. The first was Frederick William II, his nephew, an uxorious sensualist, who destroyed by indulgence of the flesh the modicum of spirit which he possessed, and allowed



#### MILITARY AUTOCRAT WHO REVITALISED IMPOVERISHED PRUSSIA

This characteristic picture of Frederick the Great reviewing his troops at Potsdam was both drawn and engraved by Chodowiecki. Members of the royal retinue seen on the right are the crown prince, afterwards Frederick William II, Generals Ramin and Zieten, and an aide-de-camp. Prussia suffered terribly during the wars incurred by Frederick's aggressions, but, in time of peace, he devoted himself tirelessly to the work of reconstruction, encouraging agriculture and reviving industry.

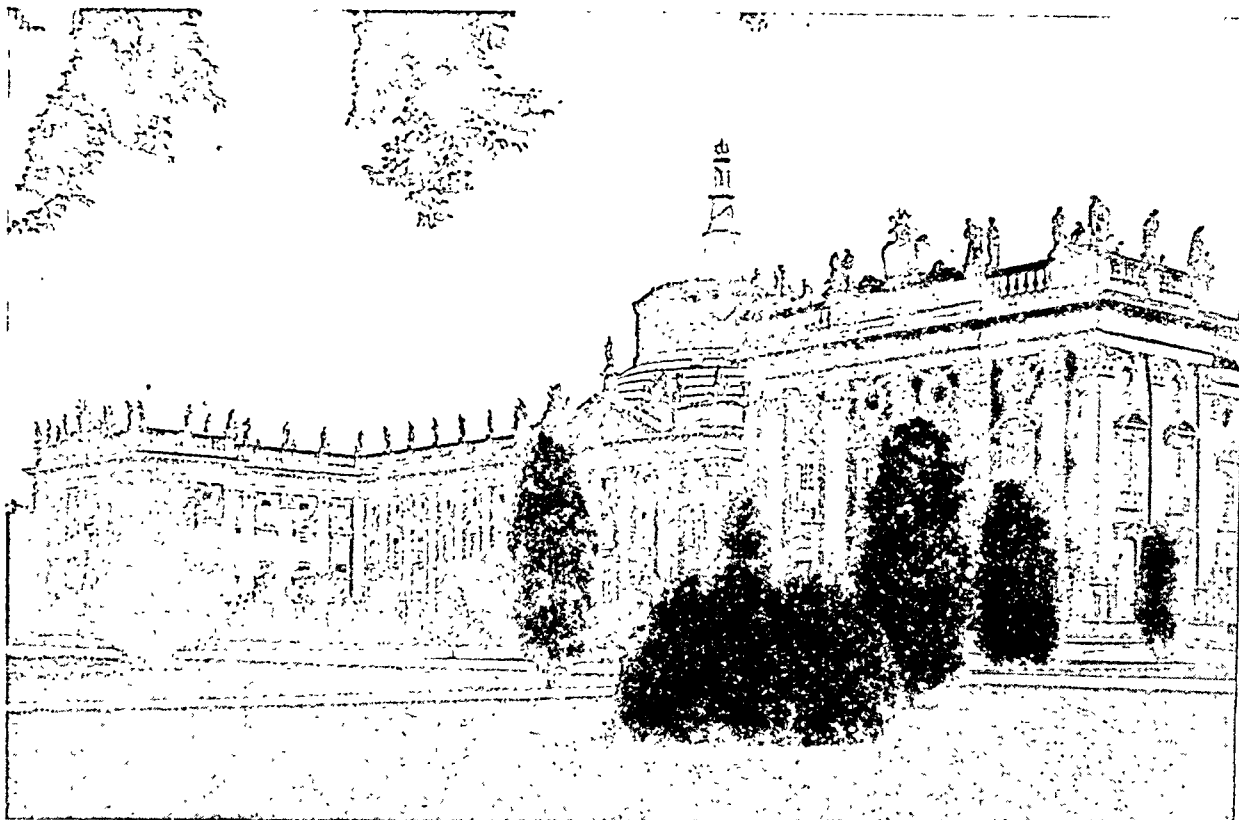
*British Museum*

himself to fall into the hands of scheming favourites. He was followed by Frederick William III, a well-meaning, orderly, moral ruler, fond of domestic life, with something of the bourgeois in him, but an ineffectual weakling, into whom his high-spirited and noble-hearted consort, the Queen Louise of Prussian poetry and legend, failed to transfuse so much of her own strong will and indomitable spirit as would have made a man of him.

When military pressure came from the west, Prussia had first to bear the strain, and it was beyond her power of resistance. With her collapse, and the defection of some of her confederates, Germany fell to pieces. The conduct of the renegade rulers of Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony and Baden, who fought against the Empire, showed how much more considerations of 'safety first' and supposed interest weighed with them than the claims of nationality. But the long duration of French influence in many forms had produced a demoralisation too deep and wide-

spread to be speedily effaced. It is also fair to remember that the seductive principles by which the French Revolution was commended had created great enthusiasm among German liberals, especially in the west. In 1790 J. G. Forster (1754-94), the famous traveller and colleague of Cook, then librarian of the elector of Mainz, headed a deputation of citizens of that town to Paris in order to invite the incorporation of the left bank of the Rhine in Republican France. Moreover, Frederick's wars and successes had divided the states more than ever, reviving old rivalries and ambitions, and multiplying old suspicions.

A time of untold humiliation and misery awaited the German tribes, whether they fought against Napoleon or with him, yet the ordeal was a preparation for the national unity towards which events had been tending for centuries. To an ever-increasing number of Germans the realization of that unity was no longer a vague hope, but an inspiring certainty.



KAISER'S PALACE AT POTSDAM ERECTED BY FREDERICK THE GREAT

The numerous royal palaces in the environs of Potsdam have gained for that town the title of the 'German Versailles.' This picture shows the huge brick structure, 375 feet in length, which was designed and built at enormous expense by Frederick the Great in 1763-69, and is known as the New Palace. It represents one aspect of the powerful Prussian monarch's desire for some tangible expression of his wealth and majesty. It is lavishly decorated with sculptured figures.

*Photo, Donald McLeish*



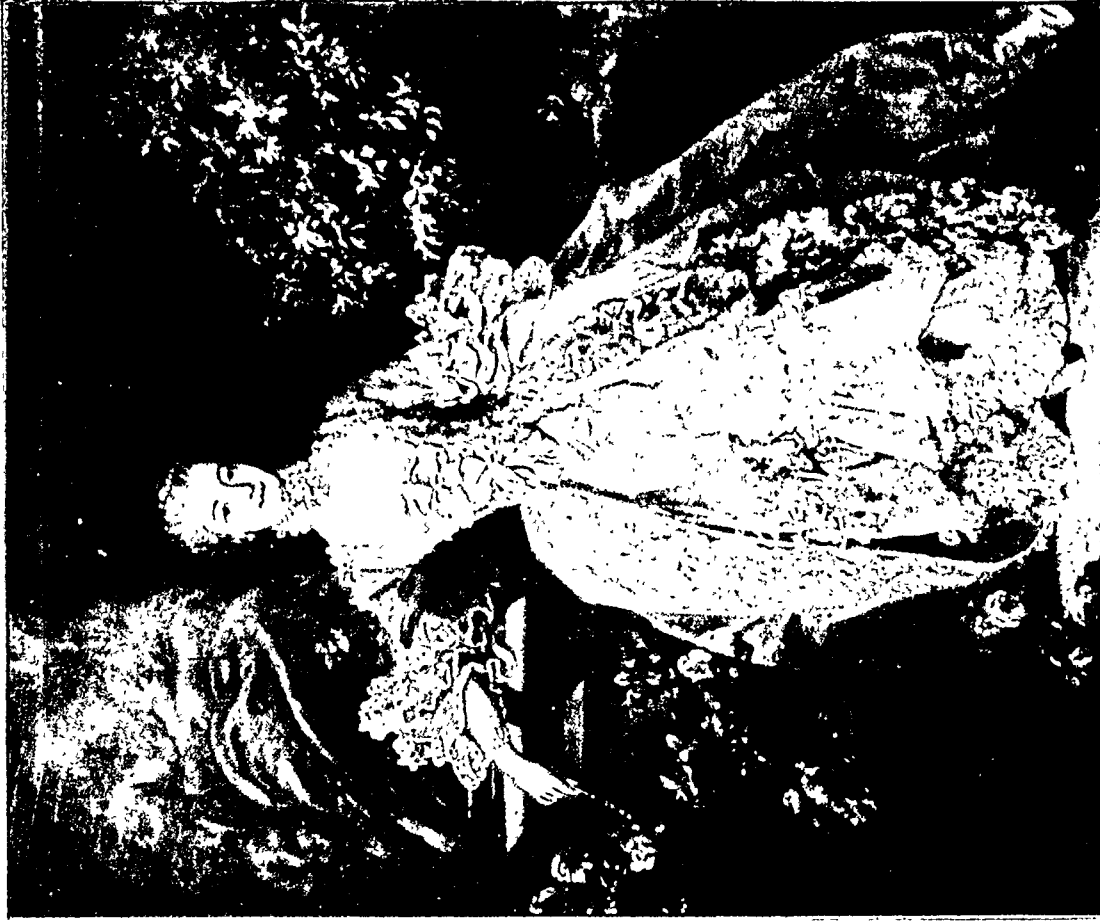


#### OPEN-AIR DIVERSIONS OF GERMAN SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Reference to the works of Watteau, Fragonard or Boucher (see especially the Watteau in page 3944) will show how strongly Germany in the eighteenth century was influenced by the canons of French art. At the same time the German style conserved a measure of flesh-and-blood naturalism, so that one is far more disposed to see a genuine picture of contemporary society in this 'Party in the Zoological Garden' of Chodowiecki than in any of the 'fêtes galantes' of the French school.

*Courtesy of Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig*





**FAMOUS COURTESANS WHOSE INFLUENCE HAS SWAYED NATIONAL POLICY : 'MADAM CARWELL' AND MADAME DE POMPADOUR**  
 Of the women who have exercised a direct and personal influence on the politics of their day there are few more famous than the duchess of Portsmouth and Madame de Pompadour: both French, but the first employing her wit and charms in England. Louise Rencé de Penecourt de Quérouaille (or Kérroualle) was an agent of Louis XIV when she captivated Charles II, from whom she received her English title; this portrait of her (right) was painted by Mignard in France, three years before she finally retired thither as the duchess of Aubigny on Charles's death. Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, marquise de Pompadour, (left, by Boucher) was the mistress of Louis XV; it was largely her rancour against Frederick II that produced the Franco-Austrian alliance of 1756.

*Wallace Collection (left) and National Portrait Gallery, London*

# FEMININE INFLUENCE IN POLITICS

Critical Study of a universal Principle in its particular application to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

By ANTHONY M. LUDOVICI

Author of *Nietzsche: his Life and Works*, *Woman: a Vindication*, etc.

THERE are two factors which probably ever since the dawn of human society have operated to keep the sexes separate and distinct. And, for the purposes of this chapter, they will be termed 'the difference of function' and 'masculine dread of weakness.'

The difference of function separates and distinguishes the sexes and their respective spheres, because, as Herbert Spencer has pointed out, men and women, being by the unlikeness of their function in life exposed to unlike influences, begin from the first to assume unlike positions in the community as they do in the family.' Thus, throughout the history of humanity, man, owing to his greater freedom from physical ties, his more simple reproductive rôle, which makes his body more agile and less severely taxed by reproductive processes, and his comparative immunity from the claims of the 'beloved parasite'—the infant child—has always enjoyed advantages in the field of achievement, which have made him an easy winner in all those contests of strength and general ability that make up the life of the race away from the department of child rearing, and the sedentary occupations connected with the home.

And it is this functional difference which, operating to the advantage of the male, accounts for the fact that, at whatever point we choose to arrest our glance in the history of the human race, we find man the leader, the organizer, the expert, the sage, the innovator and the ultimate pioneer in discovery, invention and government.

The development of tribal and primitive chieftainship and kingship out of the mere superiority of the male individuals

of a clan or family can be observed even now, if we choose to study the life of savage peoples; and the best proof we have that such superiority over the females does not consist merely in the possession of greater physical strength is the fact that so-called magical powers are frequently the first stage in the ascent to chieftainship and royal power. Thus, Sir James Frazer tells us that mere strength as the origin of temporal power is the exception rather than the rule. Great ability in any active sphere is what first rivets the attention of his fellows upon a certain member of a family or tribe. And it is the usefulness of this great ability to the tribe, when recognized by his fellows, that causes the superior man to be marked out for leadership and for a higher social function. Among the Eskimo the headman is called a 'pimain'; that title means simply that he knows everything best. And instances could be multiplied almost ad infinitum.

The question is, in what circumstances does our first factor, the difference of function, fail to distinguish sharply between the respective spheres of the sexes? When sex difference is inoperative

It can fail only through two causes. The first is the degeneration of the male, which may end in his losing his original advantages over the female and in making him appear her equal or even her inferior in achievement. This appears to have occurred in a number of ancient civilizations: among the Chucunaque quite recently, and to some extent among some of the North American tribes in the past. It is occurring also in modern Europe and America. Equality between the sexes thus signifies the retrogression of the male,

and the apparent advance of the female. To see an absolute and not a relative advance in these circumstances is the error alike of ethnographers, historians and many European sociologists.

Or, secondly, the failure of the first factor to distinguish sharply between the respective spheres of the sexes may be due to the fact that the female ceases to function as a female. In this case, by escaping many of the consequences of the difference of function, the female rids herself of the greater part of her handicap, and begins to enjoy many of the advantages of the male. As, however, in these circumstances her sexual life is sacrificed, she ceases to be a normal female, or even a normal human being. Sex has meaning only as a function. Eliminate its functional consequences, and it ceases to have meaning. The Amazons of Dahomey were an example of this type of women. The vast spinster population of modern Europe affords a further example; but, as the latter consists largely of girls who have not deliberately chosen to stifle their normal appetites, they frequently adopt neutral or male careers with a lack of heart and enthusiasm which prevents them from being true examples of the type.

Now, turning to the second factor which operates in keeping the spheres of the sexes separate and distinct—the masculine dread of weakness—we shall find that this also constitutes an influence which tends to diminish as man declines in native sanity and health.

The antagonism between man's instinct to love woman and his instinct to be of use to society and to himself seems to be one of the first scientific facts that is recognized by primitive communities. When the highest of the animals evolved into man, he must very soon have become aware of the extreme danger to which he himself and his family or his class were exposed the moment any form of weakness overtook him. The animal may rely on strength, and may feel confident and brave when he possesses it, but it is only man who can consciously perceive the immense advantages of preserving strength and avoiding weakness. Now the fact

that a passionate association with woman exposes a man to weakness, at least of a temporary kind, seems undoubtedly to have been recognized very early in the history of our race. This we may infer from our knowledge of existing savage peoples, many of whom observe the most rigid rules of celibacy or sexual abstinence before, during and sometimes for a little while after any special effort that has to be made either in war, in the hunting field or on the water. For a brief spell the women of the tribe are forbidden to approach them; they are declared sacred and, by a natural transference of meaning through the association of prohibited access with something accursed, they become for the time being objects of awe and fear—i.e. taboo, or tapu, marked out specially for some service.

The vestiges of these repeated temporary separations of the sexes have come down to us in various forms; but there can be no doubt that in regard to this *Separation of the Sexes* factor, too, civilization and corruption have impaired our primitive wisdom. The last European vestige of this primitive wisdom has survived in England, where the custom of separating the women from the men at the end of a meal still prevails. The fact that, as a rule, no use is made of this separation, and that the conversation instead of becoming less frivolous and superficial after the women have gone very often becomes more frivolous and may touch upon the obscene, is but a proof of how a 'useful ceremony may degenerate into an empty form when it has ceased to be understood or appreciated.

A more highly evolved form of the sexual taboo is the tendency to segregate the sexes which we find in many Oriental countries, and which provides the organization for a complete exclusion of female charms and attractions if a man wishes to be free from their influence, for a certain period. The ancient Greeks were the first cultivated European exponents of this system. They carefully defined 'woman's sphere.' But while in this they were partly prompted by the function factor as already discussed, the second factor, the dread of weakness, probably

played an important part as well. They were just as anxious to define 'man's sphere' as woman's, and the definition of the female province was probably dictated in the first place not by any brutal conception of woman's fitness for domestic drudgery alone, but out of self-protection, by the recognition of the fact that, if society is to be maintained and the most important social functions are to be efficiently discharged, a 'man's sphere' must be rigidly marked out; in short, man must be able to withdraw for certain intervals from the spell of woman.

Segregation of the sexes for certain periods in the life of a people, or for part of the twenty-four hours, thus probably evolved naturally out of the primitive taboos mentioned above; and in the historical period of Greece we find the virtuous women of the better class in Athens living a life of almost complete seclusion (see

The courtesan Chap. 41). There was, however, a class of women in the nation which, although it, too, never attained to civil or political rights, enjoyed much more freedom than the wives of the free citizens. This was the class composed of the superior courtesans. Known by the name of 'hetairai,' or companions, their influence and importance gradually increased, until in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.—that is to say, in the period of decadence immediately preceding and following the eclipse of the Athenian power—they reached their zenith.

It cannot be denied that, from the standpoint of the spirit inspiring the primitive sexual taboos above described, the Greek thus defeated the very end he wished to attain by his domestic arrangements. For, while the primitive taboos and the social organization that derived from them provided for a periodical, recurrent and rigid segregation of the sexes, the institution of the hetairai, by establishing the spell of woman as a permanent element in his daily and social life, and even in his moments of philosophical abstraction, constituted the first civilized attempt in Europe to break definitely with the profoundly wise taboos of man's primitive societies.

It is not suggested that the institution of the hetairai was responsible for the short life that Greek civilization enjoyed, for there were so many other corrosives at work that it would be unscientific to lay too much stress on this one. When, however, it is remembered that the nearer Athens drew to her ultimate decline and doom, the larger this class of women became, and the greater the influence they wielded, we are entitled to question the wholesomeness of their effect on Greek development, particularly as the heyday of their power happened to coincide with the greatest degree of degeneracy among the male population.

Thus, although the women of ancient Greece acquired no civic or political power, it is certain that indirectly, through the Power & Intellect statesmen and other of the Hetairai citizens with whom the hetairai were associated, this section of the female population ultimately helped a good deal towards swaying the destinies of the Athenian people, and there is no doubt whatsoever that the women's movement, which ultimately suffered the gibes of an old conservative like Aristophanes, was led by this element in the state. That these hetairai became an educated and learned class is shown by the fact that one of them, Lastheneia, was a disciple of Plato and became the mistress of the philosopher Speusippus, and by many similar instances.

It is, of course, difficult at this distance of time to trace particular examples of the indirect political power exercised by courtesans upon the destinies of the Hellenes. Only the most flagrant manifestations of it could ever have become exposed. But we are justified in assuming, from the examples that have come down to us, that such power must have made itself felt. There are good grounds, for instance, for supposing that Aspasia, who was probably the most famous hetaira of her day, acquired a great ascendancy over her lover Pericles when this statesman was supreme in Athens, and that through him she was partly responsible both for the war with Samos in 440 B.C. on behalf of Miletus, which almost led to a general war in European Greece, as well as for the

Peloponnesian War. The fact that she was herself a native of Miletus lends some colourable warrant to the charge of her contemporaries that she was behind Pericles at least in his action against the Samians, while her presence at his side when he embarked upon his expedition thither betrays her keen interest.

Roman civilization presents a different picture; but, in the ultimate parallel march of events—the increasing power of women coinciding with a relaxation of morals, a softening of fibre and a steady decline of authority, order and power—it follows the same path as that of Greece.

Never was the Roman matron as subordinate as the Athenian housewife, or secluded from the social life of her house and of the city; but, in the flourishing period of the Republic,

**Subjection of Roman matrons** when the austerity of Roman citizens laid the foundation of Roman virtue and Roman power, she was wholly subject to her husband's or father's authority, and her sphere was almost as strictly marked out as was that of her Athenian sister. As a daughter she was reckoned as no more than her father's slave; as a wife 'in manu,' she was powerless to resist her husband's will. And as long as these conditions lasted manners and morals remained at a high level in the state.

During the era of the Punic Wars and after, however, a change appears to have occurred. The old austerity declined, domestic ties were loosened, paternal authority was undermined both by legislation and by popular influence, and at the accession of Augustus Roman society was almost completely degraded. Meantime, the tutelage and dependence of woman had disappeared, and female emancipation had become a fact.

Long before Augustus, however, there is evidence of the growing independence of the Roman matron; for in 215 B.C., at the height of the Second Punic War, a measure known as the Oppian Law was passed to restrict her extravagance. In 195 B.C. she actually intervened as a power in politics, and demanded that the Oppian Law should be repealed. And the manner in which she and her sisters effected this coup d'état by

sallying forth en masse through the streets of the city, and fiercely importuning the men as they made their way to the Forum, is only paralleled by the hungry Parisiennes of 1789 at Versailles, or by the English suffragettes of the first decade of the twentieth century.

Female emancipation never advanced to the stage of giving women civic or political powers, but that they exercised these powers indirectly, that is, through their influence over the feeble men of the time, is unquestionable. And we have only to think of such viragos as Amaesia or Maestra of Sentinum, of Afrania and Hortensia, all of whom, between 70 and 40 B.C., appeared as advocates and orators before the praetor or the tribunal of the triumvirs, to find ourselves confronted by the familiar phenomenon of a degraded male culture favouring the steady increase of feminine influence and independence.

It has been maintained that the reign of Augustus marks the zenith of this kind of feminine influence

in the Roman world, and **Emancipation under Augustus** the freedom to which both matrons and courtisans attained under the first emperor is supposed never to have been surpassed. But, truth to tell, it continued to increase and to flourish long after the death of Augustus, and what doubtless led to its being regarded as supreme in his reign was the relative novelty of its vigour and prevalence.

Under Tiberius, while morals were further relaxed, it cannot be denied that there were many, including the emperor himself, who did their utmost to stem the tide of corruption and to define the sphere of women more rigorously. The fact, however, that it was found necessary to pass a special law prohibiting women of noble family from enrolling themselves as prostitutes, and that the part taken by women in public affairs was beginning to be recognized as a danger to the state, reveals the extent to which female emancipation was being abused.

Thus, under the decline of morals and the softening of men's characters, the two influences which, in a healthy society, usually conspire sharply to define the sphere of woman—the difference of

function and the dread of weakness—are seen gradually to become inoperative in Roman society, and, while women begin to take an ever increasing share in public life, they also emerge before the public gaze as the constant associates of men in all public business.

It will suffice if we concentrate on the throne, without concerning ourselves with the power of women elsewhere. Claudius was a weak, irresolute man, the excesses of whose reign have unanimously been ascribed to the evil influence of his wives, and particularly of Messalina Valeria. That she was already his mistress when he divorced his second wife, Aelia Petina, is fairly certain. At all events, at the time of his accession, he was already completely subjected to her and to her two confederates, the freedmen Narcissus and Pallas; and this evil crew soon made the emperor their instrument for committing the cruellest acts of his reign. Messalina chose her victims from the highest in the land, and sacrificed them now to her pride, anon to her envy, and not infrequently merely to her covetousness. She sold the right of citizenship with shameless indifference to any purchaser, disposed of legions and provinces without consulting Claudius or the Senate, corrupted and intimidated the judicial tribunals and filled the lowest and highest public offices with her creatures. She committed open adultery with Sabinus, once prefect of Gaul, with Mnester, the popular actor, and with C. Silius, one of the handsomest of Roman youths; and, if we are to believe Juvenal, she used to leave her husband's bed at night and repair secretly to a low brothel in the town, where, under the assumed name of Lycisca, and disguised by a wig and cosmetics, she would receive all comers in exchange for a fee.

At last her passion for Silius wrought her doom, for this grew to such pitch that, unable to endure the thought that he was married, she compelled him to divorce his young wife, Junia Silana, and announced to a startled world that she would marry him herself. Such was her influence over the emperor, her husband,

that she even induced him to sign the contract for the dowry, and it was only when he became convinced that she intended to do away with him and to set her lover on the throne that the foolish and infatuated man, egged on by Narcissus, resolved to put Messalina to death.

Enough has now been said to give an idea of the immense influence of women over the degenerate manhood of the late Roman world, and there is no need to go on to describe the power of women like Acte and Poppaea over Nero, and the many other examples of feminine dominion which thenceforward marked the decline of Roman greatness. It is true that in the latter days of the Empire steps were occasionally taken to restrain the profligacy and female licence that were so prevalent; but Rome continued, notwithstanding, to be a centre of hopeless corruption till such influences as Christianity, poverty and the removal of the court to Constantinople to some extent corrected the evil. Nevertheless, the root of the trouble, which was the degeneracy of man, remained unaffected by the feeble measures of reform introduced by one or two of the wiser emperors, and as an inevitable consequence the inordinate licence and power of women did not abate.

From the days of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (second century B.C.), down to the days of Placidia, the mother of Honorius (fifth century A.D.), Roman women may be said to have enjoyed a freedom that was unique not only in the ancient world but also in the whole history of humanity up to that time. It cannot, however, be denied that the power it enabled them to exercise had an unwholesome effect both upon public affairs and upon the social development of their people, and although the few contemporary philosophers, poets and historians who recognized this refer to it only incidentally and in tones more of resignation than of reproof, their words are convincing and their meaning unmistakable.

It is often maintained that the extraordinary freedom and influence enjoyed by Roman women under the Empire were

entirely lost until the Renaissance restored a more robust and healthier view of womanhood,' the implication being that, on the whole, feminine freedom and influence are desirable phenomena, to which medievalism offered a regrettable check. Modern anthropology and a fair interpretation of the effects of feminine dominion in antiquity hardly support the view.

The societies organized by savage man rely upon what seem to be natural laws—the functional difference of the sexes and the relative weakness which supervenes if men, before or during any specially great effort, do not temporarily forgo all association with women. The question is, are we to regard these two laws as permanent, applying to us for all time, or are we to suppose that any development of human society renders them inoperative?

Those who would maintain that these laws operate only among savages, and that developing societies may ignore them, must face the following difficulties: the weakness and failure of such men as Alcibiades, Verres, Mark Antony and the whole of that body of men in Greece and Rome who were led by women and never separated from them even when engaged on the most vital social duties; the curious coincidence of social decline with the increasing ascendancy of women; and the strict laws defining the respective spheres of the sexes which appear always to have prevailed during the constructive period of ancient states, when the foundations of their greatness were laid.

In accounting for the common concurrence of social decline with feminine influence and freedom, however, nothing is explained by inveighing against the lewdness, capriciousness, irresponsibility and anarchy of woman's nature. A closer examination of history points rather to a different explanation, and this, which is more profound, would be somewhat on these lines. The relaxation of morals, the loss of discipline and virtue and the decline of authority and order, in any state, must always precede feminine emancipation, because the latter is always a consequence or accompanying symptom of the former. If, therefore, we are to

trace the relaxation of morals, the loss of discipline and virtue and the decline of authority and order in the states of antiquity to any human agency, we must trace them to men themselves, and conclude that in man's gradual loss of character and stamina the cause of these changes is to be found.

Is there any evidence to show that the Hellenes of the fourth and the Romans of the second century B.C. had lost stamina and character before the changes which culminated in the freedom of women came about? There is overwhelming evidence in favour of this view, and scientists and historians like Otto Sieck, Reibmayr, Fustel de Coulanges and others have adduced a mass of facts to prove that long before anarchy, feminism and decline became apparent in the states of antiquity the character and stamina of the men had been undergoing disquieting changes.

If this conclusion be valid, however, it is impossible to subscribe to the view of those who, when they try to explain the gradual restoration of feminine liberty after the Renaissance as a kind of resuscitation of ancient Hellas and Imperial Rome, also claim that it denoted 'a more robust view of womanhood.'

There is a great and authoritative body of opinion in favour of the view that in the Middle Ages conditions existed which could easily have led to a woman's movement in the modern sense, if there had not been strong counter-influences at work. There can be no doubt, for instance, that the modern rivalry between the sexes for elbow room in the industries, professions and trades was just as acute then, in proportion to the population, as it is now; and there can also be little doubt that the same disparity which now prevails between the number of men and women in every town and city of Europe was just as familiar a cause of distress to eligible spinsters of the year 1200 as it is to-day. Not only are we able to assume this from the probable analogy between present and past causes of a higher male mortality, but we also have documentary evidence of the disparity in medieval times. There are, for instance, the records of the homes



that were founded for indigent spinsters in Germany, France and England; there are also the actual figures from which we may ascertain the excess of females over males in certain towns; and, above all, there are the rules of the various merchant and craft guilds which, certainly in England and Germany, almost invariably contained strict clauses excluding women from employment in the workshops or shops of the members of the guilds.

These rules obviously met a need, and to judge from the rigour of their enforcement, a pressing need. Unmarried women were trying to secure economic independence everywhere, and it was necessary to protect the men workers. In certain German towns in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries one sixth to one fourth of the tax-paying citizens were lonely women. In certain other towns the proportion of males to females was 1,000 to 1,207. Moreover, in the Middle Ages in Europe there were women doctors. They occurred in England, even at court; and at Frankfort between 1389 and 1497 there were no fewer than fifteen.

If the large population of unattached females, which was quite as much a morbid phenomenon then as it is now, did not in the Middle Ages produce a woman's movement on morbid modern lines, that is, on the lines which characterised the feminism of the seventeenth century and later, with its hostility to the male, to marriage and to the feminine function, it was owing to the fact that the Middle Ages were essentially a period of authority and order. The vast hierarchy of the Church imparted its spirit to the whole age over which it presided. In this complex structure, woman in every sphere had her allotted position just as man had, and any attempt at breaking bounds, more particularly in the morbid direction of sex warfare or a denial of normal function, was consequently unknown.

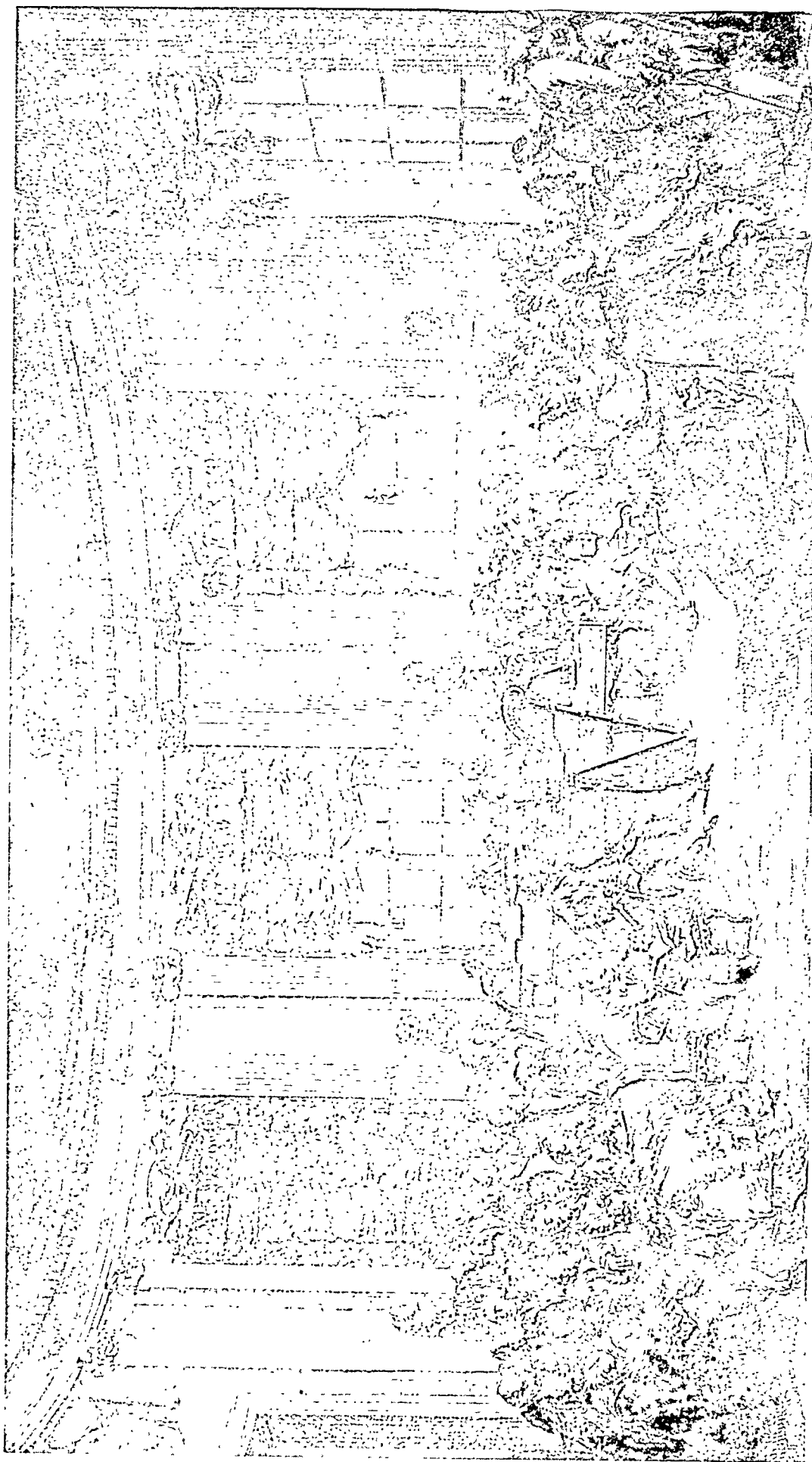
What then happened at the Renaissance and after? The Renaissance was, in its essence, a revolt against medievalism. Its leaders were all men who had broken in some way with the traditions of the Middle Ages. The Renaissance meant the break

up of medieval society by the resuscitation in various forms of pagan feeling and doctrine. But, in its later expression, in the Reformation, that quality of the Renaissance which was peculiarly subversive, the overthrow of authority first in ecclesiastical and ultimately in all matters, became the prevailing note. The Reformation was a breach with ecclesiastical authority in all those countries which adopted the reformed religion; but even in those countries which did not, its influence was felt in a general decay of authority, and especially of that social order which had characterised the Middle Ages.

From that moment everything became possible. A general reshuffle of values and customs was hastily undertaken. Liberalism began to permeate every phase of life. Results of the Authority having been Renaissance overthrown in the highest things, it is not surprising that it departed also from the more lowly concerns of everyday life. Openings were thus provided for a thousand hidden tendencies, and we shall see how among the latter was to be found the rankling animosity of the great mass of unmarried or discontented married women who wished to strike a path to greater feminine influence and freedom.

The movement of feminine emancipation began in France quite early in the seventeenth century. At the romantic and gallant court of Louis XIII women were already powerful, and great ladies like Anne of Austria, Madame de Chevreuse and Madame de Longueville often succeeded in wholly controlling the policy of the government. But this new feminism was not merely practical and dependent upon the accident of a few personalities. It was in the air. It was supported by theory and doctrine. At a time when the triumph of women in French society was becoming greater than it had ever been, a whole literature was forming which was exclusively devoted to the defence and exaltation of the female sex. Beginning in 1607 with Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrée*, which was little more than a glorification of everything feminine, there was hardly a decade throughout the century in which some volume did not appear either to





#### MUSICIANS ENTERTAIN THE GUESTS AT A FASHIONABLE SALON

The distinctive French salons of the seventeenth century included, as well as coteries of feminists eager to propound the merits of celibacy, exclusive assemblies of both men and women of culture. A witty conversational style and a knowledge of letters were the criteria by which these people judged each other, thereby stimulating interest in art and literature. Extremists among them were mercilessly ridiculed for their preciosity by Molière. Augustin Saint-

Aubin's picture shows a fashionable through listening to the concert which often accompanied such social gatherings.

*Engraving by A. J. Duclos, British Museum*

vindicate the rights or to proclaim the superiority of women.

Nor need it be supposed that these books expressed a timid, hesitating feminism, unaware of the extreme possibilities of the position. On the contrary, there is nothing in the most advanced literature of to-day which was not either boldly claimed or plainly foreshadowed by this earlier group of authors. According to them, woman's alleged inferiority 'was due not to her nature, but to her defective education.'

They declared that 'brains had no sex,' and that there was nothing to prevent women from fulfilling the highest duties of the state and of religion. Complete equality between the sexes is assumed as a matter of course, and in one instance (*La femme génèreuse*, by L.S.D.L.L., 1642) the writer makes the extravagant claim that 'women are nobler, more politically gifted, more valiant, more learned, more virtuous and more economical than men.' One authoress, *Jacquette Guillaume*, declares that 'women are superior to men in everything, and the most marvellous works of the world have all been done by women.' Then, apostrophising man, she adds: 'Come, come, little pygmies! Come to behold Cain killing his brother Abel!'

Side by side with this printed matter, which is only a shrunken record of the great feminist movement of the seventeenth century, there was, of course, the conversation and dissertation of the drawing-rooms, which, as we know, was chiefly concerned with the problems propounded in the books referred to above; and the actual invasion of public life by consistent feminists who did not hesitate to carry the practice of their creed right up to the foot of the throne.

It was an act of feminine revolt which was originally responsible for the first famous drawing-room of the century, and the numerous imitations of the original model, all over the country, which created the peculiar social life of the century, were chiefly the outcome either of feminist energy, or at least of energy directed towards feminist ideals. Catherine de Vivonne, marquise de Rambouillet, offended

by the grossness of Henry IV and his courtiers at the Louvre, declared about the year 1609 that she would never again attend a court gathering, and within a decade of this announcement formed a circle of her own, of which the Hôtel de Rambouillet became the headquarters.

The house stood on the Place du Palais Royal, facing the present *Magazin du Louvre*, and it was there that, for forty years, but more particularly between 1630 and 1645, the famous society of France was formed. Duchesses and bourgeois alike made their appearance at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, and it soon became, before all things, a literary 'salon.' Poetry and letters were the chief items on a bill of fare which was as fastidious as it was often far-fetched, and everybody of fashion and distinction resorted thither in order to vie with his neighbour in refinement of style, wit and connoisseurship. Within the walls of Rambouillet Corneille probably read almost all his masterpieces, and his listeners, consisting of well-bred men and women, probably offered him their criticism. It was a means not only of promoting an interest in art and psychology, but also of spreading refinement and taste, while it also contributed a good deal towards changing the manners of the period, by placing an unprecedented accent upon the charms of conversation and a knowledge of letters.

It had, however, another side. The fashionable throng that assembled at the Hôtel de Rambouillet took under their wing not only the grammar and style of the language they spoke, but also the cause of woman, and the preciousness of their speech soon became, among the so-called 'Précieuses' who affected it, associated with certain quite novel but very much pronounced views regarding the nature of true love, the status of woman and the relation of the sexes, which undoubtedly presented not a few morbid elements.

Hair splitting about the advantages of a celibate life for women, about Platonic love, feminine independence, the coarse brutality of the natural sexual relationship, became a favourite pastime. And



THE FIRST BLUE-STOCKING

Madeleine de Scudéry (1607-1701) established a famous literary salon. Under the pseudonym of Sapho she wrote lengthy novels and is acknowledged as the world's first 'blue-stocking,' though the term was invented later in England.

as the gatherings at the Hôtel de Rambouillet led in turn to Mlle. de Scudéry's 'Saturdays,' the vicomtesse d'Auchy's 'Tuesdays,' and similar receptions at the marquise de Sablé, Madame de Bouchavannes and Madame de Bregis, the philosophy and mannerisms of the *Précieuses* gradually acquired the importance of a religious mania, and spread to the provinces.

The least savoury elements in this new feminine philosophy were its petulant protest against maternity and its ill-disguised contempt of man. And Molière, who burlesqued the whole movement in his *Précieuses Ridicules* and the *Femmes Savantes*, pays particular attention to these two aspects of the new credo. In the letters of Madame de Sévigné, who was a *Précieuse* herself, the contempt of man is constantly obtruding between the lines of her excellent prose, as does also the fashionable feminine resentment against the pains and inconvenience of maternity. In her letters to her daughter, Madame de Grignan, she does not hesitate to speak in the most slighting terms of

Monsieur de Grignan's capacities and intelligence, and urges her daughter to take charge of the whole of his concerns, which meant the business of the government of Provence; and at each fresh pregnancy announced by Madame de Grignan, this middle-aged *Précieuse* pours forth a torrent of abuse against her unfortunate son-in-law.

Naturally, the movement did not end in talk. There were many who, like Armande in the *Femmes Savantes*, made a practical application of the principles for which they stood, and the prolonged engagement of Mlle. de Rambouillet (the celebrated Julie d'Angennes) and the marquis de Montausier, which lasted twelve years—an unconscionable time for the French even of to-day—was due entirely to Julie's aversion from the idea of marriage. As Malthusianism was also an inevitable consequence of the attitude of the *Précieuses* to maternity and child bearing, it too became fashionable, and in spite of



MOLIERE ATTACKS THE 'PRECIEUSES'

Molière's genius for satirising contemporary foibles is admirably demonstrated in his play *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, to the 1684 edition of which this illustration is the frontispiece. The comedy represents a clever attack on the literary affectation that was the chief cult of the day.

the stern ruling of the Church in this matter, hundreds of society ladies began to practise birth control entirely in the modern sense.

From the very beginning of the century onwards women's place in French society acquired ever-increasing importance. By the time that Madame de Sévigné was writing her famous letters to Madame de Grignan, women had acquired an ascendancy which was in many respects reminiscent of Imperial Rome, and whereas the tendency of the original Rambouillet model of high-brow feminism had, by degenerating into blue-stockingism and the wildest affectation, wrought its own doom by the ridicule it provoked, it left women with an increased prestige, and was in this sense the starting point of a new era.

But it was a period of decline. Of that there can be no doubt. Despite the literary geniuses it produced, it bore in it the seeds of the great cataclysm which transformed the political life of almost the whole of Europe over a hundred years



'THE INCOMPARABLE JULIE'

Mignard painted this portrait of Julie d'Angennes in a floral setting. She practised her feminist principles by prolonging her engagement to the marquis de Montausier for 12 years, the patient suitor's courtship ending in marriage in 1645.

*Photo, Hanfstaengl*



A SELFISH BEAUTY

Françoise Marguerite, Madame de Grignan, whose undoubted charms are here portrayed by Mignard, was self-centred and extravagant. She was the recipient of many letters advocating feminist views from her mother, Madame de Sévigné.

*Musée de Carnavalet, Paris*

later, and although the reign of the great Sun King was marked by many glories, its distant aftermath was nothing less tragic and revolting than the Terror of 1793. This conjunction of women's influence with social decline should not surprise us. But in case it should fail at first sight to be apparent in the France of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, a more careful study of those features of the Revolution which can be traced to seventeenth-century abuses, and above all to the degeneracy and sloth of the aristocracy surrounding the throne, will soon make it quite plain.

Louis XIV was gallant, fond of pleasure, and both sensual and sentimental. He never seems to have recovered from the fact that, for reasons of state, he sacrificed his first deep and romantic love by leaving Marie Mancini, his great master's clever, self-educated and in many ways brilliant niece, in order to marry another. Madame d'Aulnoy, who met Marie Mancini in Madrid, says: 'She was most amiable. Her eyes were bright, intelligent and sympathetic, her teeth were excellent, and



SUBSTITUTE FOR A LOST LOVE

Louise de la Vallière, aware of Louis XIV's frustrated passion for the intellectual Marie Mancini, earnestly applied herself to study in the hope of pleasing him. So well did she succeed that she was for seven years his mistress.

*Painting by Jean Noire; photo, Mansell*

her hair plentiful and raven black. She had a fine waist and good legs.' She appears to have inspired Louis XIV with the deepest and sincerest love he ever felt in his life. He wanted to marry her. He learnt Italian entirely on her account, and when Mazarin forced her to leave him, and to marry her Italian constable, Louis not only wept with grief, but also seems from that moment to have set his mind on endeavouring to rediscover a Marie Mancini and the passionate relation which he bore to her.

Perhaps this explains why, despite his rigorous schooling in kingship, he was never able, throughout his reign, to separate sharply his functions as a monarch from his preoccupations as a lover and a husband; and particularly towards the end of his life there can be no doubt that this infirmity led him and his country into many a difficulty. Married to an ugly, rather stupid and unhealthy Spanish woman, who was almost incapable of ensuring the royal

descent, it is not surprising that his ardent sensibilities, and his quest of another Marie, should have drawn him to other women; and the fact that he allowed these women to exercise influence over him at a time when it was the fashion for women to be powerful, is proved beyond dispute.

He found Louise de la Vallière, a quiet, passionate and disinterested girl who, though not as learned as Marie, at least did her utmost by hard work and emulation to become so. Fully aware of the king's tastes, and of the nature of his first great sacrificed love, this unfortunate girl applied herself to the study of learned works and to the practice of erudite conversation. And for a while she succeeded so well that she pleased the king and he loved her. Her happiness lasted for seven years, from 1661 to 1668, and during that period she presented the king with four children, only two of whom survived and were legitimised. But the king's love was only a phantom of his love for Marie Mancini, and by 1670 it had cooled.

It is generally maintained that Louise exercised no political influence over her royal lover. But it seems as if in this matter French historians, particularly men like Voltaire, Boulanger and Bertrand, were a little too anxious to whitewash and to exalt their great king. For even if we choose to ignore the heavy expenditure the king incurred by the elaborate and repeated entertainments that he gave in her honour, and the wealth that he lavished on her brother and children (which must have had at least a repercussive effect on public affairs), and if we can also overlook the indirect influence upon him of being constantly associated, even on his campaigns, with a number of women, how can we tell how often, in the privacy and intimacy of the alcove, she did not influence his choice of an official, a prelate or a general? It seems at least reasonable to accept the verdict of the more reputable French historians with caution.

The marquise de Montespan, who ousted and followed La Vallière, was more beautiful and very much more brilliant than her predecessor, but it is quite certain

Women at the  
French court

that Louis never loved her either as passionately or as long as he did Louise. Nevertheless she succeeded, through her violent temper and her ascendancy over him, to remain longer as 'maîtresse en titre' than La Vallière, and it was only in 1677, nine years after she had first attracted him, that, owing to the remonstrances of Bossuet, the discovery of the part she had played in the affair of the poisons and the growing influence of Madame de Maintenon, the king began to shake himself free of her. Two years later, in 1679, she ceased to be invited to the festivals of the court; in 1684, after the death of the queen, she was deprived of her apartments under the king's roof, and in 1691 she left Versailles.

She was more typically hetairistic than La Vallière, and displayed a perpetual thirst for money and favours. Her ambitious lust for dominion was concentrated on the king, whom she controlled with the brutality of a fishwife, and such was the evil bent of her active mind that she was deterred by nothing in the achievement of her ends. She was a Mortemart. Her family claimed to have descended from the dukes of Aquitaine, an older family than the Bourbons, and while she treated Louis as her equal, she aspired to becoming queen of France.

It is difficult to determine which was the more disastrous, her direct influence over Louis in politics or the indirect influence which she exerted by corrupting his body and his mind. There seems to be no doubt that, throughout her career as maîtresse en titre, she not only intoxicated him with her lechery, but also whetted his sensuality by every kind of depravity. To what extent she helped to undermine his constitution by her constant love potions it is of course difficult now to ascertain, but there is very good authority for believing that, like Caesonia, she habitually mixed aphrodisiacs with her royal lover's food, and that his extraordinarily lascivious behaviour during the time she was his mistress was attributed by many observers to this nefarious practice. One historian of repute, Louis Bertrand, claims that Louis XIV was

literally poisoned with the love philtres administered by Athenais de Montespan.

She seems to have browbeaten him by repeated scenes of the most humiliating coarseness, and with her eldest sister, the marquise de Thiange, to have ruled him without scruple. According to St. Simon, the marquise de Thiange continued her dominion over Louis long after 'Athenais' had been expelled from court; and this is confirmed by Boulanger.

In the realm of politics de Montespan's influence was so great that it is impossible to define its limits. Her court became the focus, the active centre, of all court intrigue. It was not only the home of all gaiety and pleasure; it was also the only avenue to fortune, and was at once the object of hope and fear to all the ministers, generals and officials of the day.

The duc de Vivonne, de Montespan's brother, became maréchal de France, but it must be admitted that, unlike most honours obtained through women, this one, owing to the native gifts of the duke, was not undeserved. She also succeeded in getting the six children who survived



LA MARQUISE DE MONTESPAN

For nine years Athenais de Montespan had Louis XIV in her toils. She interfered in politics, was ruinously extravagant, and rumour has it that her love potions poisoned the king.

This portrait is of the school of Mignard.

Photo, Neurdein-Levy

(she had eight in all by the king) properly legitimised and provided for, and, not satisfied with extracting vast sums from Louis for her own use, she obtained substantial favours for her relatives. The abbey of Fontevraud, for instance, was granted to her youngest sister as the result of de Montespan's efforts.

But it was chiefly through her endeavours to poison all those who stood in her way that Madame de Montespan ruined her career at court. She tried her hand on every rival, from La Vallière to the poor little duchesse de Fontanges, who towards the end of de Montespan's association with the king had become his mistress. This unfortunate girl, who had come to court as a child of seventeen, and had instantly won Louis' heart, was quietly put out of the way when she was hardly twenty years of age, after having given Louis a son and having been created a duchess under the eyes of her infuriated rival. Only when Madame de Montespan attempted to poison the king

himself, however, was the great devilry of her proceedings and character wholly revealed to him, and from that moment, although to save appearances he kept her by him a few years longer, he ceased to have any regard for her.

Louis had learned to know Madame de Maintenon during the period when, as an obscure dependant of Madame de Montespan, she had taken charge of the king's illegitimate children. She had been the wife of Scarron, the playwright, who died in 1660, and she only received the title and estates of

Maintenon when she was asked by Louis to reside at Versailles just

after the duc du Maine had been legitimised. Her reliable and virtuous character and her pious leanings endeared her to the king at a time when he was beginning not only frankly to dislike Madame de Montespan, but also to repent his sins; and the moment the queen died, in 1683, she became his mistress. Her ascendancy over him was so great that in December, 1684, he married her privately, and from that day to the day of his death she never ceased from influencing him.

She was not acquisitive. Accepting only the estate of Maintenon from the king, she did not even become a duchess, and her relatives remained obscure and received no conspicuous favours. But her part in the government gave her ample opportunity for inducing Louis to fill vacant posts with pious people of her own selection, and the choice of ambassadors, generals and ministers was largely determined by her influence. According to St. Simon she had a secret understanding with the ministers, not one of whom would have ventured to oppose her, and it is certain that the king liked to consult her and to keep her well informed about public affairs. The fact that she encouraged Louis in his intolerance towards the Protestants seems to be well established, and although the revocation of the Edict of Nantes may not have been her work, she most assuredly applauded it. She supported the cause of the bastards, particularly of the duc du Maine, who had been her pupil, and there



MADAME DE MAINTENON

After much persuasion Madame de Maintenon allowed Mignard to paint this portrait, representing her as a saint. Impressed by her virtue, Louis XIV married her in 1684, after which she exercised great influence in politics.

*The Louvre*



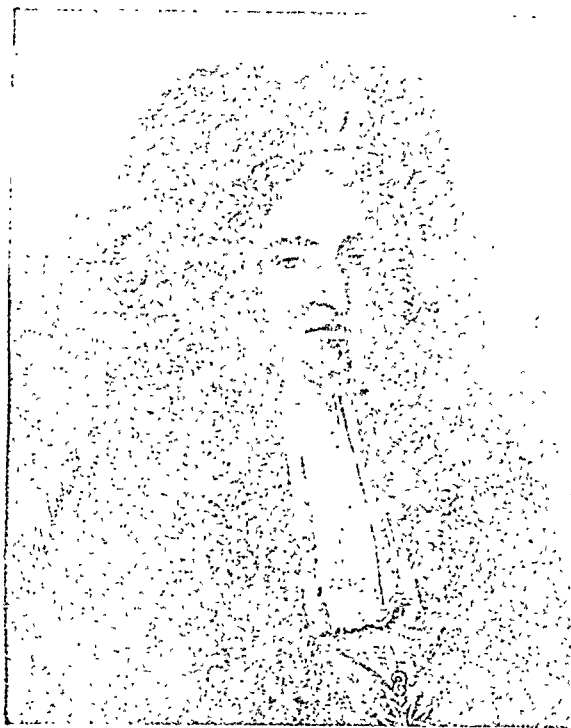
are serious grounds for supposing that she inspired the king in the terms of his will.

As she was fifty-two and the king only forty-eight at the time of their marriage, it is improbable that, like the de Montespan, she governed Louis by his senses. But her extreme piety, combined with his own guilty conscience and newly awakened religious zeal, gave her a great ascendancy over him, particularly as in this field she found ardent supporters in the whole of Louis' ecclesiastical entourage.

To give but one flagrant example of her unhappy influence on public affairs, through her deliberate choice of ministers, we may point to the case of Chamillard, who in 1699 was made controller general, and in 1701 minister of war. This man, who was Madame de Maintenon's creature, was an incapable fool, who had insinuated himself into court favour chiefly owing to his skill at billiards. His administration

of the nation's finances was so bad and incompetent, and his means of filling the treasury so odious, that a public agitation forced him to be withdrawn in 1709. As minister of war his incompetence was even more marked, and his tenure of office led to the most appalling abuses. He granted the rights of purchasing regiments quite indiscriminately; he trafficked in honours, and allowed the discipline, which under Louvois had been excellent, to be almost entirely lost. Meanwhile, the strength of regiments declined, there were insufficient officers, arms deteriorated and magazines were depleted. The disaster of Turin in September, 1706, when a French army was completely routed, was due entirely to the imbecility of La Feuillade, Chamillard's son-in-law, who was little better than a lunatic.

There does not seem to be the slightest doubt that Louis was influenced a little by La Vallière, and very much indeed by the de Montespan and the de Maintenon. And to the extent to which this view is supported by the authenticated facts of history, we must regard him as a weak man, despite all that has been claimed—a little too greedily at times—by his fanatical apologists. Nay, we are entitled



ILL CHOSEN MINISTER

It was to Madame de Maintenon that Michel Chamillard (1652-1721), here seen in a contemporary print, owed his political preferment. His charming manners failed to reconcile the French public to his incompetence and he had to retire.

*From 'Iconographie de Madame de Sévigné'*

to say more than this. Not only was Louis XIV weak in his relations with his womenfolk, but so also were the majority of the men of his age. Lauzun, for instance, allowed his wife to beat him. According to Voltaire, most of the married women of society were allowed to have lovers. Men like the vicomte de Turenne, the two Vendômes, the maréchal de Luxembourg, the marquis de Vardes and Guicne abounded. As we have already seen, the seventeenth century in France was essentially feministic, and therefore, according to the present thesis, and looked at in the light of what followed, a period of decline.

But the eighteenth century was merely a bad repetition of the seventeenth, and political power fell into the hands of one woman after another. First it was the Marquise du Pin, then it was Madame de Vintemille, followed by the duchesse de Chateauroux, Madame de Pompadour, Madame du Barry and finally Marie Antoinette. Then nemesis came, and when the confusion was at its height, it was again the emancipated women who did most to accentuate its horrors.



England presents a similar picture. The Medici family of Florence were wealthy bankers and Henry IV of France was deeply indebted to them. On this circumstance was to depend to a very large extent the fate of the two most important countries of Europe in the seventeenth century.

In view of the French king's obligation to the Florentine magnates, it was thought that his marriage with Marie de' Medici would be a judicious and expedient step. He did not care for her, or want her, although her portrait did not displease him. And when the marriage was consummated he frankly disliked her, quarrelled with her incessantly, and found to his cost that she was not nearly as attractive as her portrait. Thus this weak, violent, intriguing usurer's daughter, arrogant and servile by turns according to her fortunes, bigoted and petulant, became the grandam of the kings of France and England. Having looked at some of the aspects of her French grandson's reign, we shall now turn to the reign of her English grandson, the first cousin of the Sun King.

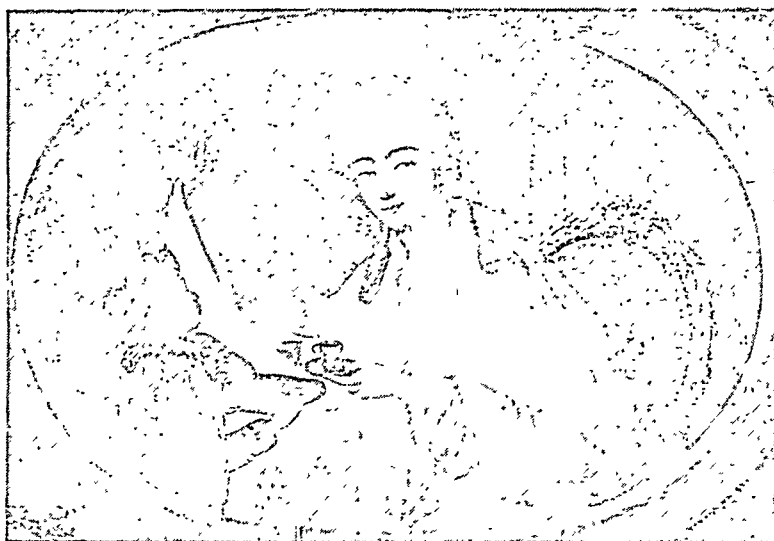
Charles II was more French than English when in 1660 he was proclaimed king of England. Not only had he spent fourteen out of his thirty years of life on the Continent, and picked up his morals and manners at the French court, but

unfortunately he was also closer to his mother's than to his father's family in general disposition. The blood of Louis XIII ran in his veins, and to a great extent too the blood of Marie de' Medici. Character of the The terrible tragedies 'Merrie Monarch' of the past, instead of having chastened and steadied him, had left him cynical and frivolous. He had seen the worst. And like many weaker natures in similar circumstances he had survived the experience with little remaining except a thirst for pleasure. It is not surprising, therefore, that he became the 'grand noceur,' the great Don Juan of the English line of sovereigns. And, when we remember the age, with its strong feministic bias, we cannot wonder that the Restoration became an era of female rule.

Only the narrow breadth of the Channel separated England from the ideas that governed French life, and, what is even more important, a large number of Charles II's friends had been with him in exile on the Continent. It was inevitable, therefore, that the strong wave of feminism which swept over French society in the seventeenth century should ultimately affect English thought and manners. And indeed there is ample evidence to show that it did. Cultivated women were well versed in the literature of the *Précieuses*,

and in the theories and ideas that animated the drawing-rooms of the Rambouillet, the Scudéry, the d'Auchy. We are told, for instance, that Mrs. Pepys was thoroughly conversant with Mlle. de Scudéry's works, and late in the century, in 1688, the marquis of Halifax felt it necessary to oppose the spreading influence of feminism by writing a book, in which he advises his daughter to be on her guard against the current egalitarian view of the sexes.

Both the prevailing atmosphere and the character of the king seemed, therefore, to favour the advent of female dominion, and accordingly, for the space of twenty-five



AN INFLUENTIAL COURTESAN

The personal charms of Madame du Barry, mistress of Louis XV, are evident in Decreuze's portrait of her. From humble beginnings she rose to a position of vast influence over the enslaved monarch, and ministers and courtiers alike were in favour or disgrace as the lowborn beauty chose to dictate.

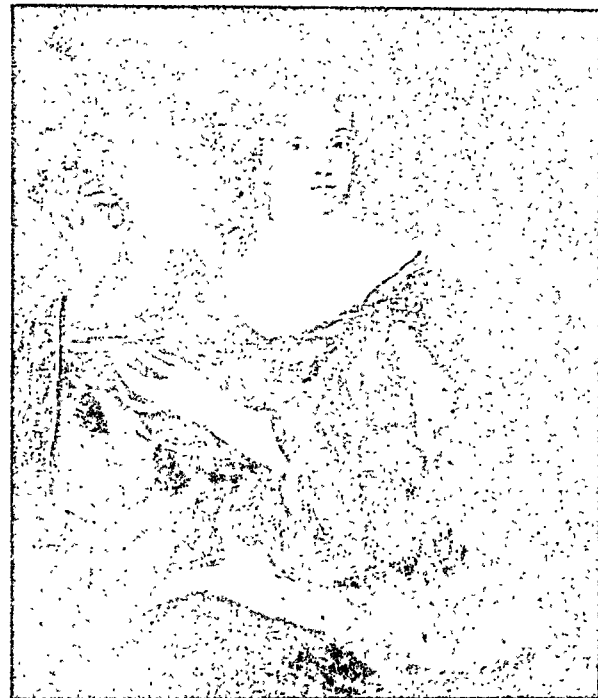
*Musée de Versailles; photo, Neurdein*

years, England was like an Oriental satrapy, ruled by a harem of unscrupulous, fair and frivolous courtesans. But there was one other influence, besides the feminist infection from France and the king's character, which made feminine dominion likely in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and that was the general decline in order, authority and therefore of masculine supremacy which followed the execution of Charles I, the Civil War, the spread of democratic ideas, Puritanism, and the metamorphosis of the Englishman of that day, through the reforms introduced or tolerated by the Roundhead revolutionaries.

It should not be forgotten that the Puritan rebellion was in many respects an uprising of the least wholesome, least traditionally English and least tasteful elements of the nation, against those who represented the best of the nation's past.

Effects of the trading foreign settlers  
Puritan movement and the recently im-  
ported Jews, against  
the old agricultural order of society  
with its Plantagenet ideal of mon-  
archy as the protector of the masses.  
Freedom to exploit the nation as they  
chose was really the aim of the majority  
of Cromwell's wealthier followers. And  
among those changes that followed Crom-  
well's triumph, which historians too fre-  
quently overlook, were a vast influx of  
middle-men, the dawn of 'laissez faire'  
and of capitalistic exploitation in the  
modern sense, the decline of quality in  
general production and in food values,  
and consequently a decline in general  
stamina and health.

The latter half of the seventeenth century may, therefore, quite frankly be regarded as a period of decline, and in accordance with our thesis we should consequently expect feminist activities and attempts at feminine self-assertion at about this time. The worst abuses of the Restoration, in so far as the court was concerned, should, therefore, be looked upon more in the light of a symptom, rather than as the chief seat of the malady itself. As, however, Charles II did undoubtedly set



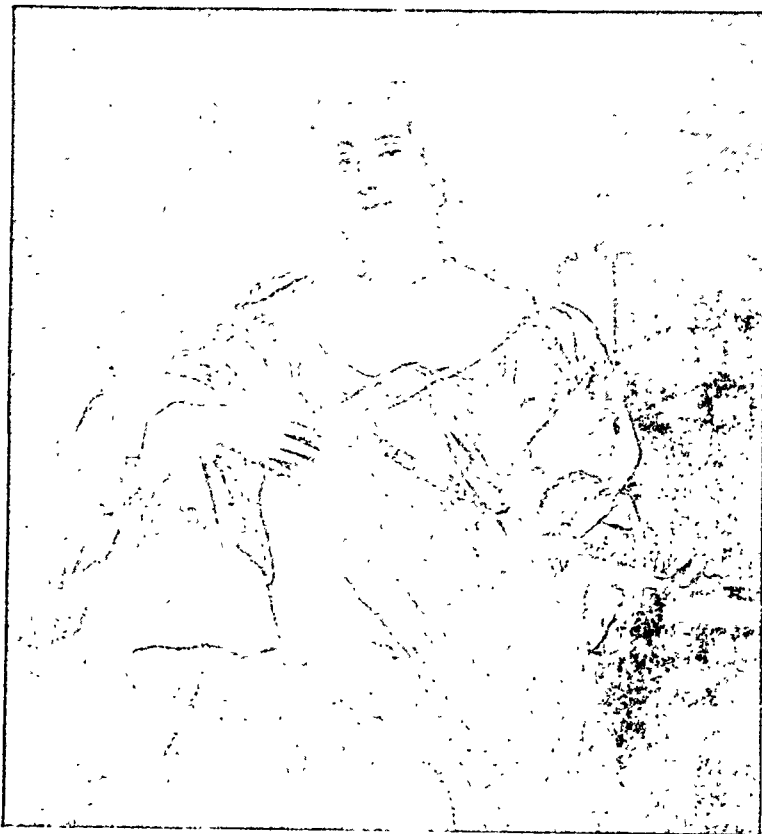
CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA

Legitimate wife of Charles II, Catherine of Braganza had to endure innumerable insults and infidelities from her straying spouse. There is an attraction in her portrait by Lely which does not confirm various unflattering descriptions of her.

National Portrait Gallery, London

an example, and his relationship to his womenfolk presents us with the classical type of the kind of feminine dominion under examination, and presents it moreover in a form closely associated with direct political power, it will be convenient to concentrate chiefly on him and on the women with whom he became associated.

Charles's wife, Catherine of Braganza, was short, not bad looking, demure and quiet. Pepys thought her 'not very charming, yet she hath a good, modest and innocent look, which is pleasing.' Sir John Reresby speaks of her as 'a very little woman, with a tolerably pretty face,' and Evelyn says of her that 'though low of stature, prettily shaped, languishing and excellent eyes, her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little too far out, for the rest lovely enough.' The last opinion, coming from honest Evelyn, lends some colour to the brutal description of Lord Dartmouth, who, after comparing her with a bat, says: 'She was very short and broad, and of a swarthy complexion; one of her fore teeth stood out, which held up her upper lip, and besides, she was very proud and ill-favoured.'



THE TERMAGANT LADY CASTLEMAINE

Soon after his accession Charles II fell a victim to the fascination of beautiful Barbara Palmer, who herself had so many lovers as to be almost his female counterpart. About 1670 her influence declined, Charles being doubtless weary of her extravagance and violent temper. Lely painted this portrait.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

At all events, Charles seems at first to have been well satisfied with her, for he wrote to Clarendon on his wedding day: 'Her face is not so exact as to be called a beauty, though her eyes are excellent good, and nothing in her face that in the least degree can disgust one. On the contrary, she hath so much agreeableness in her looks as I ever saw . . . I am confident our two humours will agree very well together.' And on another occasion the king expressed his satisfaction at the fortunate choice he had made of a queen.

Charles did not, however, remain long under the spell of his Portuguese bride. Before his marriage he had become associated with a young lady whom Sir John Reresby describes as 'the finest woman of her age,' Lady Castlemaine. He had met her at his court in the Low Countries, where her husband, Roger Palmer, had made himself acceptable to the impecunious king by various loans. Before becoming the wife of Palmer—

that is to say, when she was under eighteen—this society beauty, the daughter of Viscount Grandison (a cavalier who had died in fighting for Charles I in the Civil War), had been the mistress of Lord Chesterfield, and was in every respect a dissolute and vicious young woman.

At the Restoration she had hastened to England, where at the age of twenty she rejoined the king, and by the time Catherine of Braganza arrived on the scene, Charles was already Barbara Palmer's slave. It is said that on the very first night of his return to England he left the general rejoicings to pass the time in her society, and when in 1662 he married, and had to choose between wife and mistress, the superior charms of her whom all contemporaries acknowledged to be the greatest beauty of the age ultimately won. After creating her husband earl of Castlemaine, in order that his wife might

have the necessary rank for the post he intended her to hold, Charles forced her upon his young wife as her lady of the bed-chamber, and, in spite of Catherine's protests and the earnest appeals of such men as Clarendon, who regarded the step as unnecessarily cruel, the king had his way, and installed Lady Castlemaine at court as *maîtresse en titre*.

As Charles was a man of taste and Lady Castlemaine was a great beauty, it is conceivable that at this period he was still deeply attached to her and could not bear to let her out of his sight; but it is also probable that even at this early stage in their relationship Lady Castlemaine had already revealed her intolerable and imperious temper, and had forced the king's hand. That she was in the habit of cowing him by her frantic outbursts of jealous rage is reported by more than one contemporary, and the threats which she used to hurl at him might have unnerved a stronger man.

At all events, when once she was installed at court, she maintained her sway over Charles for nearly ten years, and at the end of that time it was more her shameless conduct than the king's satiety that led to her disgrace. The king spent much of his time in her company, lavished enormous sums upon her, and ultimately created her duchess of Cleveland. At one time she was receiving £10,000 a year of the king's money, in addition to £10,000 from the country's excise of beer and ale, £5,000 from the post office, and the reversion of all the king's leases, the reversion of all places in the customs house, the Green Wax, and no one knows how much more besides. The total certainly amounted to more than the settled income of the queen, which was £30,000 a year; but whereas Lady Castlemaine insisted on punctual and often anticipated settlement, Catherine's income was always overdue, and at the death of the king was £36,000 in arrears.

It has been said by the apologists of the king that Barbara, whether as Lady Castlemaine or duchess of Cleveland, never exerted her influence over the king for any political object. But there are many cogent objections to this view. Even if we overlook the indirect influence that she must inevitably have exercised by promoting his dissolute life (and according to Burnet the king was frequently incapacitated for his public work by his passion for her and her wild behaviour), how are we to regard the huge sums which, as we have seen, were devoted to her use from the public funds? And when we learn from general history that the liberal grants voted by Parliament for the repair of the fleet after the disaster in the Downs in 1666 were squandered by the king on his palace and harem, we are immediately confronted by a political consequence of his dissolute life which it is difficult to overrate.

But we have, in addition, very convincing contemporary evidence to the effect that Lady Castlemaine did exert direct political influence. Marvell informs us, for instance, that 'all promotions, spiritual and temporal, passed under her

cognizance; the French ambassadors of the day report that 'at the Castlemaine's the secret affairs of the state are freely discussed, and France loudly denounced,' and many are the witnesses to the fact that she influenced the king over the dismissal of Clarendon.

With as many lovers as Messalina, and with a taste in mates often as low as that of the Roman empress, she made Charles the laughing-stock of the whole nation, and it was only when he could endure her gross infidelities no longer that in 1670 the breach occurred. Two years previously she had ceased to live at Whitehall, but long after Charles had parted from her she continued to hang about the court, and for the rest of his reign she was treated by the king with that careless kindness which he had not infrequently shown to fallen favourites.

During the period of Lady Castlemaine's ascendancy, however, and to the extreme annoyance of this lady, Charles had as mistresses, among others, Mary or Moll Davis, an actress and the mother of the countess of Derwentwater; Jane Roberts, the daughter of a clergyman; Mary Knight, an actress, who became the king's mistress in 1667; Winifred Wells, one of the maids of honour of Queen Catherine; Hortense Mancini and Nell Gwynn. Apart from the last, who consumed a good deal of public money, it is difficult to trace any political influence direct or indirect to this bevy of ladies.

The king appears to have first become attracted to Nell Gwynn in 1668. She was the most popular of his women, the one whom, despite her vulgarity, he treated to the end with most affection, and the only mistress whose fidelity appears never to have been questioned. At first she appears to have stipulated that £500 a year should be settled on her; but although Charles refused this, she ultimately received as much as £60,000 in the space of four years. Subsequently she was placed on the excise as a pensioner at £6,000 a year, and at £3,000 for her two sons.

Lady Castlemaine appears to have been bitterly jealous of Nell Gwynn whom she



called that 'petite gueuse de comédienne'; but at the time Nell Gwynn triumphed the Castlemaine's star was already waning fast, and the most savage rival of the popular young actress was Louise de Querouaille, duchess of Portsmouth. This lady, who ruled Charles very much more vigorously and more disastrously for England than any other of his mistresses, had an interesting and peculiar history.

She was, apparently, exceedingly beautiful. In fact, she seems to have been selected by Louis XIV for her delicate function at the English court precisely because of her great beauty. Voltaire, who declares that he saw her when she was seventy years of age, says 'no other woman on earth ever preserved her beauty longer than she did, and at the time I saw her, her features were still noble and agreeable and unimpaired by age.' Contem-

porary evidence confirms the belief that she must have been an exceedingly fine woman.

There seems to be no doubt whatsoever that she was sent to the English court by Louis in the hope that she might engage the king's affections, become his mistress, and thenceforward act as a spy in the pay and in the interests of France. Nay, more, it is a well established fact that, in addition to spying on the king and his political activities, her instructions were to influence the latter as much as possible in favour of France, and along certain definite lines carefully laid down. For instance, it is fairly certain that, among other achievements, she was expected to persuade Charles to declare war against the Dutch, to convert him to Catholicism, and induce the duke of York to marry a French princess.

She first appeared in England in 1670, in the train of the charming duchess of Orléans, Charles's favourite sister. It is characteristic both of the French and English courts that when, in this year, Louis XIV wished to detach the English government from the Triple League, he should have chosen this pair to effect his purpose. To another monarch he would have sent a minister or a tried diplomat. Louise de Querouaille was then about twenty-four years of age.

Apart from her beauty and intelligence she had little to recommend her. She claimed that she belonged to a noble family of Brittany, but her father appears to have been only a successful wool merchant. She had been educated in a convent, and, before leaving France, had undoubtedly led a fast life. Be this as it may, what Louis had secretly planned was now fulfilled, and Charles, who was quick to notice the beautiful French girl, fell captive to her charms. The duchess of Orleans returned to France without her maid of honour,



MISTRESS ELEANOR GWYNN

Faithful in an age of infidelity, generous-hearted, impulsive Nell Gwynn (1650-1687) endeared herself to her own and succeeding generations. Lely's portrait glimpses the piquant charm of this high-spirited little actress whose vivacity and good nature captivated the susceptible heart of Charles II.

National Portrait Gallery, London

and in a very short while Louise became the acknowledged *maîtresse en titre*, in place of the termagant Castlemaine, and was appointed lady of the bed-chamber to Queen Catherine. In 1673 she was created baroness Petersfield, countess of Farnham and duchess of Portsmouth, and Louis XIV was so well pleased with her services that he conferred the duchy of Aubigny upon her, while her son by the king was in 1675 made duke of Richmond and Lennox.

Managing the king with much greater art and understanding than her predecessor, the duchess of Cleveland, had been capable of, she succeeded in converting him into a pliant servant of her master the king of France; and, in spite of the dangerous double game she played, she not only secured Charles's devotion for a spell, but continued the most influential woman at the English court, and contrived to make the king love her until the very last moment of his reign.

Meanwhile, as a mischievous meddler in English politics, there was not one among her many dis-

**Influence of de Quérouaille** lute contemporaries who did more harm to the country of her adoption than the duchess of Portsmouth, and she enjoys the questionable distinction of having been the most depraved figure in a thoroughly disreputable court. There was no place of emolument or trust in the king's entourage which could be filled until a handsome bribe had reached her rapacious hands, and there was no dishonest transaction, no shady political intrigue, during the last years of Charles II's reign with which she was not connected. It is almost certain that Charles's conversion to Catholicism was to a great extent her achievement, as was also his acceptance of a pension from France; while his crusade against parliaments and his treachery to the Dutch were alike conceived and engineered in her private apartments. In 1678, the year of Danby's dismissal, when Louis' influence was paramount in English politics, and when there was hardly a prominent man in the country who was not in his pay, Barillon, the French ambassador, is said to have been in almost

daily communication with the king in the rooms of the duchess of Portsmouth.

The price she demanded of Charles for Louis' pension was merely that he should allow France to take as much as she liked of Spain, Holland and Germany; and it is in this rôle, as the agent of a foreign interest, while enjoying the full confidence of the executive power of England, that the most nefarious side of her influence came to be felt.

But she also interfered in the domestic politics of England with unblushing effrontery. It was she, for instance, who induced **Interference in Charles, rightly or wrongly, home politics** to withdraw the Declaration of Indulgence in 1673. She cared nothing, of course, about the merits of the case, but as it served Louis' interests at that moment that Charles should not quarrel with Parliament, Louise de Quérouaille, after securing Arlington's support, made the king withdraw it. In 1679 she advised the king to come to terms with the Opposition; she was in the habit of receiving the foreign envoys even before they presented their credentials to the king; and it is said that she even brought about the marriage of Princess Anne with Prince George of Denmark, when Louis thought it was time that the lady should have a husband. Again, in 1680, when the duke of York wished to return to England to see his brother, it was 'Madame Carwell,' as the people called her, who secured Charles's sanction and arranged the interview. And in 1683, when Halifax had discovered that the hearth duties had been farmed upon terms involving a loss of £40,000 a year to the crown, Rochester, who was responsible, secured his own immunity from censure and punishment through the interested support of Sunderland and the duchess of Portsmouth.

The amount of money she extracted from an impoverished court to carry on her extravagant life in England is indeed staggering. Her annual income of £10,000 was almost regularly increased to four times that figure, and one year she contrived to draw the vast sum of £136,668. She not only sold every office that fell

vacant, but also claimed her commission on every bribe with which Louis XIV bought his support among English men and women of influence. She trafficked in royal pardons, plied a lucrative trade in selling convicts as slaves to West Indian planters, and obtained in addition countless gifts of jewelry and other valuables from the infatuated king. A publication of the period even accuses her of having diverted to her own use jewels to the value of £15,000 which Charles had intended to send to Madrid for his niece, the young queen of Spain. Lord Ossory, who had been entrusted with the mission of presenting this gift, suddenly found his orders countermanded, and the jewels never left England.

The fortune she amassed is believed to have been enormous. Evelyn, who once visited her apartments at Whitehall, gives a long report of the treasures he found there—the tapestries, rich furniture, clocks, cabinets, pictures and silver ornaments which in value

Extravagance of a royal favourite far surpassed the furniture of the queen's apartments. The duchess's apartments themselves were twice or thrice pulled down and rebuilt to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, and were so luxuriously appointed that, in the reign of William III and Mary, there was keen competition among leading ladies of the court for permission to occupy them.

And yet she was not even faithful in her attachment to Charles. Like the duchess of Cleveland, though very much more discreet, she allowed other men to share her favours with the king, and both Lord Danby and the grand prior of Vendôme have been mentioned in this connexion.

In 1680 Shaftesbury, attended by an imposing array of lords, presented an indictment of the duchess of Portsmouth as a common nuisance. But Chief Justice Scroggs got rid of the indictment by dismissing the jury. It is certain that the people of England hated her, and their loathing expressed itself in one

direction by an inordinate but quite unbecoming affection for Nell Gwynn, who, although she was also a harlot, was at least a Protestant and an English-woman. But, as we have seen, the duchess of Portsmouth nevertheless remained in favour until the very end of the reign. The king spoke of her with great tenderness in his last moments, and after his death James II paid her a visit of condolence. But with Charles II and the atmosphere of the Restoration both dead, the duchess of Portsmouth had no further use for England, and, packing up her trunks, she soon returned to France, where, having dissipated her fortune, she died in November, 1734.

She was in every sense the evil genius of the Restoration. Charles's weakness in the hands of women

was never turned to more Evil genius of disastrous account than the Restoration it was by Louise de

Quérouaille, and his relationship to her alone supplies a sufficiently convincing and awful example of the danger that may threaten a nation when its leading men are feeble and dissolute enough to fall under feminine dominance. In considering this consequence of masculine degeneracy, however, we should be careful not to conclude too hastily that there must, therefore, be something essentially evil in woman's power as such. All that our thesis, and the facts of Charles II's reign, as also the other historical data collected above, entitle us to argue is that at the healthiest periods in the history of all peoples the male population appears to distinguish so sharply between its public functions and duties and its relationship to women that no such phenomenon as direct or indirect feminine influence in politics is possible; and that, therefore, when feminine influence begins to emerge, we should ascribe the evils to which it leads much more to the corruption and ill health of the society in which it occurs, and to the inferiority of its men-folk, than to the fact of feminine dominion, which is, as a rule, only an accompanying symptom of the general decline.

# COLONIAL LIFE IN NORTH AMERICA

The Economic Status of the English Provinces and  
the Causes that led to the War of Independence

By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS LL.D, Litt.D.

Author of *The Founding of New England*, *Revolutionary New England*, *Provincial Society*, etc.

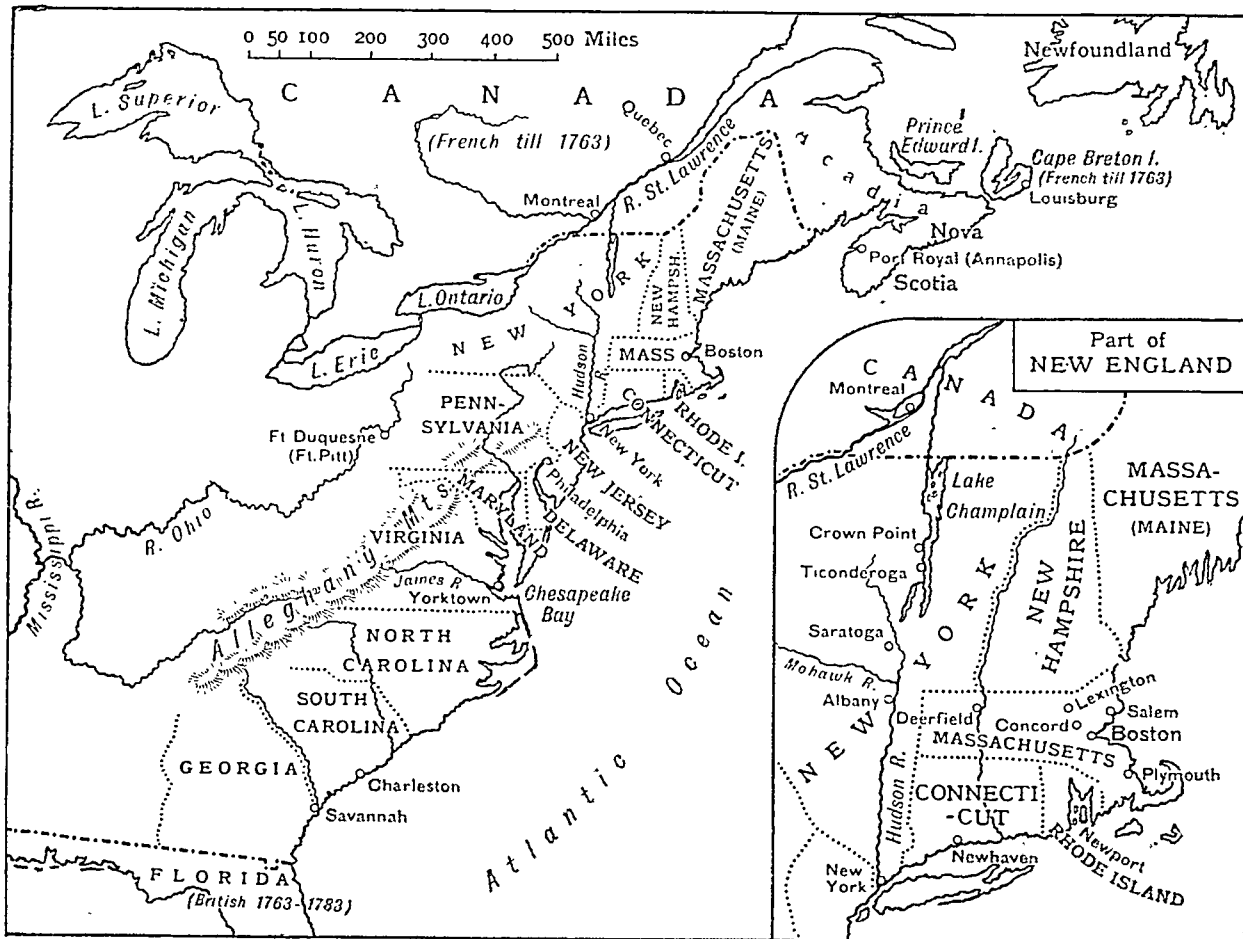
FROM the beginning of European settlement North America has been cosmopolitan in population. Spanish explorations were soon followed by conquest, and conquest by permanent colonisation. The Spaniards' earliest attempts at settlement in Florida and other parts of the present United States were unsuccessful, but in Mexico they built up a great colonial empire. By 1574, nearly two generations before the English finally gained a permanent foothold on the continent, there were a hundred and sixty thousand Spaniards living in the New World in about two hundred Spanish cities and towns. A stable government had been established and a large part of the five million Indians had become, at least nominally, Christians.

The most favoured portion of this New World empire was Mexico, in the capital city of which were over fifteen thousand Spaniards. The university of Mexico was founded in 1551, and there were soon many other colleges there, Mexican scholars of the period doing distinguished and even yet useful work in linguistics, history and anthropology. Indeed, the leading authority in the United States on Spanish-American history does not hesitate to say that these colleges 'in number, range of studies, and standard of attainments by the officers surpassed anything existing in English America until the nineteenth century.' The printing press was introduced in 1536, long antedating any in the later English colonies. There was negro and Indian slavery and the economic system undoubtedly bore hardly on the native inhabitants. The cruelties of the earlier religion and civilization, however, were abolished, and the horrors of the Inquisition, introduced in 1574, appear

to have been overrated, as the latest researches disclose that not more than forty-one persons were burned as heretics in the long period of two hundred and seventy-seven years. Although, owing to various causes, not the least of which, perhaps, was the overwhelming preponderance of the native races, this brilliant beginning of civilization was not destined to bear fully ripened fruit, the subsequent development of the later English settlements to the northward should not blind us to the fact that a high degree of culture had been attained in the southern portion of the continent nearly two centuries before there was anything comparable in some respects to it in the present United States.

The French also antedated the English, and in 1605, after earlier abortive efforts, established their first permanent settlement in Nova Scotia (see page 3548). On the one hand, however, the climate was rigorous, and, on the other, the St Lawrence River lured the French into the great hinterland of the continent, to explore, to convert the savages and to trade in furs. Population grew but slowly, to only twelve thousand by 1690 and to not more than eighty-five thousand when conquered and incorporated into their empire by the English in 1763. The old seigneurial system of France was transplanted to the colony and the life may be described as a semi-feudal one under wilderness conditions. It need not concern us here, as the future of the vast American empire of France was destined to be in English hands, although the French minority in eastern Canada remains much the same in character to-day, and forms an





#### EARLY PHASES OF THE EUROPEAN OCCUPATION OF NORTH AMERICA

English colonisation of North America began in 1607 in Virginia. The Pilgrim Fathers reached New England in 1620, and Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut were gradually occupied. Maryland, the Carolinas and Pennsylvania were next developed and with the conquest of Dutch New Amsterdam in 1665, and the colonisation of Georgia in 1732, the whole coast between Spanish Florida and French Canada was in British hands; and after 1763 Nova Scotia and Canada as well.

important racial block. Perhaps the most significant result of the presence of the French was the constant dread of attack instilled into the minds of the English, a fear less of the French themselves than of their Indian allies, whom they goaded on to massacre and rapine all along the English border.

In this survey we need not consider the Dutch, who took possession of the mouth of the Hudson on the site of the present New York in 1623, nor the Swedes, who made a settlement in the present state of Delaware in 1638. Both were eventually absorbed by the English, the Swedes leaving few traces and the Dutch influence being felt to-day more in architecture and a few words or social customs than otherwise.

The first lure of America for the English was rather Spanish in nature than French. They sought for gold rather than to

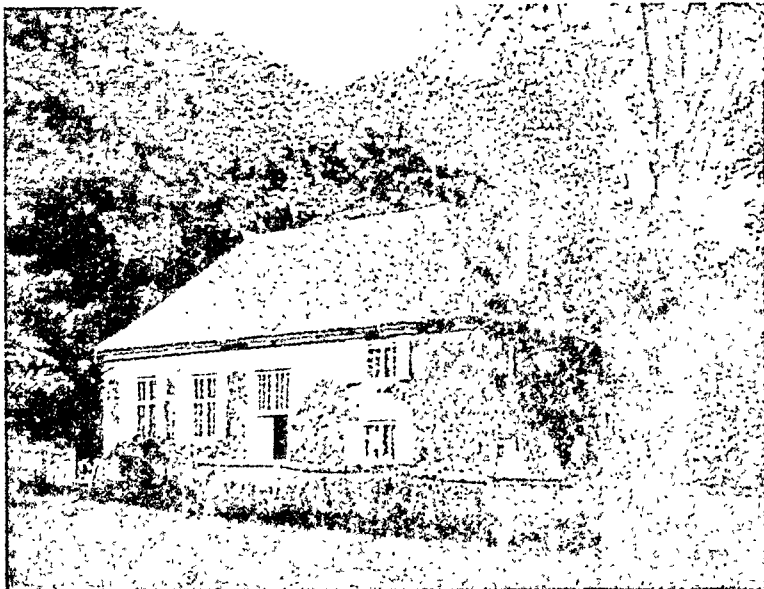
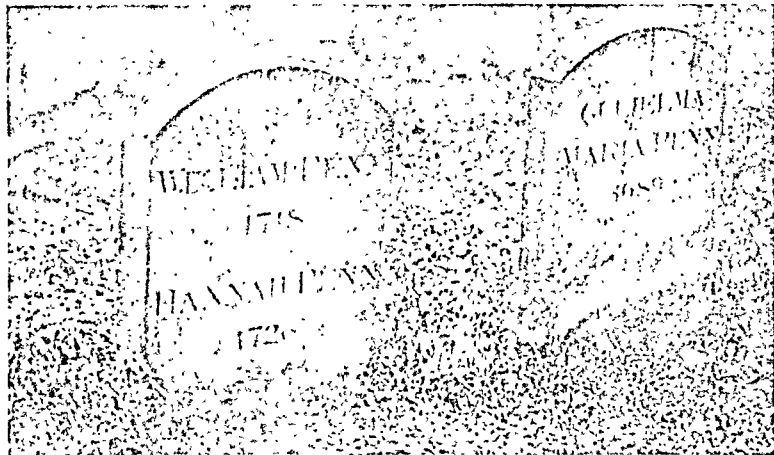
explore the wilderness or to convert the heathen. After various failures the first settlement was made at the mouth of the James River in Virginia in 1607, a purely commercial undertaking under the auspices of a stock company in England. In 1620 the well known body of Separatists from the Church of England, who had previously taken refuge in Holland, secured financial assistance in London and, with additional settlers picked up by the company which had been formed to finance the enterprise, set sail in the Mayflower. In December they landed at Plymouth on the bleak and inhospitable shore of wintry New England. The Pilgrims, under the leadership of such men as William Bradford, were the finest possible material for colonising; but these religious refugees formed only about one-third of the hundred and one passengers on the tiny ship, the remainder being a very mixed lot. Before

landing, the anticipated need for controlling some of the rougher element led to the drawing-up of the famous 'Mayflower Compact,' which has been considered a milestone in the history of self-governing democracy.

The times in England were very troubled. Not only was there religious persecution, but the cost of living had advanced with great rapidity, and there was much readjustment and dislocation of trade. County gentlemen were sore put to it to maintain their accustomed scale of living and there was much unemployment among the labouring class. Many of the most prominent Puritans, such as the earl of Warwick, became interested in colonising, but it is a mistake to think of the enormous stream of emigration from England between 1620 and 1642 as solely religious in motive or as directed only to the American continent. Whereas in that period fourteen thousand people went to Massachusetts, over eighteen thousand went to Barbados, and twelve thousand to the little island of St. Kitts. By 1640 about sixty-five

thousand persons had left England for America or the islands, led by every possible motive, and including, besides a large leaven of religious refugees, many of the most ambitious and adventurous among the middle and lower classes.

After the settlement at Plymouth other small ones were made in Massachusetts, and in 1628 about four thousand settlers under the leadership of John Winthrop founded towns in and around the present Boston. The Massachusetts Company, a stock enterprise, was well financed and had powerful friends in England, and the arrival of such great numbers definitely assured the success of colonising in America. One unique fact also determined much subsequent history. They



**MEETING HOUSE AND PENN'S GRAVE AT JORDANS**  
William Penn (1644-1718), founder of the province of Pennsylvania, definitely joined the Society of Friends in 1667. He died July 30, 1718, and was buried in the graveyard of the Quaker meeting house (bottom) at Jordans, near Chalfont St. Giles, beside his first wife. His second wife shares his modest grave.

*Photo (bottom), Humphrey Joel*

brought with them the charter of the company, the latter thus becoming located on the spot, and this charter they considered not as the mere charter of a commercial company, but as the constitution of a self-governing community.

It is impossible here to follow the further story of settlement. Within a few years Rhode Island and Connecticut were occupied, Maryland was founded by Lord Baltimore, and there were settlements in the Carolinas. The Maryland colony was a refuge for Roman Catholics, and in 1683 William Penn founded Pennsylvania as one for the Quakers. In 1665

the English had conquered the Dutch at New Amsterdam (New York)—see page 3549—and it remained only for General Oglethorpe in 1732, in the establishment of his colony in Georgia for the relief of poor debtors, to occupy completely the entire coast between the French of Canada and the Spanish of Florida. The colonies finally formed were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia.

These presented extreme diversities in social and economic life and forms of government, yet with certain underlying qualities in common. Although the charters and other instruments of government varied both from colony to colony and from time to time, what we may call the standard form came to be that of a royal governor sent out from England, and a local 'upper and lower house,' the members of the latter being popularly elected. There were never royal governors



GENERAL JAMES OGLETHORPE

By his establishment in 1732 of 'The Colony of Georgia' in America, James Edward Oglethorpe (1696-1785) accomplished a wonderful achievement in state-aided emigration for the deserving poor. Ravenet painted this portrait.

Engraving by Burford

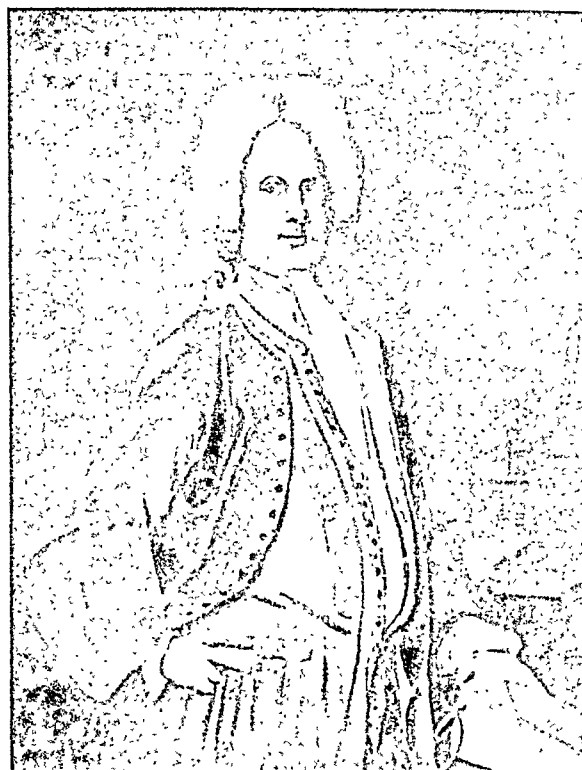
in Rhode Island or Connecticut, which always remained practically independent of the English government. That government by refusing to pay the salaries of the governors and by requiring them to look to the local assemblies for their pay turned the real power as well as the purse strings over to the latter. Whatever local differences the political histories of the several colonies display, there was one continuing thread **Political self-consciousness** throughout all of them, the struggle of each assembly to increase its powers and privileges as against the representative of the crown in exchange for voting his salary. This developed marked political self-consciousness and provided a most efficient schooling for colonial politicians. Liberty, like love, grows by what it feeds upon. It is no anomaly that when the colonies revolted they had already become the freest peoples upon earth, a condition which had been attained largely through the short-sighted economy of the English government. The constant struggles with the governors, who came to represent 'an outside—almost a foreign—intrusion in what were otherwise self-governing states, had another effect which is yet felt in the United States, a fear and dislike of executive power and an undue reliance upon the legislative.

Throughout most of the colonies the suffrage, although limited in comparison with present standards, was dependent for the most part only on such small property qualifications, real or personal, as to make it of comparatively easy attainment in the simple agricultural life of that day. This also tended to increase political self-consciousness and opened a 'career of the talents' to a class very different from that then in political power in England. Throughout New England the town-meeting system tended strongly in the same direction. At these meetings, at which all local matters were settled by popular vote, any citizen, even unenfranchised, had the right to speak.

The religious life of the colonies tended in the same direction of independence and lessening respect for established institutions merely as such. It is true that in Massachusetts there was at first much

religious persecution of those, such as Quakers or Baptists, who differed from the majority, but in the eighteenth century all the colonies adopted a liberal attitude in religion, and the mere diversity of what may be called the established churches was an object lesson in itself. The fact that within five hundred miles one could pass from the Congregationalism of New England through the Anglicanism of New York and the Jerseys, the Quakerism of Pennsylvania, the Roman Catholicism of Maryland to the Anglicanism of the South, to say nothing of minor sects, did much to break down prejudice. Moreover, all the churches, even the Catholic and Anglican, were practically self-governing and early resented any interference from the Vatican or Lambeth. Whatever the form of belief, the underlying feeling of all the colonies, south as well as north, was strongly Puritan, and the 'blue laws' of New England could be matched by those of Virginia.

With the exception of Dutch and Swedes, about twenty thousand Swiss in the Carolinas, a small but important element of French Huguenots, and English Stock a very considerable number predominant of Germans and Celtic and Scotch-Irish who came in the mid-eighteenth century, the entire population of the colonies was pure English. There were many factors at work, however, to alter both the character and the outlook of the settlers and to develop an American type. Emigration almost ceased for a hundred years after 1640, and by 1701 Governor Nicholson of Virginia noted that the country by then consisted almost wholly of colonial born, who had already begun to 'have an aversion to others, calling them "strangers."' John Adams, when negotiating the peace with England after the Revolution of 1776, replied to a person who had taken him for an Englishman, that his family had lived in Massachusetts for a hundred and fifty years and that he did not have a drop of blood that was not wholly 'American.' The Germans, who numbered nearly eighty thousand by 1745, had every reason for heartily hating the



AN ABLE COLONIAL GOVERNOR

Alexander Spotswood (1676-1740) was governor of Virginia 1710-22. He developed the industries of Virginia and fostered education, and after vacating the governorship did useful work as deputy postmaster-general.

*From 'Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood'*

European conditions from which they had escaped, and of course had no knowledge of or allegiance to England. The great numbers of Irish who fled to America from the famines and evictions in their old home brought with them a hatred of England which became an abiding passion. One chapter in Anglo-American history may be read briefly on a tombstone in the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia: 'Here lies the remains of John Lewis, who slew the Irish lord, settled Augusta County, located the town of Staunton, and furnished five sons to fight the battles of the American Revolution.'

After the first generation or two of settlement, when the Indians had been conquered to the extent that they had been forced into the interior away from the fringe of seaboard towns and farms, life in them became as safe and comfortable as in any provincial town in England. In the colonies where there were royal governors, the 'governor's set' constituted the leading society. The less said of the qualifications of many of these representatives

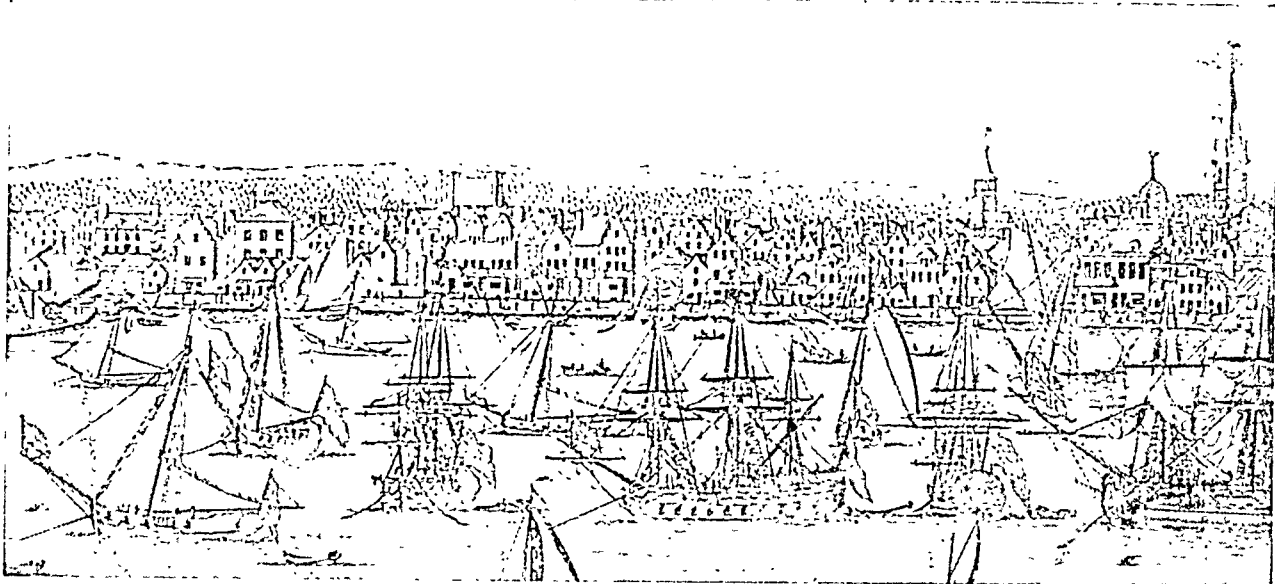
of the crown the better ; they were mere place-holders who could find no political sinecure at home. But occasionally, as in the cases of Governors Spotswood or Burnett, they were men of culture who exerted an influence for good on their governments.

The colonies may roughly be divided into two sections, one embracing New England and the Middle Colonies of New York, and Pennsylvania, and the other the colonies from Maryland southward. These two sections became so differentiated in economic and social life that they must be treated separately. This was due mainly to climate and soil rather than to any difference in the origins or character of the inhabitants. In considering the North we may consider mainly New England. In spite of its inestimable asset in the possession of the Hudson River and one of the largest and finest harbours in the world, New York, owing to enormous land grants, frequently fraudulent, made by the governors to individuals,

grew but slowly in population and lagged behind the other colonies in development. Pennsylvania in some respects formed a colony apart, owing to the pacifist beliefs of the Quakers, the presence of the great number of Germans, who formed an alien group, and the tumultuous Scotch-Irish on the border. About the year 1750 street signs in Philadelphia were printed in both English and German and there were more German newspapers than English.

In New England, within a few generations, the structure of society altered notably. At first leadership had been in the hands of the clergy and of the lay leaders (or their immediate descendants) who had had standing in England, men of the type of Winthrop. Gradually, however, the influence of the clergy declined politically, although still remaining great. This was due partly to the abolition of church membership as a test for the franchise, and partly to a reaction against clerical persecuting zeal against the Baptists and Quakers and the part played by certain distinguished clergymen in the witchcraft trials at Salem.

The real cause of the change, however, was



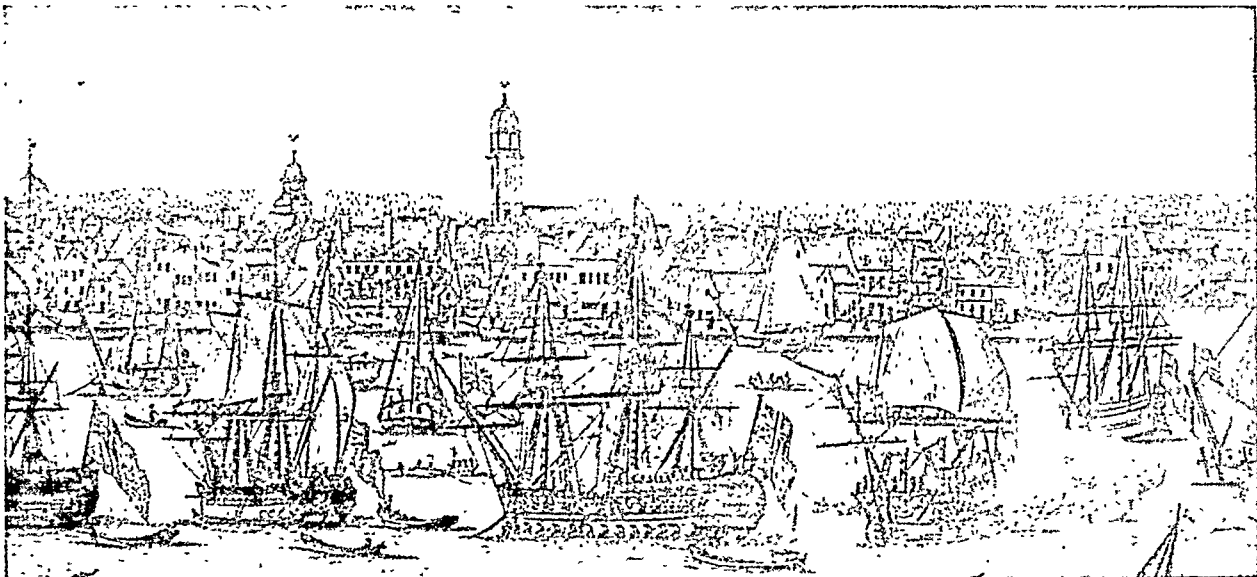
EARLY STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF A GREAT CAPITAL—

New Amsterdam was founded in 1623, and the earliest extant map of the city dates from 1661 ; it is reproduced, in page 3549. Inset above is a view of the town at about the same date, taken from N. J. Visscher's map of New England and New Belgium. Some idea of its growth in the next eighty years, in both size and importance as measured by its shipping, is given by Bakewell's large panoramic 'South Prospect of Ye Flourishing City of New York,' published at New York in March, 1746.

probably the wealth to be obtained by exploiting the riches of a virgin continent. In New England the soil was poor and not adapted to the cultivation of any single staple crop. A farmer could wring a meagre living from it by his own hard labour and that of his sons, but in a country where small holdings of land could be had almost for the asking, hired labour was naturally very scarce and high priced, and neither the climate nor the soil made the introduction of negro slavery profitable. The overwhelming majority in that section, therefore, became small holders of freehold property, working their own farms with their own hands, fired with a spirit of self-dependence and independence, but with little opportunity of rising higher in the social scale. The merchants who did not do manual labour, and who acquired fortunes and lived in the seaboard towns, thus became the local 'aristocracy.' Lumbering in virgin forests and speculation in land grants also became means of acquiring fortunes, as exemplified in the case of Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire, who became the richest colonial of his day and lived in a house with fifty-two rooms.

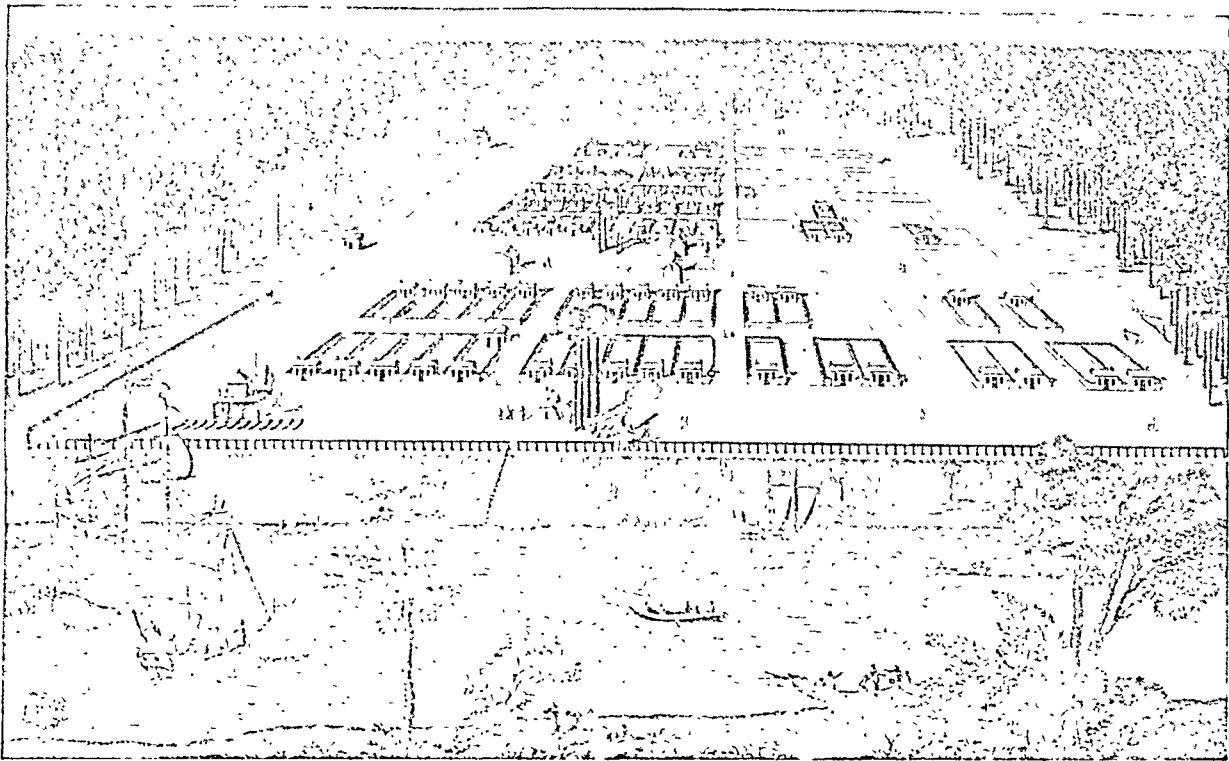
These economic causes resulted in a cleavage of classes and the growth of

'town and country' parties. The merchants and speculators lived in the towns, in commodious houses, and with all the amenities which colonial wealth could procure. Their sons gained what they could from the somewhat meagre education offered by Harvard and Yale, but seldom went to England to study. On the other hand, the poorer farming class, although they were taught their letters in the small schools of the New England system, had scant time or energy for even the rudiments of colonial culture. They not only did their own farm work, but manufactured almost every article of apparel and daily use themselves. Their sheep supplied them with wool, which the women carded and made into clothes. They made their own tools and nails; built, with the help of neighbours, their own houses; laid out their own roads. It was a hard, rugged, independent life. These farmers, together with the sailors of the fishing fleet and merchant ships and the artisans of the towns, formed a class whose sympathies and interests were in many respects opposed to those of the merchants and their allies, and it was later to prove one of the costliest mistakes of the British ministry to give grievances to both these classes at the same time and thus unite in opposition to the crown



—NEW AMSTERDAM, AND NEW YORK CITY EIGHTY YEARS LATER

The view is taken from that part of Long Island now called Brooklyn, across East River to the southern shore of Manhattan Island, the fort, now represented by Battery Park, being just out of the picture beyond the great dock on the extreme left (opposite page). Of the towers shown, that on the left is the Dutch church; the tallest is the English church, with the City Hall beside it and the Exchange before it on the water front. The right-hand tower is that of the French church.



**SURVEY OF SAVANNAH, THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN GEORGIA**

James Oglethorpe reached America in 1733, and immediately proceeded to plan out his settlement on the Savannah river. This view of the town was drawn in 1734 by P. Gordon. On the left is the guard house, with battery and guns, and at the far end, behind it, another guard house commanding the woods. On the river front are the landing stairs and a crane for landing cargo from boats. Oglethorpe's original rectangular planning of the town is a notable feature of Savannah to-day.

*British Museum*

and parliament those who had so often been opposed to each other.

The South began much as did the North. It is true that the religious motive did not influence the emigrants going there as it did to a great extent the leaders of the earlier New England settlements, but the emigrants themselves came from much the same social and economic classes in England as did the New Englanders, and, after the first wild search for precious metals had resulted in disappointment, they settled down to small farming much as did their fellows in the North. The climate and soil, however, were entirely different. Tobacco became the most profitable crop, and this staple determined the history of the southern colonies for the whole period here under review. It was a crop which in the rude agricultural methods of that day quickly exhausted the soil, calling constantly for fresh lands for the planter. Men who in the struggle for existence emerged as leaders wanted ever larger estates, both for themselves and for their children. High political office and the friendship

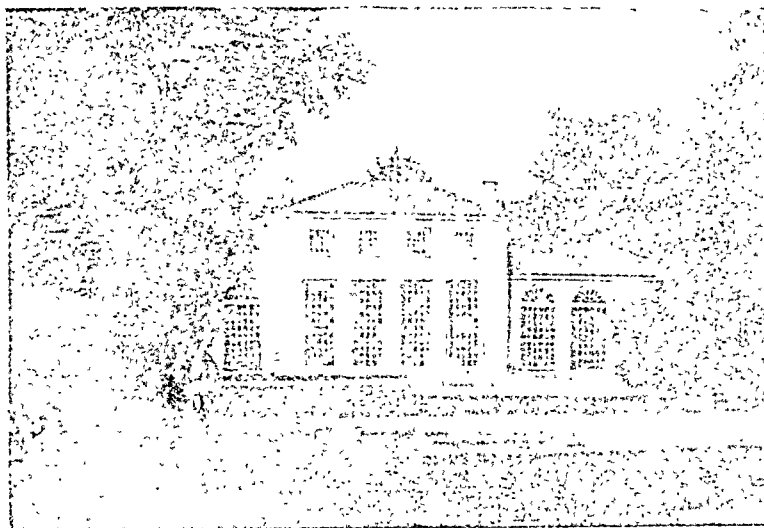
of the governor were the quickest means of procuring grants that often involved the winking at inconvenient laws designed to prevent such engrossing of the colonial domain. Such families as the Byrds rose rapidly and became possessed of enormous tracts.

Here as in New England, although in a different way, the simplicity of the first generation of pioneers soon gave way to class distinctions. Place, wealth, the prestige of large estates, social and educational advantages set a comparatively small group of families in a position far above that which could be attained by the small planters. This process was greatly augmented by the growth of negro slavery. There had been a few slaves, first introduced by Dutch traders, from the beginning, but it was not until about 1700 that their importation began on a large scale and that they began to displace white labour. The scarcity of hired labour had tended to retard the concentration of wealth, but with the introduction of slaves, as in the nineteenth century with the introduction of machines, there



was a great impetus given to the accumulation of additional capital by those who already possessed some. The gulf between the large landowner with his scores or hundreds of slaves, and the small farmer, tilling his own soil with the help at most of one or two blacks, rapidly widened. More serious still, the use of negroes for all manual labour on the large estates caused manual labour in itself to be looked down upon as beneath the dignity of a white man. Many of the poorer farmers, smarting under the new conditions, moved westward from the 'tidewater' to the 'Piedmont' among the foothills of the Alleghanies and even farther into the mountain valleys. These two sections thus became opposed to one another economically and politically, much as did the town and country parties in New England. Similar conditions, with local variations, occurred in the other colonies to the south.

The life of the larger planters has frequently been painted in very romantic colours. It had, indeed, a certain charm.

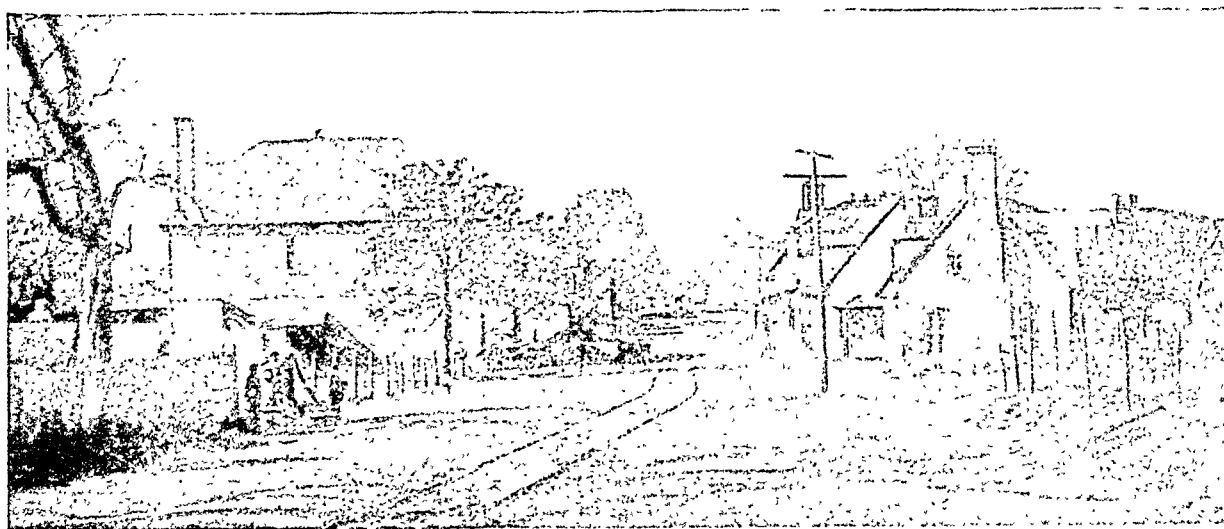


A VIRGINIAN PLANTER'S ORANGERY

Maryland is rich in manorial estates of the old colonial days. A notable example is Wye House, on the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay, which has been in the possession of the same family since 1650. Its orangery is probably the last old glass house of the kind in the United States.

*Photo, E.N.A.*

It was free-handed, easy-going and hospitable. With the exception of Charleston, in South Carolina, there was no town worthy the name in the whole South. The rich planters living along tidewater or tidal rivers, shipping their tobacco from their own wharves direct to England and receiving in the same way the furniture, clothes, plate or books sent out to them in exchange from their London correspondents, looked down upon the



AN UNPRETENTIOUS COUNTY TOWN IN OLD VIRGINIA

Yorktown was founded in 1691, about ten miles above the mouth of the York river, and as the port of entry to York county enjoyed considerable trade prosperity until it was ruined by the War of Independence. Yet even in its best days it was but a small place, and its appearance has remained so unchanged that this recent photograph serves to give a good idea of what a Southern American town was like in the eighteenth century.

*Photo, E.N.A.*



trafficking town merchants of the North much as the aristocracy in England looked down upon trades-folk. On their large estates, with their gardens and long carriage drives, in their dances and house parties, their fox-hunting and absorption in politics, they lived much the lives of contemporary country gentlemen at home, modified, however, in their characters by the influence of climate and the possession of slaves over whom their power was absolute.

In reality their position was much less secure than that of the despised merchants and nascent manufacturers of the North. Plantation life, as it has done everywhere and at all times, bred a carelessness in money matters. The planters were always over-estimating the value of their crops and overdrawing their accounts in London. Prices fluctuated and gradually almost all the great planters found themselves heavily and hopelessly indebted to the London merchants. It has been estimated that the total debt at the time of the Revolution amounted to about £3,000,000.

In the eighteenth century particularly, many emigrants arrived from England of a class known as 'indentured servants,' the character of whom has frequently been mistaken by English writers on the sub-

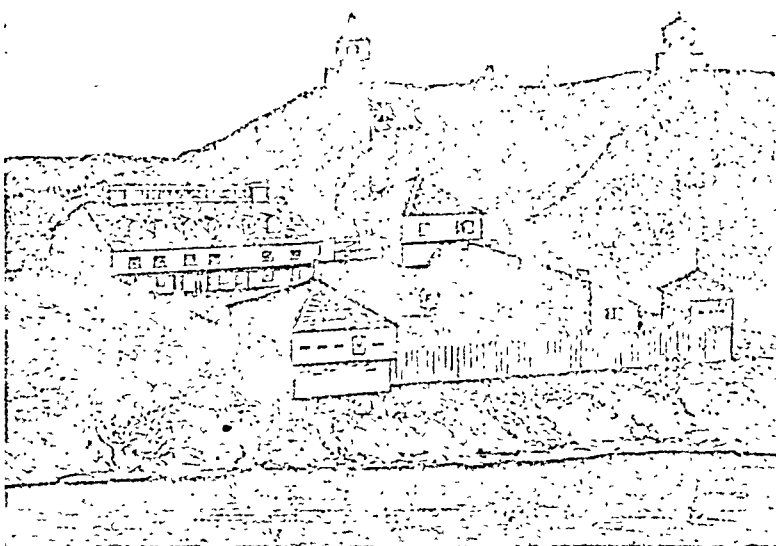
ject. Sometimes these servants were of a vicious class taken from the jails by the English government, which wished to avoid the expense of keeping them by dumping them on the colonies, a practice deeply resented by the Americans and bringing

#### Immigration of indentured servants

forth Benjamin Franklin's well-known suggestion of sending rattlesnakes to England in exchange. These, however, formed but a small part of the 'indentured servants' who arrived. Poor people, frequently of the very best character, who longed for the greater opportunities of the new world, sold their services for a stated period, usually five years, in exchange for their passage to America. On arrival, this term of service, not the persons themselves, was sold by the ship captain to those needing the servants. Often these were educated persons and acted as teachers, book-keepers or overseers. When their time was up they received a small payment from their employers and a grant of land from the colony and were free to make their own way. No more odium should be cast upon them than upon a college boy of to-day who may 'work his way' to Europe in order to get the cultural advantages of a European trip. The system,

however, bred grave abuses. The captains on various excuses frequently robbed their passengers of such small property as they might possess, and, as the business was profitable, many boys and girls were kidnapped on the streets of English towns to be thus transported and sold. In the South the importing of a 'servant' in many cases entitled the importer to fifty acres of land, and abuses thus sprang up in America also.

One of the main influences, not only in colonial life but in later periods of American history, has been the frontier. Indeed, its influence is still notable in the American character and temperament.



FRONTIER FORT ON THE KENNEBEC

Life on the frontier necessitated the erection of numerous fortified posts to meet the menace of Indian warfare. Above is a reconstruction of Fort Halifax, built in 1755 near Teconic Falls on the Kennebec River, in Maine. It comprised barracks, a large residential structure, and corner block-houses.

From Winsor, 'History of America'

In the first place the frontier always makes for social democracy and levelling. Hired labour or service of any sort is always scarce, and, regardless of breeding or even of wealth, men find that they have, to a great extent, to do their own work with their own hands. The old frontier saying, 'root, hog, or die!' expresses this necessity of self-reliance. Where all have to clear their own land, build their own houses and raise their own food, or kill their own game, there is little opportunity for social distinction. Natural leaders arise, but the qualities which make them leaders are quite different from the fortuitous advantages which might give them positions of leadership in established civilizations.

The men of the frontier start from nothing. They have to build up an entirely new social structure, and in the struggle of doing so, the meeting of constant new difficulties, they grow impatient of both restraint and tradition. They are waging war with nature and that fight is hard enough without their being hampered by the opinions or laws of outsiders, or social claims and precedents. With no governmental authority above themselves they have to take the law into their own hands. In many respects they become lawless, but with respect to certain crimes they inflict their own punishments ruthlessly. Justice becomes rough and ready, with little foundation in law books or mere precedent. The life breeds a rugged independence of character which bitterly resents any interference on the part of distant authority. There is little time for aught save struggle, and there is a transvaluation of all values. An axe is more valuable than all the classics ever written, and a gun outweighs all the paintings of Europe.

When the first settlements were made, this frontier was actually on the Atlantic

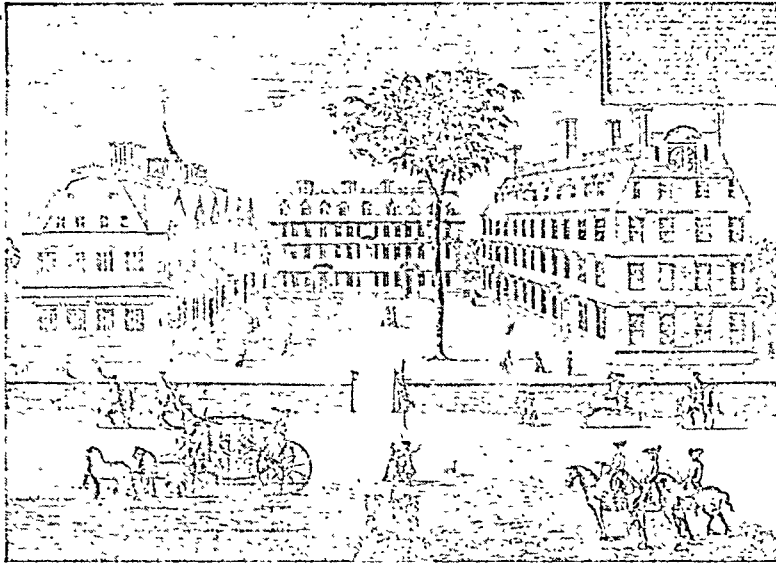


INDIAN WARFARE 300 YEARS AGO

While on an exploring expedition with some Algonquins and Hurons, Samuel Champlain on July 30, 1609, fell in with a band of Iroquois on the warpath. A sharp battle followed and the Iroquois, who had never met firearms before, were routed. This plate is from the 1613 edition of Champlain's narrative.

coast, and in its slow retreat across the three thousand miles of the American continent to the Pacific it has always been a factor to be reckoned with in American life. It was not long, however, before it began its retreat from the shore. The Indians who came down to see the white men land from their ships were pushed back. The stream of immigration flowed inland behind the retreating redskins. Increasing numbers demanded more land, and the adventurous or discontented threw off the social trammels of even the simple society of the older settlements to plunge into the woods and hew out an independent life for themselves in a new clearing. The essentials of frontier life are so simple that it presented an almost complete uniformity of structure and character.

By the eighteenth century seaboard or tidewater life in northern towns or southern plantations had come to show great diversity, but behind these the long ribbon of the frontier, extending from Maine to Georgia, was united in feeling and mode of life, and in almost every colony the frontiersmen had their own local quarrel with the older settlements. They were poor and the old settlements were rich. They craved land, and the others held the grants. They were in debt and the others were their creditors. They were uncultured and the others looked down upon them. They wanted representation in the assemblies, but the older settlements refused to erect



A PROSPECT OF THE COLLEDGES'

America's first university at Cambridge, Massachusetts, was called after its first benefactor, John Harvard (1607-38). This print of 1739 shows its oldest buildings: on the left Harvard Hall, founded in 1650, Stoughton Hall (centre), founded in 1699, and Massachusetts Hall, founded in 1720.

*British Museum*

them into towns or counties, or when they did so so limited the number of representatives or refused them altogether.

These factors of conflict in the colonies must not be over-estimated. Until the Revolution, American society as a whole was probably far more contented than any to be found in Europe. Even the very poor enjoyed a higher scale of living than they would have done in any European country at that time. What has to be realized is the school in which Americans had been trained by the time that England decided to exert its authority, an authority that had to a great extent never been exercised. The mass of the men who had fought the Indians, who had made the wilderness safe for their women and children, who had cleared the forests, developed a commerce, founded institutions of learning and been almost wholly independent of any authority above themselves; who had governed themselves in church as in state; and, finally, whose local struggles with each other and with royal governors had given them a political training unknown to

the population as a whole of any country of the old world, could not be expected to submit tamely when their unexampled independence should be suddenly threatened.

Until that occurred, however, the feeling of independence, save in an isolated individual here or there, had never led to any desire to sever the bond which bound them to the mother country. They felt that their trade was of immense value to England, as it was, and in return recognized the importance to themselves of the protection of the British navy. Except when their liberties were threatened they were heartily loyal to the

crown, and in the letters and books of the time England was always spoken of as 'home.' France was heartily detested until past the middle of the eighteenth century. In the older settlements the people read English books, reviews and newspapers. A man who had been in England acquired additional social distinction. From the South boys were sent to English schools and universities, studied law in the Temple or medicine at Edinburgh. The richer classes everywhere imported English furniture



A PRE-REVOLUTION UNIVERSITY

James Blair founded the College of William and Mary, Virginia, in 1691, and was its first head. The original building was burned in 1705 and the second, shown above, was completed in 1723. Blair has been described as the greatest intellectual influence in the southern colonies before the Revolution.

*From William Meade, 'Old Churches and Families of Virginia,' 1857*

and English plate, and had their clothes and finery made in London.

In the beginning, of course, the first immigrants brought everything from England, culture and cows alike. It must be confessed that the cows flourished more than the culture, although Harvard College was founded in 1636, and in 1647 Massachusetts passed a law that every town of fifty families should maintain a teacher of reading and writing, and every one of a hundred families a grammar school, thus establishing an educational system far ahead of that in England for many generations afterwards.

Yale College was established at New Haven a few years after that of William and Mary had been founded in Virginia.

The present colleges of  
**Pre-Revolution Education** Princeton (1746), Dartmouth (1754), Columbia (1754) and Brown (1764) were also all pre-Revolution. The New England colonies were pioneers in enacting legislation for free schools for the poor, and although the laws were not always observed the population of those colonies showed a higher degree of literacy than at that time could have been found anywhere else in the world. In the South the school system, like all the rest of social life, was different; but by means of the so-called 'field schools,' maintained by the richer planters, a higher degree of literacy was obtained than was thought of or obtained in the England of that day. The wealthy boys were taught by private tutors mostly brought over from England, and thus imbibed English ideas and some knowledge of England, together with their mathematics and Vergil.

The culture brought by the original settlers, such men in New England as Winthrop, the Rev. John Cotton, the Rev. Thomas Hooker, Roger Williams and others, suffered a decline in the struggle with nature and the savages. That is inevitable in such circumstances. A savage race may develop an art and cultural life of its own, but civilized men used to a higher material standard of living find the struggle to replace that standard as far as possible under wilderness conditions more than enough to

absorb their energies, and until that has been accomplished, and perhaps long after, one must not look for original contributions from them to the cultural life of their period. In 1643 of the eighty ministers in New England one-half were graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge. By 1683 seventy-six out of eighty-seven in Massachusetts and thirty-one out of thirty-six in Connecticut

were graduates of the **Beginnings of a colonial college, Harvard.**  
**native culture**  
 The intellectual outlook

had narrowed greatly, but with the beginning of the eighteenth century a native culture began to spring up. The seaboard wilderness, at least, had been conquered. Wealth had accumulated and a 'public' for literary wares had begun to form. The private library of Cotton Mather in Boston numbered 3,000 volumes, and was soon to be out-ranked by that of Colonel Byrd in Virginia. More important than such individual collections were the smaller ones to be found in innumerable cultivated homes.

Moreover, there was a notable development of the public library idea. Nowhere in the world to-day are there such public library facilities as there are in the United States, libraries so utterly untrammelled by rules and 'red tape,' and so easily accessible to the public; and this movement started in colonial times. Between 1732 and 1763 twenty-five public libraries are known to have been established in various parts of the colonies. The same period saw a great advance in the newspapers, which by that time had become quite equal to their contemporaries in England. Such journals as the Virginia or Maryland Gazettes contained not only the political and commercial news of the world, but essays on music, poetry and other arts, and reviews of new books. Magazines were started several times, but the time was not yet ripe for their success, and they were usually short-lived. Such books as were written were mainly devoted to religious or political controversy, and few had enough vitality of contemporary interest to have survived to the present day. We may except the pamphlet literature of the decade preceding the

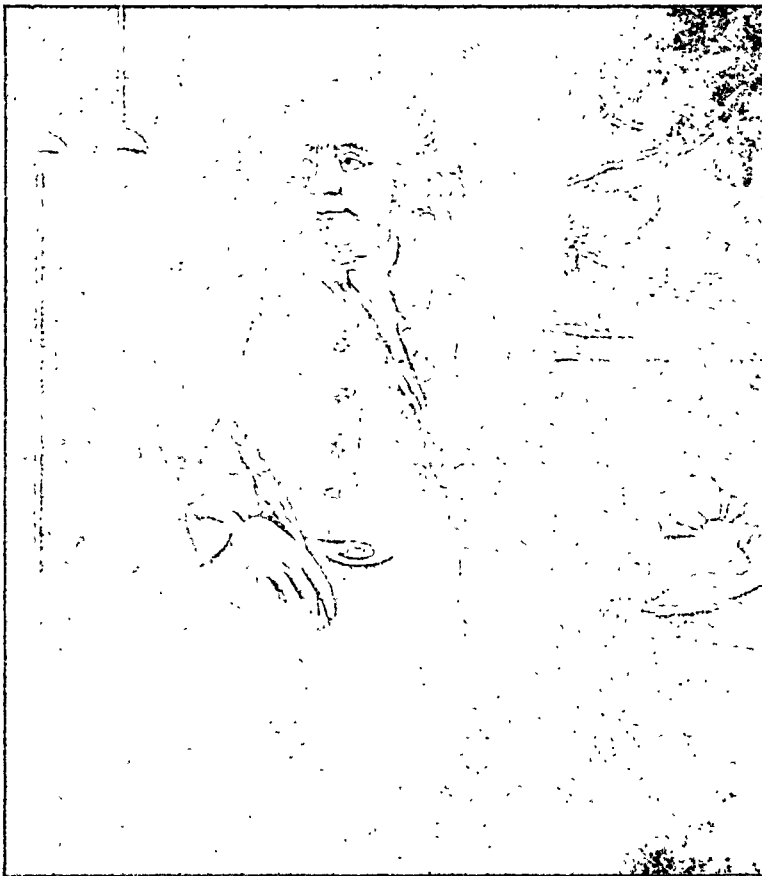
Revolution, some of which was of the highest order of excellence.

If the colonies contributed little or nothing to belles lettres, the same cannot be said of philosophy or science. Bishop Berkeley, who spent some years in Rhode Island, found plenty of intellectual companionship, and in Jonathan Edwards the colonies produced an original thinker and logician of even European importance. For their scientific attainments, a number of colonials were elected fellows of the Royal Society, and the services to the study of electricity made by Benjamin Franklin are too well known to require further comment here.



IRISH MISSIONARIES AT RHODE ISLAND

In 1728 Bishop Berkeley, then dean of Derry, anxious to found a missionary college in America, went to Rhode Island. It was there that Smybert painted this picture of Berkeley (right) with his wife and fellow missionaries. Promised support from the home government was lacking and the scheme failed.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Benjamin Franklin (1706-90), born in Boston, Massachusetts, distinguished himself in many spheres, and his researches into electrical problems led to the invention of the lightning conductor in 1749. He was one of the five members commissioned to draw up the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Portrait by M. Chamberlain; from Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerke,' Brückmann A.G.

By about 1750 there were frequent concerts in the larger towns at which the best music of the day was played by orchestras large enough to render overtures, concertos, concerti grossi and symphonies. The Orpheus Club of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the celebrated Santa Cecilia Society of Charleston, S.C., greatly helped the musical development of those two colonies; the latter society being still in existence after a hundred and sixty-six years. The stage entered a new phase with the coming of the Murray-Kean company from England, and in 1750 Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Hallam, both actors of note in London, arrived. For twenty years they remained and gave the residents of many of the colonies the opportunity of seeing well-acted representations of plays by Shakespeare, Addison, Congreve, Rowley, Farquhar and Steele.

The repertoires given in such small places as Port Tobacco, Hobb's Hole and others, as well as the larger cities, might put many metropolitan theatres of to-day to shame, and in New York in the winter of 1753-4 the Hallams gave performances of twenty-one plays, the very cream of English dramatic literature, a season which has never been equalled since. In New England the Puritan spirit was so strong that the theatre was considered of the devil almost until the outbreak of the Revolution. There was no public performance in that section until 1761.

Painting was mostly confined to portraiture, although the beginnings of landscape are noticeable. There were many portrait painters throughout the colonies, the work of some of whom hangs in English public galleries to-day. Notable among them were John Singleton Copley, the young Gilbert Stuart, and Benjamin West, who succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as president of the Royal Academy. Extremely good work was also done in architecture, in what is yet called the colonial style.' The frame houses of Ports-

mouth, Salem and many other New England towns, or the brick ones of Annapolis and those scattered on many an old southern plantation, possess a beauty, charm and absolute perfection of line and mass that defy recapture by the architects of the present day who attempt the 'colonial,' still perhaps the most popular type for moderate-sized country houses. The colonies followed English styles very closely, and for the most part all the architecture of the second colonial century was typical Georgian, slightly modified to meet local conditions.

By the time of the Revolution the population of the colonies had grown to over two and a half millions, and it is necessary to glance at the bonds which bound this energetic, prosperous and rapidly expanding society to the mother country. In the seventeenth century there was a very definite imperial theory common to all the European colonising countries. This 'mercantilist' theory, as it is called, was based primarily on the belief that only that trade was nationally profitable which left a balance of the



ART IN COLONIAL AMERICA : WEST'S PAINTINGS OF PENN AND THE INDIANS

Benjamin West (1738-1820) was born at Springfield, Pennsylvania, of Quaker stock from Buckinghamshire. After some years in New York, painting portraits, he settled in London, and in 1792 succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as president of the Royal Academy. This engraving from the painting, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, commemorates the interview between Penn and the Delaware Indians in 1683. Penn's treatment of the Indians was the best part of his colonial policy.

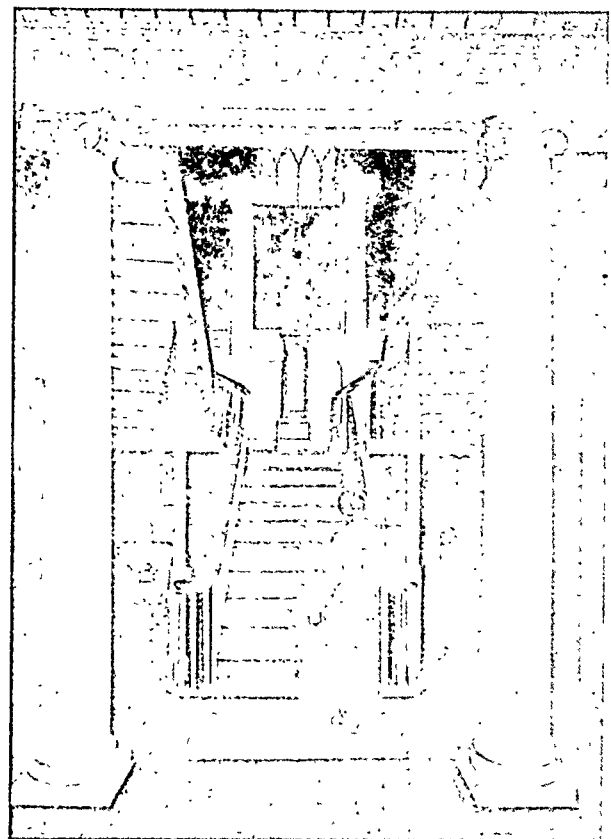
precious metals in the country. Each nation strove to buy as little from, and sell as much to, other nations as possible.

Thomas Mun in his *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade* (1664) expressed the theory clearly when he wrote that the best method to increase our wealth and treasure is by Forraign Trade, wherein wee must ever observe this rule: to sell more to strangers yearly than wee consume of theirs in value.' The effect of the theory upon colonial policy was evident and was well expressed by Samuel Fortrey, who wrote in 1663:

I conceive no forein plantation should be undertaken or prosecuted but in such countreys that may increase the wealth and trade of this nation, either in furnishing us with what we are otherwise forced to purchase from strangers, or else by increasing such commodities as are vendible abroad, which may both increase our shipping and profitably employ our people; but otherwise, it is always carefully to be avoided, especially where the charge is greater than the profit.

The ideal empire would thus consist on the one hand of the home country which would supply banking credit, manufacture raw materials and be the selling agency for the whole; and, on the other hand, of the colonies, whose sole duty would be to produce raw materials, consume the mother country's manufactures and do no trading themselves with foreign countries.

The difficulty with the theory was that geographically no such perfectly rounded, closed system could be developed, and that it failed to take account of colonial human nature. In so far as the American portion of the empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was concerned, the danger spot was New England. The African stations supplied the slaves used in the West Indies and the continental colonies. The islands supplied the staple crop of sugar and the continental South that of tobacco, while the Newfoundland



DIGNITY AND COMFORT OF EARLY AMERICAN HOME LIFE

Annapolis is the capital of the state of Maryland, but largely owing to the transfer of the government executive offices to Baltimore it has remained singularly unchanged, and is very representative of the early American colonial towns. Domestic architecture was solid and dignified, and home life was passed in an atmosphere of culture and refinement. This fine mansion in the Georgian style; with really beautiful entrance hall and staircase, was built in 1770 by Samuel Chase, one of the signatories to the Declaration of Independence.

*Photos, E.N.A.*



fisheries supplied the fish which were used in exchange for the products of Catholic countries. All these colonies consumed British manufactures and their commerce helped to build up the British merchant fleet.

New England, however, did not fit into the scheme. Her timber could not compete with the nearer supplies from the Baltic. Her fisheries, very important to herself, competed with the English at Newfoundland. Her soil produced no staple crop and her agricultural products were identical with those of England. Her economic problems local economic crisis of 1640 had forced her people to learn to manufacture in their homes as much of their needed goods as they could. Even then she had to import far more from England than she sent to her, and thus had to find means to pay her bills of exchange. On the other hand, the sugar islands exported to the home country more than they imported, and New England began to ship provisions and lumber to them in exchange for cash. Gradually as the population, wealth and energy of New England grew, and those of the English islands declined, her necessities called for wider trade. One of the most profitable branches of this became the three-cornered one of sending rum to Africa, buying negroes to carry to the West Indies, English and French, and selling them in exchange for molasses to be made into rum in New England distilleries.

With a few exceptions the earlier English navigation acts confined colonial trade to home ports, thus immensely hampering the growing commerce of the ambitious New Englanders; but trade was permitted to be carried on in ships of either English or colonial build and ownership. Ship-building became a leading industry in New England, and complaints became frequent from English merchants that New England was building up a merchant fleet at the expense of the English one, carrying on trade which should be in English hands, attempting to compete in manufacturing, hampering the English fisheries, and generally behaving as no colony should, according to the mercantilist

theory. They did not point out what New Englanders could do if they did not do these things.

After all, they were Englishmen of an extremely virile and stubborn sort, living in a climate which was stimulating and electric with energy.

To have cut them off Independent Spirit from trade would have of New England been to condemn them

to eke out scanty livings on small sterile farms with no prospect of rising above the level of mere subsistence. The New England merchants probably cared as much about the good of the whole Empire, according to current theory, as did those of London and Bristol; but when it came to a question of forcing them to become mere small farmers or leaving New England a wilderness in order to migrate to some other portion of the empire, as Cromwell suggested, they stubbornly but very naturally refused. When laws were passed at home suppressing all colonial manufactures, even of wool from the colonists' own sheep; or when, in 1733, owing to pressure from the English West Indies, parliament passed the famous Molasses Act which struck at the very foundation of New England's trade by placing a prohibitive duty on the importation of foreign molasses, the New Englanders could not see why their economic life should be strangled for the sake of British merchants and manufacturers or West Indian planters.

When we consider, also, the character of the New Englanders who had built up a prosperous civilization by wrestling with a Calvinistic God and the stony soil of the bleakest part of the United States, and the fact that they were the most independent of all the colonies, it is evident that if the mercantilist theory and the British Empire ever broke up, the first crack would be likely to appear in the neighbourhood of Boston.

Throughout the whole colonial period, each colony maintained to a remarkable extent its own separate individuality. Their inhabitants considered themselves Rhode Islanders or Virginians, not Americans. For several generations there was but little inter-colonial trade, and roads were few and bad. Although each



looked toward England and felt itself a part of the Empire, they looked little at one another until the middle of the eighteenth century, which in so many ways marked a turning point not only in their history but in that of the Empire. Such a condition appears to be a normal one in colonial development. Before the confederation was at last achieved in Australia, for example, the separate states were so jealous of one another that even the gauge of the railways was altered at each frontier.

The New England colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, were much more alike in culture and outlook than the colonies of any other group, and in 1643 four of them formed a combination under the name of the United Colonies of New England; but except in the matter of Indian relations the combination accomplished little and lapsed after about twenty years. For nearly another century there was no suggestion even of attempting to combine any of the colonies, although the English government toyed with the idea of forming larger administrative groups. For this reason the history of the colonies is in reality the history of thirteen separate commonwealths; and all that can be attempted here is to try to tell of some of the events which had significance for the later history of the colonies and their relations to the Empire at large.

The subduing of the wilderness included conquering the Indian, a savage who, with some admirable qualities, was cruel, crafty and vindictive. Unlike those of Mexico, who had attained a high degree of civilization when found by the Spaniards, those encountered by the English were still barbarians in the hunting stage. Throughout the whole period here under review, and indeed much later, the red-skin was a factor to be reckoned with—whether merely fighting the colonists in defence of his dwindling hunting grounds, goaded on by the French against the English, or, in the Revolution, employed by the English against their own revolting colonists. Although the frontier was constantly pushed farther from the shore,

each generation had its sons on the firing line. In New England the bloody Pequot war in 1636, and King Philip's war in 1676, settled the native problem for the whole south-eastern part of New England, but massacres of whole villages, such as that at Deerfield in 1701, continued to occur on the American frontier until long after the Revolution.

The struggle bred a race of courageous fighters who were unequalled as sharpshooters. It was a warfare utterly unlike that of Europe, a war of constant night surprises on lonely cabins, of ambushes in the forest, of man to man, not of army to army. For a century and a quarter it was carried on by the Americans themselves with no assistance from England, although, as will be noted below, the colonists on several occasions gave their help to British expeditions against the French.

In fact, the Americans asked nothing better than to be let alone as far as possible. In New England they were so, to a remarkable extent, until after the Stuart restoration; electing their own governors from among themselves and in the cases of Connecticut and Rhode Island having practically no connexion with England beyond loyalty to the king. Loyalty there always was until the Revolution, there being only one instance of armed rebellion in the entire preceding period of a hundred and fifty years. When one considers the facts that until the Revolution drew near no governor was ever supported by English troops, that many grievances arose from time to time, and that the character of much of the frontier life was necessarily rough, one is impressed by the fund of loyalty upon which the government of George III might have drawn.

The rebellion mentioned was that which has gone by the name of its leader, Nathaniel Bacon, in Virginia, and was compounded of many of the causes which we have spoken of as operative in the colonies. There was much distress owing to the low price of tobacco, the one staple crop, which was not only the sole means of supporting the colony but was also used



tion and to enforce the laws of trade. The Massachusetts charter was annulled in 1682 and a new one granted which provided for a royal governor. There is much to be said for a good deal of the Stuart policy, but it came too late, and when, in 1686, Sir Edmond Andros was sent over with a commission to serve as governor of New York and of a new 'Dominion of New England,' made up of a union of all the New England colonies, the wrath of the people was thoroughly

as currency. The frontier had also been subjected to serious Indian attack. The royal governor, Sir William Berkeley, a thoroughly incompetent man, blundered badly; the Assembly, made up mostly of tide-water representatives, did little better. Finally, having found a leader, the people rose, and, after proclaiming Bacon a rebel, the governor fled ignominiously (1676). Bacon himself died of fever and the rebellion soon ceased, although the colony remained in a distracted condition. The new governor, Culpeper, although corrupt and mercenary, comprehended the economic difficulties of the situation, but saw no remedy except free trade, which, of course, was impossible under the mercantilist system.

With the return of the Stuarts a more energetic colonial policy was undertaken and efforts were made throughout the colonies, especially in New England, to reorganize colonial administra-



HISTORIC BUILDINGS IN BOSTON

The Old State House, originally the seat of the Massachusetts government, was built in 1748. It has been restored, but preserves its original external appearance. The little house (top) was the home of Paul Revere, member of the Boston Tea Party and hero of Longfellow's poem on the ride from Charleston.

*Photos, Brown Bros.*

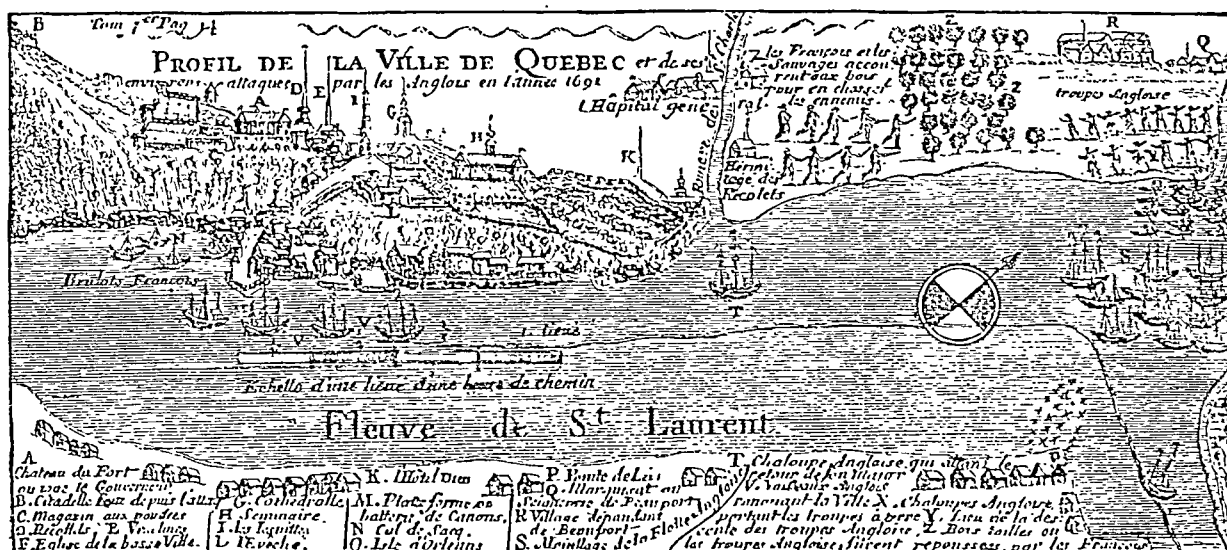
kindled. They were too much attached to their several colonies, and had been allowed to govern themselves too long, tamely to submit to such a complete change in their political status without their own consent. Andros had ability and was honest, but was lacking in tact and perspicacity, and needlessly ran counter to many local feelings. When the Revolution occurred in England in 1689, the people's opportunity came and Andros was promptly clapped in jail in Boston as representing the deposed Stuarts.

Under William and Mary relations with the colonies improved. The abortive

Dominion of New England was broken up, and although Massachusetts continued to receive a royal governor, the colonies in other respects returned much to their previous status, except for attempts to enforce the trade laws, attempts circumvented in all the colonies. Trouble had long been brewing with the French of Canada, and in 1690 the governor of Massachusetts, Sir William Phipps, a colonial baronet, made an attack upon Quebec. It was wholly unsuccessful, and resulted only in loading the colony with a crushing burden of debt. With the opening of the new century there were several attempts at

military co-operation between England and her colonies, which resulted disastrously and tended to lower the colonial opinion of the English forces. It was a period of low moral and efficiency in the British navy; but when a request came to send troops to help defend Jamaica against French invasion, Massachusetts sent two companies. The governor wrote that they were the first men ever to be sent out of the colony on an imperial expedition and for that reason, looking to further co-operation, he trusted that they would be well treated. Unfortunately the English expedition was a disgraceful failure and from bad food, disease and bad treatment only fifty New Englanders returned—unpaid.

The second attempt at joint action was in 1708. The English government wrote to the colonial governors that it was about to send a fleet to attack Canada, and that the colonials should unite in the expedition. In spite of some difficulties, the colonial forces were assembled at Wood Creek, where they waited throughout the summer. The fleet, which was to have sailed from England in March, did not arrive at Boston until October, too late to do anything. Meanwhile no word had been sent to the colonists, who had not only been kept from their farms and



PLAN OF SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS' ATTACK ON QUEBEC IN 1690

Quebec became the capital of the colony of New France in 1663, and in 1690 the governor of Massachusetts, Sir William Phipps, planned to conquer it with an army and a fleet fitted out by New England. The expedition was a failure. This plan, published in La Hontan's *New Voyages*, London, 1703, shows the English fleet attacking the town from in front, and, on the right, French and Indians repelling an attack by English troops landed from the ships at anchor.

From Winsor, 'Narrative and Critical History of America'

business during the entire summer, but had incurred expenses and losses of £100,000. The following year, the government again suggested a joint expedition, but the fleet arrived too late for an attack on Quebec, as planned, although the joint forces captured Port Royal.

The next year a third attempt was bungled worse than the other two. The government planned an expedition headed by Sir Hovenden Walker and General Hill, whose appointments spelled disaster from the start. The colonists were not notified to prepare until early summer. The expedition was delayed, and finally when in the St. Lawrence, through having steered a wrong course, eight transports were cast away with the loss of a thousand men. None of the royal ships had been damaged, and the colonial land forces were waiting to make the attack, but without further ado the fleet sailed back to England. Yet more disastrous were the results in 1740, when the colonies raised over three thousand troops to take part in the expedition against Cartagena, which happened to be one of the most fatally ill-managed in the entire history of the British navy. It is not to be wondered at if the military prestige of the home government had been seriously lowered in colonial eyes.

A more successful effort at working together occurred in the war which started in Europe in 1744. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts formed a plan to capture the fortress of Louisbourg from the French, and a combined attack was undertaken by four thousand colonials and a British fleet. It was successful, and to the unbounded joy of all America the French stronghold fell into their hands. The protection of the British fleet had been essential, but all the fighting had been done by the colonials, and they prided themselves accordingly. When at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 England returned the fortress to France, thus abandoning the colonial conquest and subjecting the Americans once more to the danger from the French, their disappointment was as unbounded as their joy had been. In the French and Indian



#### SUCCESSFUL COLONIAL GOVERNOR

William Shirley (1694-1771), appointed governor of Massachusetts in 1741, was of the less incompetent type of colonial governor. He organized the capture of Louisbourg and did much to rehabilitate the finances of the province.

*From: J. R. Smith, 'British Mezzotint Portraits'*

War of the next decade the blunders of the intrepid but unteachable English general, Braddock, are too well known to need recalling. His expedition in which the youthful George Washington (see page 3908) took part taught the colonials to despise the military efficiency of English officers.

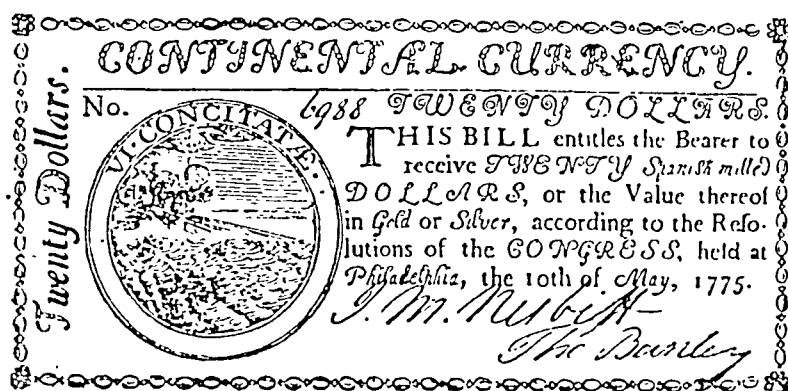
In England all of these episodes could be ignored or considered as unimportant side issues in the great wars which she was waging. In the colonies their proportion was wholly different. There their importance was far greater because of the active participation in them of the colonials themselves. Whatever victories England might win elsewhere, all through the eighteenth century to the time of the Revolution, whenever English and colonial forces had worked together, the former had proved themselves no more, and in most cases, much less, efficient than the colonials themselves. The influence of these facts may well have been felt by them when it came to a question of taking up arms against England for a redress of grievances. That unfortunate time was fast approaching.

The years of the French and Indian War left many problems to be solved. By the peace of 1763 England acquired Canada

and all the French possessions lying beyond the Alleghany Mountains, but the British war debt had become a staggering load. It is impossible to give a continuous narrative of all the events which filled the next decade and finally brought Englishmen on the two sides of the ocean to the arbitrament of civil war. The skein is a complicated one, and to pick out each

majority, and who feared that this would be the first step to establishing the English Church. The parliamentary laws against the issue of colonial paper money had also greatly embittered the Americans, there not being otherwise enough currency with which to carry on trade and the affairs of daily life. We shall turn from these, however, to consider those of larger aspect. We have already seen that there were many conflicting elements in America itself. How did England succeed in uniting a large proportion of them all against herself?

The enormous accession of western territory as a result of the French war raised a problem of the first magnitude. Owing to separatism and local jealousies, the colonies had been unable to unite, even during the contest, on any joint military, financial or Indian policies. The British government, un-



AMERICAN TWENTY-DOLLAR BILL

A host of minor annoyances aggravated the main grievances that led to the American War of Independence. One was the decision of Parliament not to sanction the issue of American paper money, such as this twenty-dollar bill, actually issued in defiance of the order by the Philadelphia Congress in 1775.

thread would require too much space. We shall have to generalise the story. When the die for war was finally cast, John Adams estimated that one-third of the population was for it, one-third uninterested and passive, and one-third against it. The last group contained many of the wealthiest, ablest and most cultivated men in the colonies, men of the conservative type who are always opposed to violent measures. It has been estimated that over a hundred thousand of these Loyalists left the colonies voluntarily or were exiled in the course of the struggle, and this exodus, comparable only to that of the Huguenots from France, was in many respects an inestimable loss to America.

But we must now consider what were the causes which led a third of the two and a half million Englishmen in the colonies to demand war against their brother English at home. There were minor causes of deep dissatisfaction and apprehension. The projected setting up of Anglican bishops in America had increasingly terrorised the non-Anglicans, who were in the overwhelming

able at once to decide what should be done with the West, issued a proclamation in 1763 denying the right of the Americans to settle within it beyond a line running along the heads of all the rivers emptying into the Atlantic, in other words, beyond the Alleghanies. The colonial population was rapidly expanding. As the frontiersmen stood on the mountains and looked over the vast fertile region which

the Americans had helped to win for the Empire by eight years of fighting, and realized that the government, three thousand miles away, denied them the right of entry upon it, they felt that it was an act of tyranny pure and simple. The proclamation had been intended to be temporary, pending a final decision, but the years went by and the government gave no further heed to the matter. By this ill-judged procrastination it succeeded in pushing into violent opposition the entire frontier region, extending, as we have noted, at the back of all the colonies from Maine to Georgia, a region which had

no interest in the seaboard's quarrel with England over the laws of trade.

Along the seaboard were concentrated all the large towns and most of the wealth and culture of colonial America. Owing to the restrictive English laws passed in accordance with the imperial theory of the day, the colonial adverse balance of trade with England had come to amount to about £1,000,000 a year. To find the bills of exchange with which to make this good, trade outside the closed system was absolutely essential. The only other alternative would have been to lower the standard of living, stop buying goods from England, and produce an economic débâcle. England, hitherto, had been content to enjoy the American trade



**AMERICAN LAWYER-PATRIOT**

James Otis (1725-1783), by his speeches in the Massachusetts courts, pamphlets and state papers, did much to direct the independent policy of the colonies. This statue of him by Crawford stands in the chapel at Mount Auburn.

*From Winsor, 'History of America'*



**SAM ADAMS THE PROPAGANDIST**

To no single man more than Samuel Adams (1722-1803), seen here in a painting by Copley, can the United States be said to owe their independence. A Boston tax collector of Puritan stock, he fomented separatist feeling by brilliant propaganda.

*From Bancroft, 'History of the United States'*

and overlook the smuggling which made it possible. In an unfortunate moment Grenville discovered that the revenue from colonial customs houses amounted to only £1,000 or £2,000 a year, which it cost nearly £8,000 to collect, the chief customs officers appointed by the government enjoying their sinecures in England and never seeing the colonies. A vigorous policy of enforcing the laws was begun and 'writs of assistance' authorised. These general search warrants, which were abandoned later in England itself in 1817, immediately set the whole seaboard in a flame of resentment.

In a fiery speech in Boston, James Otis lit the torch which was later to set the Empire ablaze. Three years later the Sugar Act was passed, the effect of which would be to cut off a trade on which the very life of New England depended. By these and other measures the government alined against itself a large part of the mercantile interests of the colonies, a class which in other respects could not

have been expected to find itself united with the men of the frontier.

In Boston lived Samuel Adams, one of the ablest political agitators in all history, who was becoming obsessed in his secret soul with the thought of making America absolutely independent of England and free to work out her own destiny in her own way. He did not then give voice to this aspiration, for he was still almost alone in his desire, but he went to work with consummate skill to bring his hopes to fruition. By propaganda, by

in Canada had now disappeared, it was decided to quarter ten thousand British troops in America for their protection. For these reasons it was determined to tax the colonials for imperial defence. In 1765 parliament passed the first law attempting to establish internal imperial taxation in the colonies. This Act, the Stamp Act, directly affected nearly every individual of all sections and all classes. The effect was instantaneous. It was probably much the same as it would be to-day if, without Canada's consent,



ENGLISH DISAGREEMENT WITH THE STAMP ACT EXPRESSED IN SATIRE

Theoretically, the British colonies in America had always been subject to various imposts; but customs duties were felt to be for the regulation of trade, not for the raising of revenue. The imposition of a stamp duty on legal documents by Grenville's ministry in 1765, however, was clearly a revenue measure—a tax imposed by a body not representative of the tax payers, in defiance of the Bill of Rights. This satire of the same year shows a Redskin (America) advised by Minerva to reject Britannia's gift of the Stamp Act, while Liberty lies prostrate and Mercury (trade) departs.

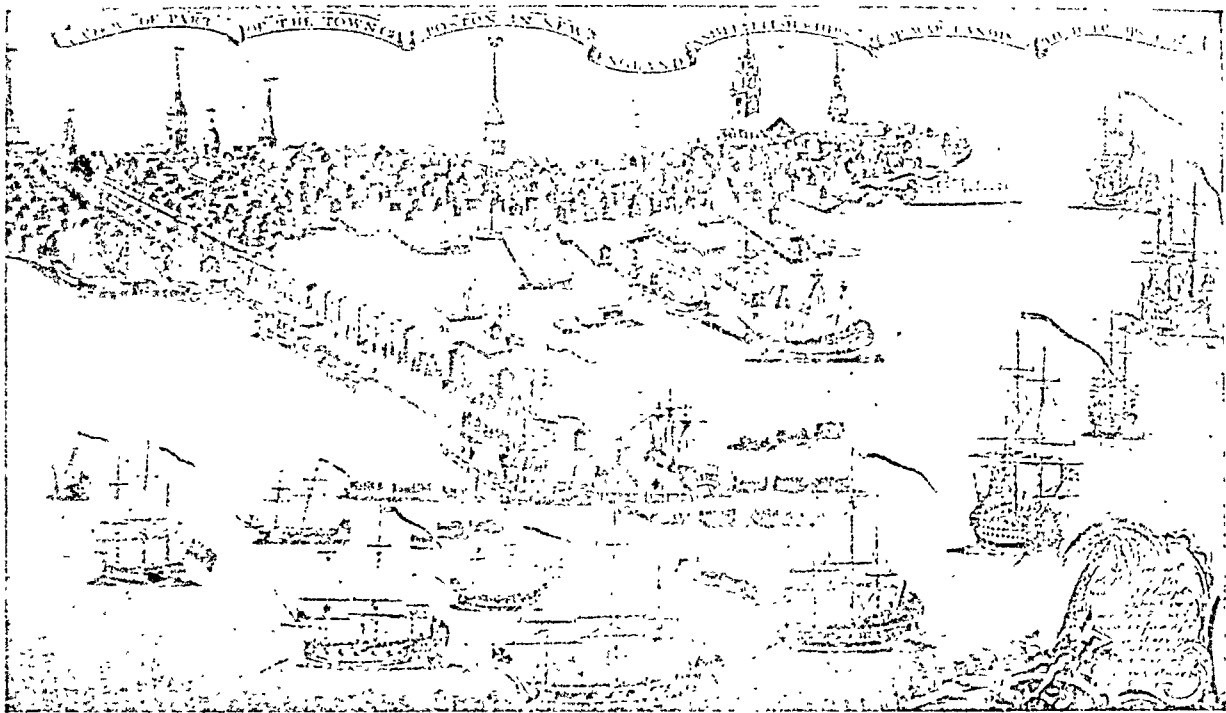
British Museum

building up an intercolonial organization through committees of correspondence everywhere, and by skilled manipulation of all classes through the opportunities afforded by the blunders of the successive English ministries, he finally achieved his dream. Even he could not have done so had events not played into his hand.

The war, as we have said, had left England with a staggering debt. The country gentlemen were already heavily taxed. Although for a hundred and fifty years the colonials had defended themselves for the most part and the French menace

England should quarter fifty thousand troops there and attempt to collect taxes directly from all the citizens of that Dominion. For the whole century and a half of colonial history, England had never set up such a claim. Now, in 1765 she suddenly did so. So violent was the reaction that the act was repealed the following year, largely by the insistent demand of English merchants themselves, who saw their trade being ruined. Ominously, however, the repeal contained a clause which reasserted the right of parliament to pass laws which should





#### LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS SENT TO OCCUPY BOSTON

The Stamp Act was repealed ; but not with that absence of reserve that might have reconstituted cordial relations. After the fall of Grenville's ministry Townshend, relying on the Declaratory Act of Rockingham's ministry, imposed a fresh set of taxes (that upon tea was what caught public attention), and also sent British troops to occupy Boston in consequence of a dispute between the governor of Massachusetts and its Assembly. This print of the same year (1768) shows the landing.

*Engraving by Paul Revere ; British Museum*

bind the colonies ' in all cases whatsoever,' while in America was raised the rallying cry to Englishmen : ' No taxation without representation.

There was abstract justice in the demand that the colonies should share the burden of the cost of imperial defence, just as there is the same abstract justice to-day in the suggestion that Canada or Australia and the other dominions should do so ; but the problem has not yet been solved, and the ministers of George the

Fifth are wiser than those of George the Third in not pushing a solution to extremities.

The government could not let sleeping dogs lie, and the fatal dispute went on. In 1767 were passed the Townshend Acts, devised to tax in a different way. Gradually rioting began in Boston, and the mutterings of the gathering storm became more ominous. In 1768 British troops arrived there. Adams continued his agitations and in 1770 a collision



#### SCENE OF THE BOSTON TEA PARTY AND OF BUNKER HILL

Resentment against the import duty on tea reached a head when a party of men disguised as Red Indians boarded certain tea freighters lying in Boston harbour and threw overboard the whole consignment, valued at £10,000. This was in 1773, while Lord North's ministry was in power. The drawing of Boston harbour above, with part of the town in the foreground, was made in 1775 by a British lieutenant, Mr. Williamson, immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill.

*British Museum*



occurred between some of the soldiers and a group of citizens, of whom three were killed, two mortally wounded, and six injured. This so-called 'Boston Massacre' was probably as much the fault of the people as of the troops. It served, however, still further to embitter the struggle, and Adams made the most of it.

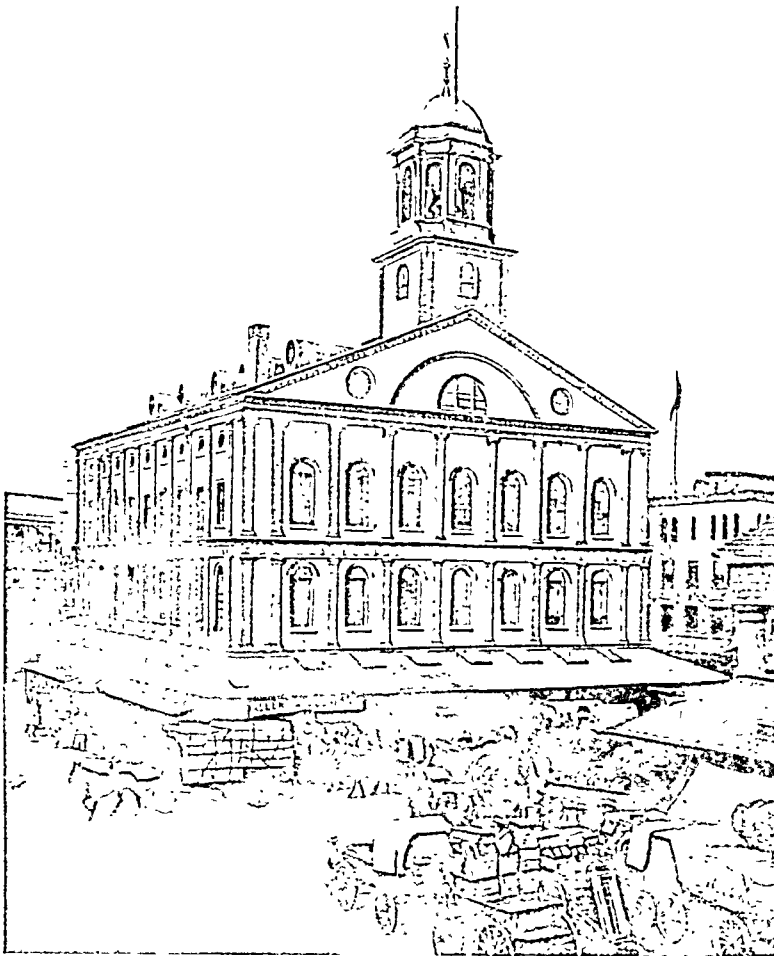
In 1773 occurred the celebrated Boston Tea Party, as a result of which the next year parliament passed the five acts known in England as the 'repressive' and in America as the 'intolerable' acts. One of these remodelled the constitution of Massa-



#### INDEPENDENT SOLDIERS

This plate giving the uniforms of the hastily raised American troops—a general (left) and a rifleman—about the date of the battle of Bunker Hill, was published in 1790.

From Barnard, 'History of England,' 1790



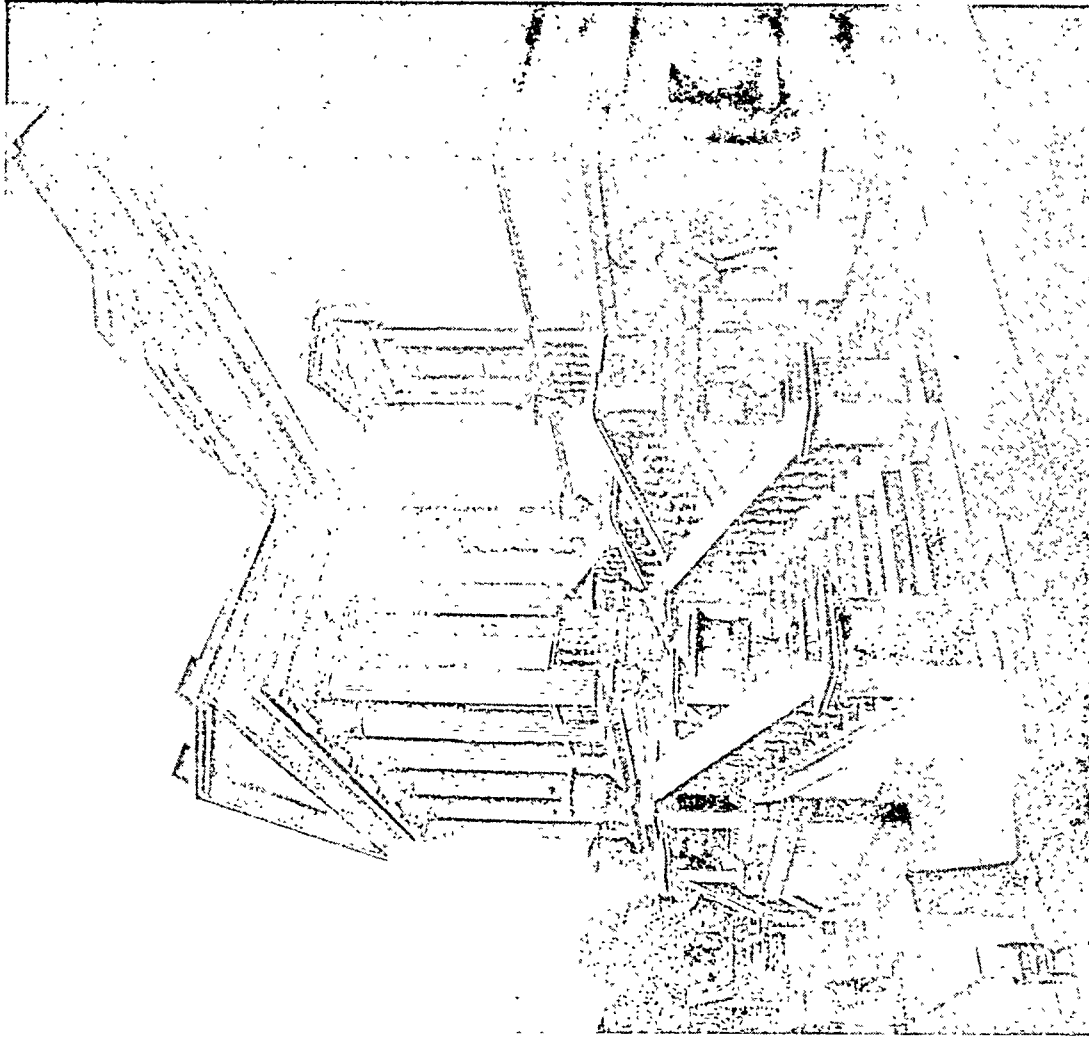
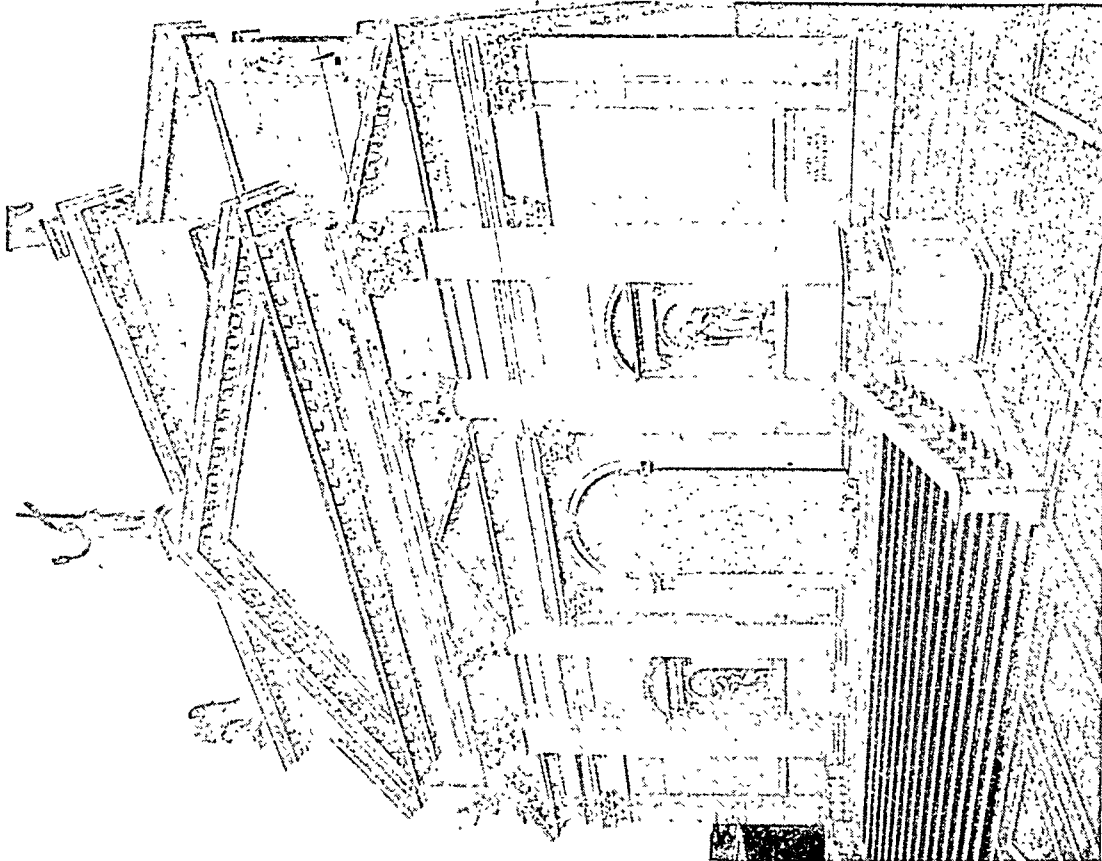
#### 'CRADLE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY'

The Northern states felt most keenly the effect of the trade regulations imposed by the home government, and Boston was the seat of the earliest agitations. Faneuil Hall, standing in the centre of Dock Square, derives its nickname 'the Cradle of Liberty' from the patriotic oratory poured forth within it.

Photo, E.N.A.

chusetts, another legalised the quartering of British troops there, and a third closed the port of Boston to all commerce until the king should see fit to reopen it. The 'tea party,' which had consisted of throwing overboard, without compensation, £10,000 worth of tea, which English merchants were trying to force into the colonies against the wishes of the 'patriot' party there, was not approved by many colonials themselves throughout America, and opened a decided rift between the more radical element, headed by Sam Adams, and the conservatives; but the repressive Acts were felt to be so much more severe than was called for that they served to unite again all parties. Supplies of food soon began to pour into starving Boston





#### CLASSICISM IN ARCHITECTURE : TWO EXAMPLES THAT TYPIFY THE PALLADIAN STYLE

Andrea Palladio (1518-80) was the greatest master of Venetian cinquecento architecture. He based his style on the ancient Roman as expounded by Vitruvius, and at Venice introduced a style of church architecture in which the façade consists of a large portico formed by a single row of stately columns. His masterpiece is the Chiesa del Redentore at Venice (left) where the front is raised above a fine flight of stairs. The best example of Palladian style in domestic architecture is the Villa Capra near Vicenza, of which Chiswick House (right), built about 1730 by the third earl of Burlington, is a copy.

*Photos, Alinari and King*

# CLASSICISM IN LITERATURE AND ART

A Discussion of its Canons in Poetry and the Drama  
with illustrations of its Effect on the Plastic Arts

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CLASSICISM is the name now commonly given to a body of literary and artistic doctrines, with a corresponding code of practice, which for some two centuries (1550-1750) held wide authority in western Europe. It had some of the best, and also some of the more questionable, characteristics of a religion. It could inspire noble art, and give coherence to fluctuating purpose ; it could also claim exclusive possession of vital truth, oppose rigid barriers to innovation, and encourage docile fidelity at the cost of fresh perception. It has left its mark upon some of the most splendid moments and monuments, and upon some of the most regrettable perversities of history. It had much to do, at one end of the scale, with the imperishable masterpieces of Molière, Racine and Pope, and with the Banqueting Hall of Inigo Jones. At the other, it was largely responsible for Rymer, when he made a warning example of Othello, and for Gifford, when he did his futile best to 'snuff out' the immortal fire of Keats. The history of classicism, which we have now to summarise, thus had many phases, and our final judgement of its import must reckon both with its glories and with its blots.

Classicism had its origin in the vast, many-sided intellectual upheaval known as the Renaissance, or humanism. The fundamental inspiration of the Renaissance was defined by Michelet, in a famous phrase, as 'the discovery of the World and of Man.' In that process of discovery the richer and deeper understanding of the antique or 'classic' world held the most important place. Even Columbus and Copernicus, though they traversed more

uncharted seas, and more completely revolutionised existing creeds, did less to transform and recreate the human spirit than the discoverers of Athens.

Athens, however, spoke with many voices ; and some of those which were to penetrate most deeply into the modern mind were the most easily misinterpreted or over-heeded. Hence it happened that 'classicism,' which proclaimed 'imitation of the classics' as the sole but sufficing secret of rightness in poetry and art, took its dominant examples, in fact, from a rather narrow selection of the ancient writers, the choice of itself reflecting certain pronounced preferences and exclusions ; a demand, in particular, for clarity, simplicity, symmetry ; a repudiation of the loose composition and caprice of the medieval romance. It was from this antagonism, unmistakable from the first, that the antithesis of 'classical and 'romantic,' a commonplace of nineteenth-century criticism but unknown before, was ultimately derived.

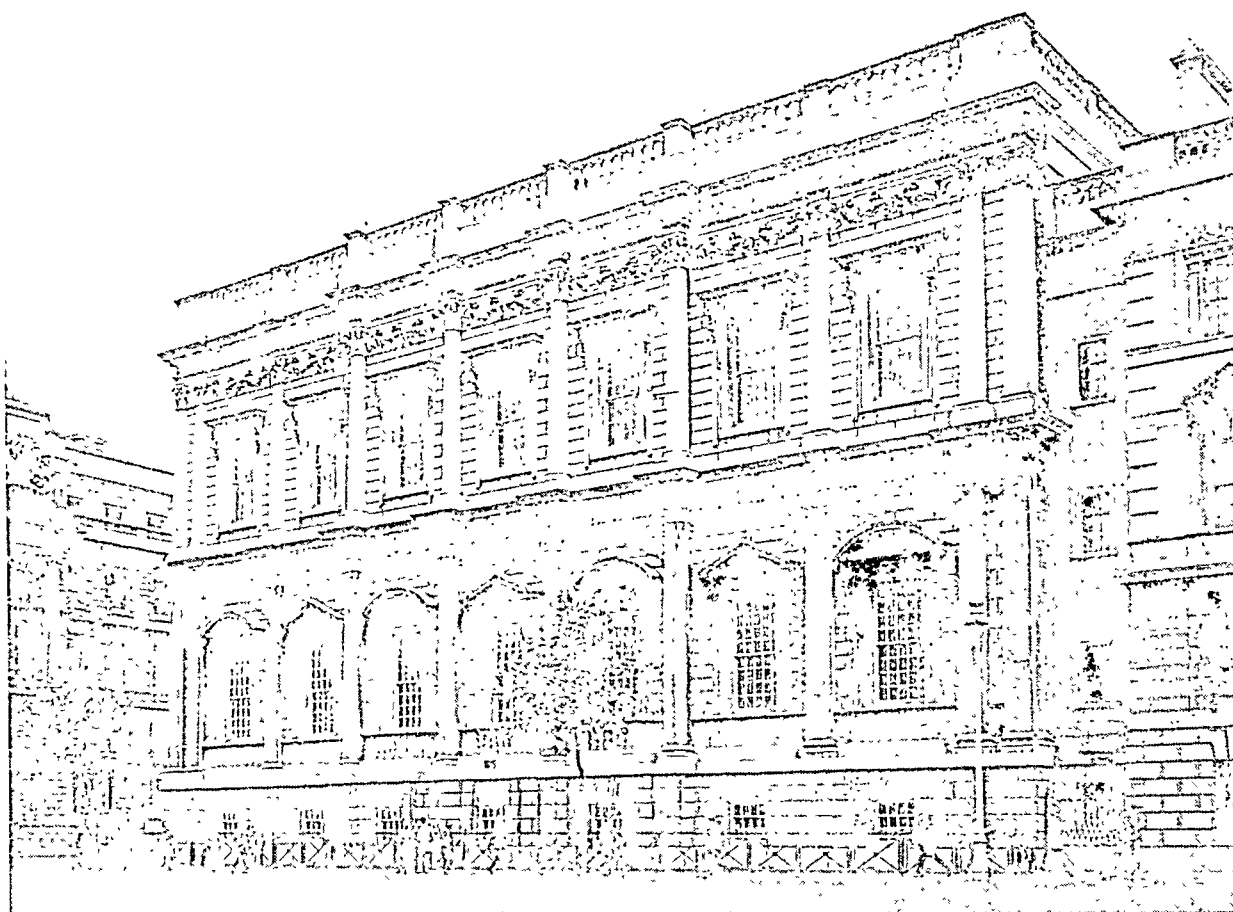
In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, we have carefully to distinguish a current of 'classical' influence which ignored or repudiated 'classicism,' attaching itself to forms of antique genius for which the formal and narrow scheme of classicism had no room. The *Faerie Queene* is one of the most 'romantic' poems in literature ; but Spenser was steeped in Plato and the Platonic enthusiasm for Love and Beauty, while classicism, as will be seen, brought all art and poetry to what may with rough accuracy be called the Aristotelian touchstone of clear intelligence and enlightened common

sense. Its nearest parallel in the other arts is the sober and erudite classic architecture of Palladio. On the other hand, classicism drew into its service elements, both intellectual and ethical, which did not derive from 'the classics' at all. Classicism thus became a composite web, in which, however, imitation of the classics remained the stoutest and most conspicuous thread. Hence, while classicism came ultimately to mean both something more and something less than this—something at once richer and poorer, more charged with will and meaning, but commanding a smaller horizon—it continued to recall by its name that original discipleship to Greece and Rome.

The centre of antique culture, and the first home of Greek study, was Italy, where the familiar use of Latin had never died out. And it was by a series of great Italian critics that the theory and tech-

nique of classicism were first elaborated into a system, while the first poem of European celebrity which is both noble as poetry and definitely impressed with the conceptions of classicism was the work of an Italian poet—the *Jerusalem Delivered* of Torquato Tasso. It is worth while watching for a moment the play of antique example and classicist formula upon this sensitive and scholarly man of genius.

Foremost in grandeur among all the discovered treasures of Greece were the epics of Homer, known before only in paraphrase or through the majestic alexandrication of Vergil's *Aeneid*. With all their varied splendour of incident and detail, both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are in their essence of a flawless simplicity and unity. Each relates with rounded completeness an episode in the career of the hero, not, like the typical medieval romances, his whole career of adventures from birth to



THE BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL : CLASSICISM AT ITS BEST

Inigo Jones (1573-1651) studied Palladio's architectural work in Italy and introduced the style into England. In 1612 he was commissioned by James I to design a new palace at Whitehall. His Banqueting House, intended as one side of a quadrangle that was never completed, was erected in 1622 and is the only portion of the palace that survived the fires of 1698. The façade with its two orders of Ionic and Composite pillars superimposed is a satisfying specimen of classicism in building.

*Photo, Donald McLeish*

death or beyond. But shortly before Tasso was born the romantic tradition had been enormously fortified, in the full heyday of the Renaissance, by a great and brilliant poet, second only to Dante in all Italian literature; who knew his Homer, but dared to compose an epic which had little in common with his but transparent clarity and harmony of style. Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, nominally an account of the 'madness of Roland,' which it does eventually relate, is a marvellous tissue of stories, as intricately and deftly interwoven as the *Arabian Nights*, and with as little ostensible artistic purpose but to hold us for ever in delightful absorption and suspense. Homer is impersonal; or, if the narrator ever appears in the *Iliad*, it is infallible proof that he is not Homer. But Ariosto is for ever emerging with a sparkling sally or an arch comment, whetting or ironically eluding our curiosity.

In the *Jerusalem Delivered* the spell of Ariosto's splendid poem is everywhere visible. It is written in the same intricately rhymed stanza.

The First in a style of yet more  
Classicist Epic delicate loveliness. But

Tasso had a definite theory, drawn from Homer and Aristotle, of what an epic poem ought to be. It had above all to be one, a single action, with a beginning, middle and end; not a lively tangle of adventures, but a connected, organic whole. But further, because the *Iliad* is founded upon the siege of Troy, it had to describe a similar conflict between rival nations. And because the *Iliad* represented the gods and goddesses of Olympus taking part in the war on either side, a like interposition of supernatural powers was *de rigueur* for the perfect epic poem. Tasso's subject is the siege and 'liberation' of Jerusalem from the Saracens by Godfrey of Bouillon, leader of the First Crusade. The Christian and Saracen armies stood for the Greeks and Trojans, and Heaven and Hell for the contending divinities of Olympus. The *Jerusalem Delivered* is the first of classicist epics; but, like *Paradise Lost*, the greatest, it presents classicist ideals not so much reflected in, as refracted through, the individual genius of an original poet.



#### EPIC POET OF THE RENAISSANCE

Torquato Tasso (1544-95) established his reputation with the narrative poem *Rinaldo*, enhanced it with the pastoral drama *Aminta*, and crowned it with the stately epic *Jerusalem Delivered*: it was first published in 1581.

But Tasso, apart from his creative work in poetry, took a leading part in building up the edifice of classicist theory. Modern literary criticism, in this sense, practically began with classicism: the armed guard, as it were, of a literature which, though it did not disclaim inspiration, was careful to be inspired according to 'the rules.' It is necessary, then, to glance at the nature of these authoritative rules. They had their source in a particular application of the general principle of imitations of the ancients, namely, imitation of the ancient critics, and above all of Aristotle and Horace. Aristotle, in particular, was regarded as an infallible dictator; nay, the Catholic Church itself, in council assembled at Trent, in 1542, formally placed his teaching on the footing of a dogma incumbent on the orthodox.

Now Aristotle performed one memorable service to literary criticism, and not to that of classicism only. By his doctrine that the aim of poetry is 'ideal truth,' he broke down both the ancient condemnation of poetry as 'falsehood' and the shallow apology for it as a pleasing

fiction. The poet, he said, imitates an ideal or universalised actuality, which may be, as Shelley said, 'more real than living man.' The poet creates as nature creates, and his work, as an ideal abstraction of reality, is itself fundamentally real.

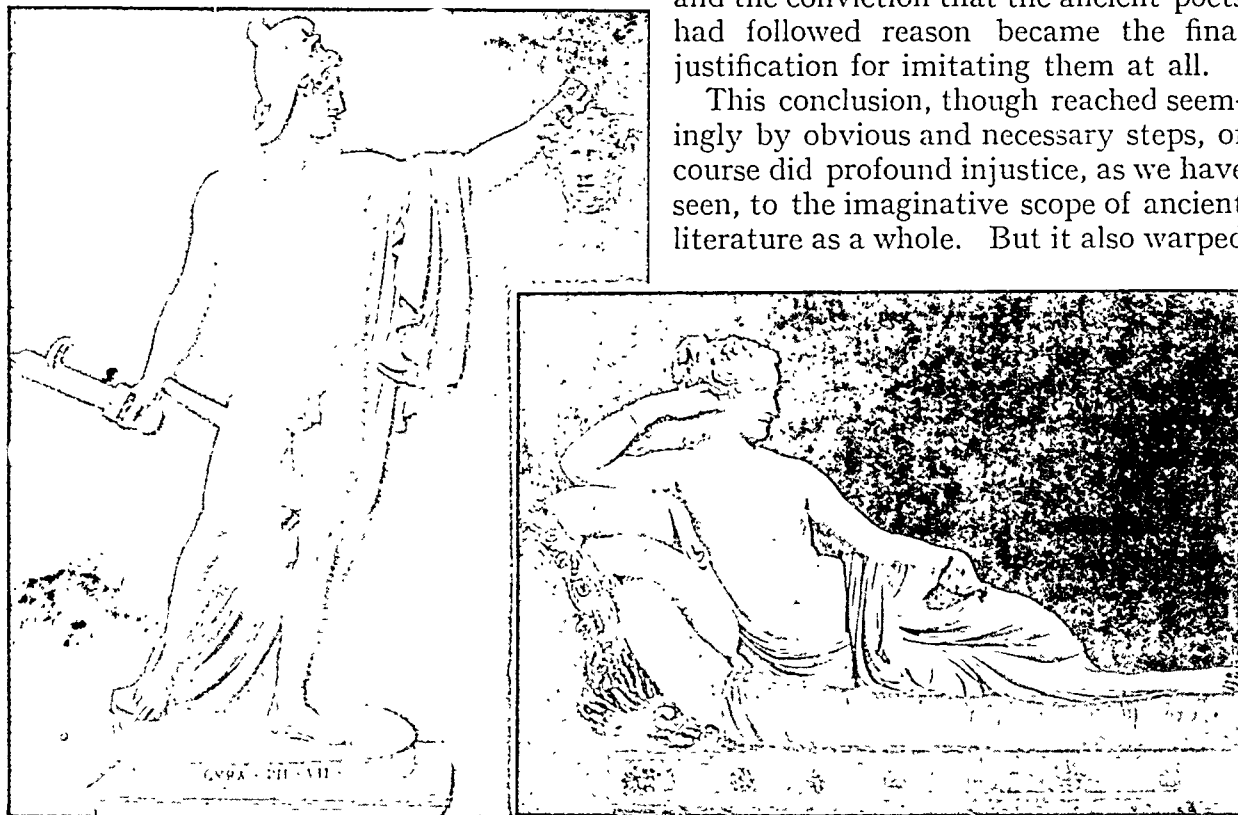
But this lofty conception held pitfalls which Aristotle himself scarcely escaped, and into which his classicist devotees tumbled headlong. Even his definition of poetry as imitation was not easily applied to lyric poetry, or to the lyric moods frequent in all great poets. Aristotle, accordingly, and Horace far more, though they had access to a vast amount of literature, now lost, judged it with less width of critical sympathy than we have to-day. Aristotle slighted the titanic magnificence of Aeschylus in comparison with the measured beauty of Sophocles; he slighted lyric poetry as a whole in comparison with drama and epic. It is not he that bids us glory in the songs of Sappho, where, as the great critic Longinus said, 'soul, body, ears, tongue and eye

succumb to the tumult of emotions. So Horace disparaged Catullus, a far greater singer, though a less finished artist, than himself, and restricted the freedom of the drama still further than Aristotle.

An even more questionable deduction from Aristotle's teaching, though it was fraught with noble and splendid possibilities as well as with fatal dangers, was the doctrine that poetry, like philosophy, is based upon and must be regulated by reason. Many influences concurred, in the sixteenth century, to give the reasoning power peculiar prestige. It was in the name of free thought, or private judgement, that humanist and Lutheran rejected the Catholic claim to 'faith.

Classical literature, too, in contrast with the fairies and giants of medieval romance, appeared conspicuously rational and natural. Hence the injunction to 'follow reason' early crept into close association with the primary command to imitate the ancients; and it was not long before the useful ally usurped the throne, and the conviction that the ancient poets had followed reason became the final justification for imitating them at all.

This conclusion, though reached seemingly by obvious and necessary steps, of course did profound injustice, as we have seen, to the imaginative scope of ancient literature as a whole. But it also warped



ITALIAN SCULPTURE IN THE NEO-CLASSIC REVIVAL: CANOVA

After its apogee, to which Michelangelo's genius raised it, Italian sculptural art declined and for the next two centuries was marred by academic conventionalism and by extravagance of design. From these mannerisms it was delivered by Antonio Canova (1757-1822), who produced a vast amount of work, of exquisite finish if rather artificial. His return to the classic tradition is exemplified in Perseus with the Head of Medusa (left) and the effigy of Pauline Bonaparte as Venus Victrix.

*The Vatican and Villa Borghese, Rome*





#### DANISH SCULPTURE IN HELLENIC VEIN

Of Canova's immediate followers the most eminent was Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844), a Dane who worked in Rome for forty years and imbibed Canovan principles from that master himself. Thorvaldsen's sympathies were purely classic, and his pagan statues, such as this graceful Ganymede, have quality and charm.

*Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen*

and stiffened the theory of classicism by making certain plausible but illusory dogmas appear to be axiomatically true. Such was the dogma that in every poetic art, as in arithmetic or logic, there is only one way of being right. In epic, tragedy, comedy, as in doing a sum, there was only one infallible course. This one right way, moreover, the ancients had in general found, so that to imitate them was a safe clue to its discovery. But reason also could discover the one perfect method by her own light.

This was of course the opposite pole of aesthetic thinking to that reached by Kipling's primitive artist, who knew of 'nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays, And every single one of them is right.' This has become a truism to an age fully aware that you can imagine rightly in a thousand ways. It would have been an absurd paradox to the classicist genera-

tions of the sixteenth century, obsessed with the truth that you can only think rightly in one. But it remained a fundamental dogma of classicism throughout its course. It still underlay the 'This will never do' criticism of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and only yielded finally to the catholic penetration of Goethe, Coleridge and Manzoni.

It is easy to see the grave dangers for poetry which this course involved. The uniformity demanded by reason necessarily, in pedantic hands, became a weapon against legitimate freedom of imagination.

In drama and epic, especially, it told against the flexible handling of character, and crushed the attempt to illustrate in art the varieties and fluctuations of mood and temper of which everyone is aware in real life. More than that, it crushed the attempt to exhibit unusual or original characters. Not only had men, as Polonius so justly demanded,



#### RENAISSANCE SPIRIT IN FRENCH ART

Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) broke away from the conventions of the native French art of his day, which was purely decorative, and subscribed to the principles of classic art. He painted a large variety of works—landscapes and subject pictures Christian and pagan.

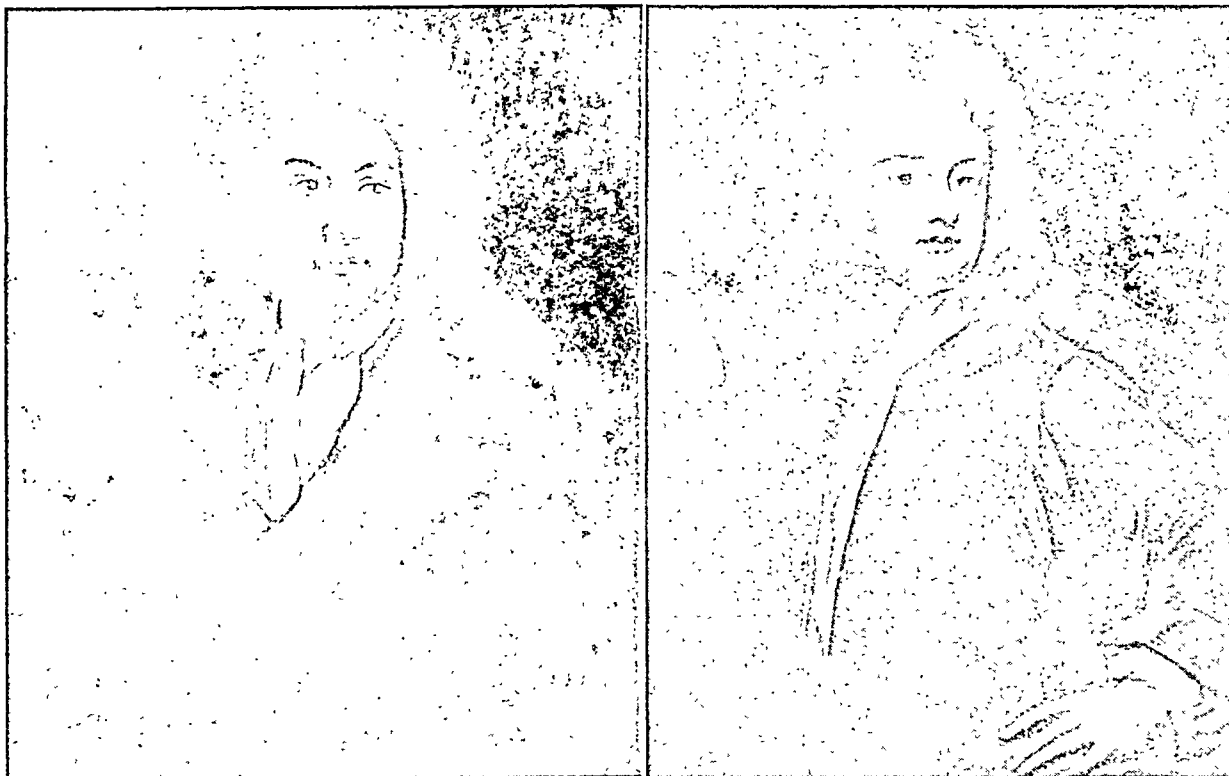
His Bacchus and Ariadne is representative of this last class.

to be true to themselves ; they had to be true to their class, to behave like the normal person of the same rank, occupation, age and sex.

Old men, as Horace had laid down, were invariably to glorify the good old days ; women, as Aristotle said in his haste, ignoring Antigone and Alcestis (and how many more !), were not to be brave. In this point, as in most others, the classicist criticism and practice find their exact antithesis in Browning, with his doctrine that our interest attaches itself to 'the dangerous edge of things,' and his habitual choice of characters who strike across the type, like Andrea del Sarto the perfect painter, whose very perfection made him unhappy, or who transcend it, like Caponsacchi, under the uplift of a great spiritual experience. Psychological anomalies and transformations happened then as now ; but they were abhorrent to classicist art. Nay, Homer himself could on occasion be brought to the bar for critical reprimand, so far could reason and decorum now override even the imitation of the classics

from which they were supposed to be derived. For a character had not only to be true to type in its own speech and actions, he must not be brought into any unseemly situation or even into the figurative suggestion of one. And had not the poet of the Iliad actually compared one of his mightiest heroes, Ajax, slowly retreating before the host of Trojans whom he holds at bay, to a donkey being thrust and driven from a field by a crowd of boys ? Once more, we see classicism rejecting the large comprehensiveness of classical poetry in the name of the symmetry and order which, for better or worse, it was to make its own.

But even more significant for the future was another discovery of classicist criticism, which concerned the second great branch of classical art, the drama. Of all the canons of classicism, that of the three dramatic 'unities' has had the most splendid and the most stormy fortunes. Embraced with ardour and conviction by France when she became the intellectual mistress of Europe, the 'unities' were



LITERARY LEADERS IN ENGLAND'S AUGUSTAN AGE

Second only to Milton as a poet in the style of the seventeenth century, a dramatist of merit and a brilliant satirist in verse, John Dryden, 1631-1700 (left), was also a literary critic of the first rank. While definitely belonging to the classical school of poetry he did much, both in precept and example, to free English literature from the fetters of academic pedantry. Joseph Addison (1672-1719) is the master of the light essay, but his critical papers in *The Spectator* have permanent value.

*Paintings by Sir Godfrey Kneller ; National Portrait Gallery, London (left)*

adopted wherever her influence extended, and hotly debated wherever it was insecure. Rejected by the Spaniards and the Elizabethans, they invaded England with the Restoration, were honoured by Dryden, accepted by Addison, and only came in sight of the final débâcle when Dr. Johnson, after a struggle with his ingrained prejudices, defended Shakespeare for having left them alone.

The three unities have been, since the decline of classicism, a byword of derision, more particularly in England and Germany.

This is both scientifically and historically unjust; scientifically, because while one of the unities rests on a gross blunder,

and a second conveys a merely accidental truth, the third formulates a fundamental law of drama; historically, because, whatever their defects, all three fitted like a glove the drama of so consummate an artist as Racine. Of the rather intricate steps by which the finished doctrine was reached, little can be said here. Aristotle, even to-day popularly credited with their authorship, propounded only the one which still remains profound and fundamental—the so-called 'unity of action.' It ruled out, as we have seen, plays founded on a 'unity of person'—representing the career of a hero, or, like many of Shakespeare's Histories, the events of a reign. The plot (as in epics) had not to be a series of adventures, however thrilling, but a single action with a definite beginning, middle and end.

Aristotle's own ideal was the plot of the Sophoclean Oedipus the King, from every point of view one of the supreme tragedies in all literature. Here we are carried with inflexible rigour of logic from the opening scene where Oedipus begins the search for the offender whose guilt has brought upon the city the anger of the gods, to the overwhelming close where he faces the discovery that the guilty offender is himself. The whole life of Oedipus, from his birth to his self-inflicted blindness, is in the drama; but all that happens in it, up to this climax, is the process by which it is gradually elicited. The horrible events finally disclosed had happened many years before; it was the discovery of the unconscious



DR. JOHNSON 'IN HIS HAIR'

In the intellectual world of his age Samuel Johnson (1709-84) was dictator, his every utterance on literary matters having the weight of imperial edicts. This portrait of him, without his wig, was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

National Portrait Gallery, London

culprit and victim that made the tragedy. But of course the tragic events might equally happen in a single swift sequence, as in the Antigone, and most of the other extant ancient tragedies. And all Shakespeare's greatest tragedies, too, observe the unity of action, though he may have known and cared nothing for Aristotle, and though his 'single' action may be a complex and protracted affair, in the course of which battles can be fought, conspiracies organized and characters transformed.

It is quite otherwise with the other two unities. The 'unity of time,' which required action to be limited to twenty-four hours, and the 'unity of place,' which required it to happen in or near the same spot, were purely classicist dogmas.

At Athens these had never been dogmas, merely habits; and both habits were occasionally broken, not only by the revolutionary Euripides (as in the Heracleidae), but by the master of harmonious order, Sophocles (in the Ajax), without any recorded cry of protest. And this Athenian habit itself was formed less in obedience to any artistic instinct than



#### PIONEER OF FRENCH CLASSICISM

As a poet François de Malherbe (1555–1628) revealed little real poetic inspiration, but his impeccable technique, precision of expression and critical acumen profoundly influenced the later development of French literature.

*Engraving after Dumouthier*

in spontaneous compliance with the conditions of the religious ritual which the tragedy of the great age had never ceased to be. For the Chorus, whose hymns were the nucleus of the whole drama, was composed of persons in the play, and as they never left their place it was natural if not necessary that the imaginary scene should remain constant, and the imaginary time continuous, like the real ones. But for a drama which had dropped the purely Attic institution of the Chorus, this necessity obviously fell away. Nevertheless it was reserved for the Italian and French classicists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, first to crystallise these habits, together with the one great authentic law, into a three-fold formula, as the Three Unities, and finally to give this triad, clothed in the authority of the unconscious Aristotle, the sanctity of an infallible and universally binding creed, without observance of which no drama and no dramatist could be saved.

A far more brilliant destiny awaited classicism in France. Nothing can be said here of the first wave of classical

influence in French poetry; for its noblest product, the Hellenic odes of Ronsard, 'prince of poets,' betray something of the more catholic apprehension of beauty which created the lyrics of early Greece, but which Aristotelian classicism ignored, and which was not again to catch the French ear till the days of Hugo and Gautier. All these adventures of the sixteenth century the critical dictator of French classicism, Boileau, dismissed with scorn as 'confusions'; and the famous phrase, 'enfin Malherbe vint'—'at last Malherbe came'—in which he proceeds to do homage to the founder of a sound literary tradition in France, marks with precision its dominating temper and its inspiring ideal.

But Malherbe himself (d. 1628) was only a pioneer, and one of the kind that may do something to level the way, but have the dimmest knowledge of the goal. He cast the Alexandrine couplet, which has ever since remained even more the standard vehicle for French poetry than blank verse for English, into a more regular and symmetrical mould. In the interest of regularity and symmetry he pruned away many wayward beauties which the picturesque and lively genius of sixteenth-century France had cherished or allowed. But he had not a glimpse of the intellectual and social forces which before the middle of the seventeenth century were to give weight and nobility to this finely ordered rhythm, and at the same time receive from it the afflatus and the penetrating appeal which only the winged music of verse can give.

These new intellectual and social forces were wholly of French origin, and both bore the clearest impress of the French mind. The one was **Classicism** due to the emergence of a **in France** great thinker, René Descartes (d. 1650); the other to the growth of a great society, that of the Paris of Louis XIV. It was in the main the ideas of Descartes (commonly known as Cartesianism; see also page 3824), and the standards of courtesy and convention of which Paris was the seat, that determined the character and influence of that French influence which radiated for little short of a century (roughly from 1660–1760) across all her

frontiers in varying degrees. And whether it crossed the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine or the English Channel, its most eloquent medium and advocate was the verse polished and refined by classicist art, and the poems and dramas composed in it. A word must then be said about these two factors of French classicism.

Descartes wrote his *Discourse of Method*, one of the most lucid and beautiful of philosophic essays, in 1637. He was bent, however, not upon beautiful writing, but upon the discovery of truth; and his method of discovery was by 'clear and distinct' thought. Thought, to be efficient, he argued, had to proceed by definite logical steps; the mind had to be cleared of fancy, of mysticism, of the confusions of the senses, of prejudice and passion. It is easy to

Exaltation of see how this exaltation  
pure intelligence of pure intelligence bore  
upon literature, even  
where the aim was not to discover truth but to carry home an argument or to construct a poem or a play. It made for sequence and symmetry, denying beauty to whatever infringed them, whether it was the crowded, tortuous picturesqueness of a medieval city, or a speech chaotic with the frenzy of passion, like the first monologue of Hamlet. It made again for the abstract and universal in expression, for general terms, which can be understood, rather than particular ones, which have to be mechanically remembered. It gave a philosophical glamour, easily mistaken for literary distinction, to the style in which 'an agricultural implement' takes the place of 'a spade.'

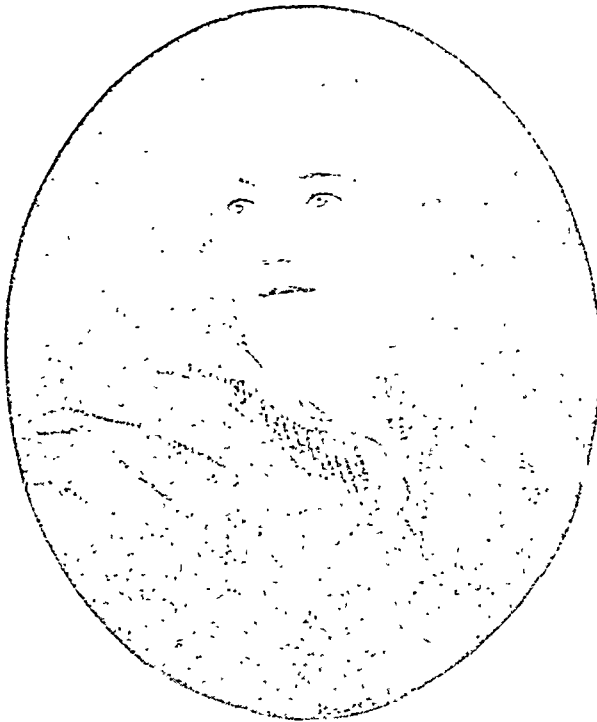
Italy had already discovered that to imitate antiquity and to follow reason were the same thing. But France fortified this general appeal to reason with a more subtle, persuasive and far-reaching doctrine, which not only contributed to the unique splendour of French classicism, but also insensibly shifted its focus, narrowed its horizon and hastened its decay. It was to the intoxication of Cartesian rationalism, with its disdain for the natural world, which was devoid of reason, and for history, which had preceded Descartes, that

classicism owed its disdain for nature, in our sense of the word, and for the past, including in the end antiquity itself. Pope's famous line, 'The proper study of mankind is man,' ascribed too wide a scope to the interests of classicism. If 'Man' was mankind's 'proper study,' it was not merely man to the exclusion of bird and beast and mountain, but man exclusively in civilized, and in the main in contemporary, society.

This preoccupation with contemporary society is, of course, unmistakable in Pope himself. But with the great French classicists, to whose Preoccupation stimulus he owed so much, with Society contemporary society was not only a preoccupation, it was a moulding force upon their art. The society of Paris during the fifty years of Louis XIV's rule (1661-1715) upheld a standard of breeding, good taste and social intercourse which satisfied the instincts of the most refined and cultivated portion of this society, while it was also enforced by the authority and example of the 'Roi Soleil' himself. The very spirit of this society was the 'sociality' which only exceptional societies achieve or enjoy; the animated but not aggressive talk of good company, where all present understand one another.

Every kind of individual excess or defect which disturbs or embarrasses or degrades the free and lively play of mind upon mind in social converse infringed a code, the nicety of which we can judge from the sketches of such offenders left us by shrewd and caustic observers like La Bruyère. In the brilliant pages of his chapter *On Society and Conversation* (1687), for instance, we see quietly pilloried the man who is too witty, or too insipid, who speaks in enigmas, pompous phrases, fantastic figures or abstruse references. His ideal was that which pervades the (slightly earlier) comedy of Molière—good sense. 'Our thoughts, whether in talk or in writing, must be founded on good sense and right reason and be an effect of our judgement.'

The pedantries of the antiquarian were as effectually discouraged in the salon as in the Cartesian study; and the 'modern' temper of the whole age, nowhere more evident than in its Greek



#### ESSAYIST AND MORALIST

In his wise and witty *Caractères*, published in 1688, Jean de la Bruyère (1645-96) produced a novel form of work in which elaborate imaginary portraits serve to introduce a medley of moral reflection and literary criticism.

*Painting on copper; Musée de Versailles*

and Roman tragedies, is exhibited in La Bruyère's incisive sketch of the man who knows the dynasties of Egypt and Assyria by heart, but has never been to Versailles, and never will.' Nay, the pedantries of classicism itself were sometimes mocked at in this society. 'I am grateful to M. d'Aubignac,' said the king's brother, 'for following so faithfully the rules of Aristotle, but I cannot forgive the rules of Aristotle for having made M. d'Aubignac write so bad a play.' How close the bond between talk and poetry was we may judge from the great critic Boileau's warning to young poets to mix intimately with society, and be adept in talk, if they wished to become adept in verse. Solitude, in his eyes, bred conceit and ineptitude, not poetry. Loneliness had not yet those 'openings into infinity' discovered by Wordsworth. Society as little as philosophy was the core of French classicism, but its substance was permeated and invigorated by both.

Not all the greatest writers of the reign completely represent the classical spirit. The freer, bolder, more searching and

mordant temper of the previous age still lives in the *Maxims* of La Rochefoucauld (1665) and, with a mysticism no less alien to it, in Pascal (d. 1662). It still stabs and scorches in the great *Memoirs* of Saint-Simon after its close.

Corneille (see page 3860), whose work was done before the accession of Louis XIV, moved restively in the harness of the unities, all of which he supposed to have been enjoined by Aristotle, and his idea of tragedy, as a drama intended to excite admiration for the hero rather than pity and terror, was more in keeping with Spain and her heroic romance of the *Cid* (the subject of his first famous play) than with the profounder and graver mind of Athens. Molière (d. 1673); though already formed when the reign of Louis began, made comedy an incomparable vehicle and weapon of the common sense in which Meredith saw the essence of the comic spirit; and his brilliant exposures of affectations and pedantries gave the immortality of art to the delicate 'justesse' of the society whose mind, at its best, he expressed.



#### GREATEST OF MAXIM WRITERS

By his *Memoirs*, published in 1662, and his *Maxims*, published in 1665, François de la Rochefoucauld established his fame as a fine literary artist and an arbiter on the conduct of life. This miniature was painted by Petitot.

*Photo, Giraudon*

But what is richest and deepest in Molière (see page 3860) goes beyond the reach both of that society and of classicist art itself. The terrible *Tartuffe*, and the supernatural horror of *Don Juan*, break down those barriers between the drama of laughter and the drama of fear on which classicist criticism so rigorously insisted. And in *The Misanthrope* the 'good sense' of that society is seen divided against itself; a fine but fatal rift opens between the shrewd conventions on which it is based and the truth and nature to which it does lip homage; and *Alceste* alone in the radiant and clear-profiled art of Molière has the challenging ambiguity of *Hamlet*. La Fontaine, finally, breaks wholly away from the Cartesian and classicist disdain for the sub-human world; the one man of his day who had an eye for the 'nature' of beast and bird.

Two great writers, however, at least, represent in full measure French classicism in this its culminating age. Racine (see page 3860) showed that the

Racine and Boileau rules of classicist technique—the confined time and place, the limited play of character, the abstract style and vocabulary—could be, for a certain type of genius, not fetters but tools. He showed that the whole tragic consequences of one pregnant moment may be unfolded in a few hours; that the subtlest depths of character may be explored and exhibited without suggesting a single abnormal or eccentric trait; and that a scene or a situation may be vividly evoked by an apt use of quite colourless and abstract words. The scholarship and philosophy of Port-Royal and the high breeding of the Parisian salon are distilled, with something else that is beyond analysis, into that fine essence, the style of Racine.

Boileau, finally, was the critical legislator of French classicism. He saw no farther than its boundaries, but within its limits he was a critic of the first rank. His *Satires* disposed finally of the feeble devotees of classicism as well as of its heretical opponents. He checked even Racine and Molière when they fell below the level of their best selves. The book in which he expounded the classicist doctrine of the *Poetic Art* (1674) is itself



**BOILEAU : FRENCH CRITICAL DICTATOR**

Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711) published satires on classic models, and in his prose *Dialogue des Héros de Rome* attacked the romantic novel. His best known work is *L'Art poétique*, inspired by Horace's *Ars Poetica*.

*Bust by Girardon in the Louvre; photo, Girardon*

an imposing monument of didactic verse. Like all his school except La Fontaine, he was blind to the springs of poetry which lie, for other eyes, in the sub-human world; a blindness which was to draw upon him, a century after his death, the scorn of the young Keats, in *Sleep and Poetry*, for 'one Boileau.' With him the mature and developed classicist art of seventeenth-century France looks back in lofty, even derisive, superiority upon the critics and poets of sixteenth-century Italy, in whom the classicist gospel had still so incompletely subdued the inherited sin of undisciplined fancy. But his idea, if narrow, was noble; and it was in the name of the 'pure gold of Vergil' that he condemned the 'tinsel' of Tasso, as it was in the name of the consummate *Misanthrope* that he professed not to recognize his friend Molière in the buffooneries of the *Fourberies de Scapin*.

Boileau died in 1711. In the same year was published in London a brilliant summary, in pellucid couplets, of Boileau's critical ideas. Alexander Pope was still a young man of twenty-three; but his *Essay on Criticism* became at once for literary London the final code of judgement



upon poetic art. Classicism was not new in England. Its ideas had been introduced to the Elizabethan world, a hundred and thirty years before, with a grace and gaiety rare among its advocates, by Sir Philip Sidney, and fortified, a generation later, by the massive erudition and formidable polemics of Ben Jonson. In another art Jonson's colleague and rival, Inigo Jones, attempted to graft upon English architecture the purer and perhaps nobler classicism of his master Palladio. A few plays, on the austere classicist model, issued from the aristocratic circle of Sidney's sister. But classicism made no impression on the Elizabethan mind. The greater dramatists evolved a superb technique of their own far nearer in spirit to Aristotle than to his classicist interpreters, and wholly unaffected by these.

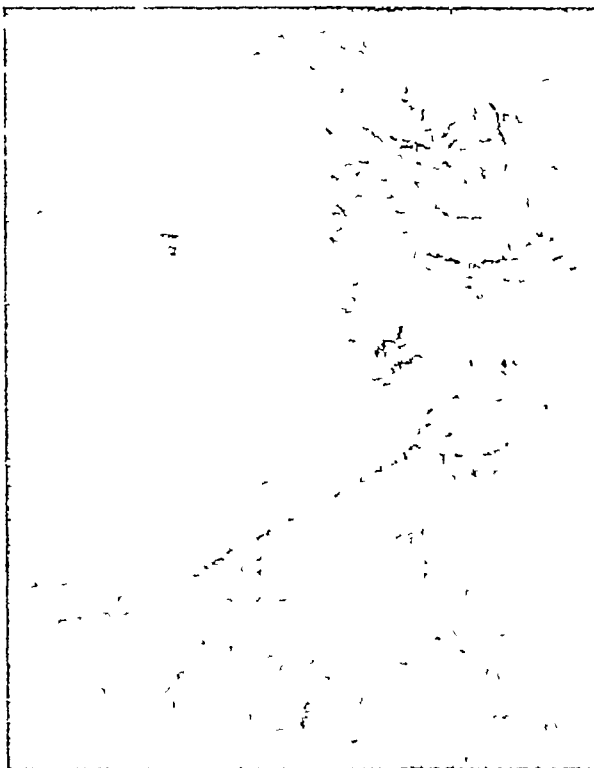
After the Restoration the French classicist drama began to be a power in England, and Molière was freely adapted and imitated, but Dryden, while favouring a stricter continuity and coherence for

the English drama, made choice fun of the straits to which his French contemporaries were driven by compliance with the 'rules'. Pope, then, when he came forward as a legislator for poets and critics, eleven years after Dryden's death, had not, like **Classicism in England** Boileau, a great national creative movement behind and about him, of which he was only, as it were, stating the formula. On the contrary, the body of English tradition and the bias of English character and temperament ran in another, larger and freer, channel.

This is not to say that Pope's legislative essay was a futile caprice, which carried no weight and found no response. It expressed with brilliant and final precision the temper and ideals of the contemporary English mind. But classicism was, in the history of the English mind, a passing mood, a mood of extreme vivacity but little depth, whereas in the French mind it reflected a profound and enduring strain. And the vivacity of English classicism was mainly due to one man, its critical legislator, Pope himself. Clothed in the magical felicity of his style, its most precarious persuasions acquire, like the incoherent philosophy of *The Essay on Man*, the air of indisputable truths.

First follow Nature, and your judgement frame  
By her just standard, which is still the same  
Unerring Nature, still divinely bright,  
One clear, unchanged, and universal light,  
Life, force, and beauty can alone impart,  
At once the source, and end, and test, of Art

In the England of Queen Anne, and wherever else classicism won critical authority, the belief that all art was to be produced and measured by a single invariable standard was coupled with the assurance that this standard was already known and accessible. In Augustan England, as elsewhere, this assurance led to a mischievous idolatry of passing modes. In some forms of art Pope came near to satisfying a standard eternally true. *The Rape of the Lock* can never lose its fragile but immortal charm. But



POPE POET AND ARCH-CRITIC

Alexander Pope (1688-1744) published his *Essay on Criticism* in 1711. It was intended to be a codification of contemporary opinions on the poet's aims and the critic's duties, and was universally accepted as authoritative.

*Crayon drawing in the Bodleian Library*

in judging the greater kinds of poetry he and his age did not distinguish the eternal light of nature from the glamour of stylistic idols of their own.

Homer and nature were, for Pope, convertible terms. But his own translations from Homer, noble as they are, notoriously speak to us in an English crowded with the exploded superstitions of poetic style. And it was precisely in the name of 'nature, which classicism had not so much taken in vain as used in a dangerously narrow and exclusive sense, that the counter-movements which in the course of the eighteenth century ended its supremacy in Europe were to make their most effectual and thrilling appeal. So it came about that Wordsworth, a century after Pope, could use Pope's very phrase, 'follow nature,' as a summons to his generation to repudiate the 'nature' that Pope had proclaimed.

The brief splendour of classicist poetry in the age of Anne was scarcely paralleled in the history of eighteenth-century classicism elsewhere. In Germany still groping blindly towards a destiny which only the solitary genius of Leibniz as yet foretold, Gottsched, 'the German Boileau, proclaimed a dull and second-hand replica of the drama and criticism of Paris. In the young literature of Denmark, on the other hand, Molière found his only disciple of genius in Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754). Spain, which had once inspired Corneille, now in her decadence feebly copied Molière and Racine. Italy, the mother of humanist art and letters, had abandoned herself in the seventeenth century to the literary vices which French classicism had in France driven into obscurity and ill repute. Maffei's tragedy of Merope (1713), with Addison's contemporary Cato, are the only famous survivors of classicist drama out of France, until, towards the close of the



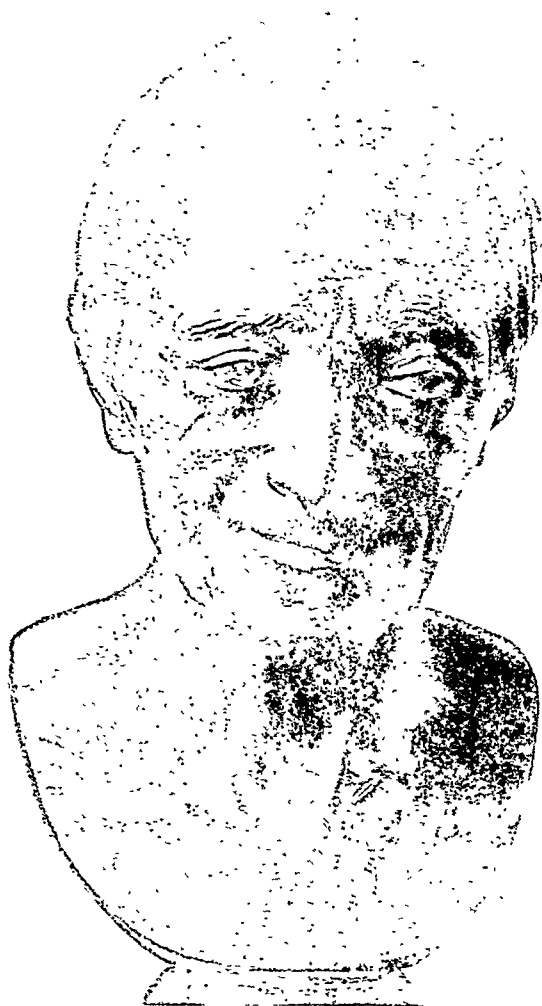
**TITLE PAGE OF AN ENCHANTING FANTASY**

English literature has no more delightful mock heroic poem than Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*. In its finally revised form it was published in 1714, with this title page, where the 'machinery' of sylphs and gnomes is seen disporting itself in a typically classicist setting.

*British Museum*

century, we encounter the splendid but isolated aftermath of Alfieri.

Even in France herself, the great age of the great king ended with the century. Voltaire, the presiding genius of French letters for fifty years, led the revolt of French intellect against the political and religious social dogmas which had dominated the age of French classicism, and had so deeply coloured its art. If Voltaire became the one worthy successor to Racine, the classicist drama, in his hands,



VOLTAIRE : ARBITER OF TASTE

This bronze bust by J. A. Houdon admirably expresses the sardonic humour of François Marie Arouet (1694–1778), poet, dramatist, novelist, historian and satirist, who under his pseudonym Voltaire was the presiding genius of French literature for 50 years (see also page 4124).

*The Louvre ; photo, Gitaudon*

with all its brilliance, was an artificial survival, only less out of date than the duller Elfrida's and Irene's with which the age of Johnson still did homage to the unities of the drama. And Voltaire himself, the most brilliant of all eighteenth-century advocates of classicism, contributed vitally to loosen its grip upon Europe. For it was he who first discovered to the Continent the drama of Shakespeare.

Two capital, and almost contemporary, events mark the decisive inception of the European revolt against classicism, which is the principal event in its history during the eighteenth century, and one of the cardinal topics of the literary history of that century. The first was the publication of Giovanni Battista Vico's *New*

Science, in 1725. The second was Voltaire's discovery, just noticed, of Shakespeare (1728), followed by his proclamation of the merits of the 'barbarian of genius' a little later in his *Letters on the English*.

The history of romanticism, in which these are two decisive landmarks, belongs to Chapter 161. Here it must suffice to say that Vico attacked the very foundation of classicist theory by declaring, in effect, that not reason but imagination, not clear intelligence or 'good sense' but instinctive intuition, were the source and test of poetry. At the same time a whole poetic literature of challenging splendour and richness, the creation, as was then supposed, of an untaught, child-like genius, came suddenly into view in the work of Shakespeare. But the two streams of kindred thought and influence thus set going long flowed apart; Vico's ideas percolated slowly across the Alps, while in Italy Shakespeare for several decades remained merely a name. In the pro-founder and more sensitive conception and theory of poetry evolved in the course of the century by the critics and poets of England and Germany, both had a vital share.

By that revolution, classicism, in the specific sense, was finally dethroned. But this did not mean that the noble poetry created under its auspices was repudiated, still less, of course, that the 'classical' world, whose example it was supposed to have followed and formulated, fell into discredit. Racine remained supreme in a kind, not quite the highest, of tragedy. And the classical world, seen by fresh eyes and apprehended with sensitive imagination rather than with the analytic reason, became a perennial spring of poetry and art.

Classicism was more Roman than Greek, and was most fruitful in inspiration for the least poetic kinds of poetry. Lessing, its first brilliant assailant (see page 3956), attacked it precisely in the name of the Greek Aristotle whom it had 'imitated' but had not understood. The Hellenism of the nineteenth century, as its name implies, drew its inspiration from Greece, and above all from the lyric, which is poetry's finest essence. A great

gulf divides the 'imitation of the ancients,' as we have seen it in Racine or in Pope, and as we find it in Keats, Landor, Leopardi, Goethe, Carducci, Arnold, Swinburne or Bridges. Milton, a lonely star in the twilight of 'classicism,' transcends this distinction.

It is in the light of the supreme figures in literature, who also, but in wholly distinct ways, transcend it, of Shakespeare, Dante, Homer, that we have to ask, finally, What was the meaning and significance of classicism as a literary movement? Part at least of what we mean when we call these poets supreme is that their work presents, in marvellous equipoise or synthesis, great qualities which in lesser genius appear in various kinds and degrees of disproportion. 'Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty,' said Keats; and in the greatest art this ceases to be a paradox. Keats's own *Endymion*, however, was little but a magical dream of beauty, and the contemporary *Tales of Crabbe* little but verse-chronicles of sober and sombre truth. Visionary passion even in poets so great as Blake and Shelley has created a poetry charged with the projected image of themselves. In a poem so grandiose as Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the poet often succumbs to the methodical gazetteer of England. But in the *Divine Comedy* a personality loftier and more intense than either Blake or Shelley penetrates and pervades a poem which is, none the less, an organized image of all that the Italian medieval world thought and felt.

The movements and schools which occupy so much space in literary and artistic history have commonly been inspired either by some specious semblance of such a synthesis as a Dante or a Shakespeare achieved, or by a reaction from such a synthesis, or by an anarchic repudiation of any synthesis at all. In one group, which constantly recurs under different names, the poet makes an idol of his own egoism and, instead of taking up the image of the world into his poetry and wedding it with his own vision of beauty, fills his poetry with fantastic dreams of the world as it might be, or may be, or as his blurred or intoxicated senses persuade him that it is. Poets of this group, commonly called 'subjective' or

'romantic,' paint the golden ages, pastoral Arcadias or Claude Lorraine landscapes, or write expressionist poems and plays.

In another group the object of idolatry is not the exacting personality of the poet, but the poetic art itself. The most rigid and complex technique may be, in the hands of genius, a Dante or a Bach, an instrument, not a fetter. But when devised by ignorant pedantry, or futile ingenuity, it is likely to restrict rather than inspire. The idolatry of technique flourished in Provence, in medieval Wales of technique and in other quarters often credited with the infancy of art. By far the most notable and splendid of the historic movements based upon the idolatry of an inadequate technique was the classicism of which this chapter has attempted to tell the story. It pursued an ideal of order, altogether right and salutary, but, partly through a misunderstanding of 'classic' art, narrowly and prosaically conceived. For 'order' may be the disciplined freedom which is the condition of healthy life, or it may be the mechanical regulation which strangles it. To promote order in the first sense has been one of the supreme services of truly classic art to literature in all countries and ages. To impose order in the second sense was the frequent error and delusion of the 'classicism' of the Renaissance.

Instead of the organic order of Shakespeare, where comedy and tragedy, verse and prose, events dispersed through an epoch or divided by land and sea, are interwoven in an artistic cosmos where not a word can be missed, it too often demanded the mechanical order of formal symmetry, uniformity and sequence. It accomplished some great things, for it had behind it the momentum both of the new passion for antiquity and of the new gospel of reason. But these noble enthusiasms could not rescue it from its intrinsic limitations, or exempt it from those reactionary counter-movements of the ensuing century which, under the names of the return to nature, or the romantic revolt, have been glanced at above, and will be more fully described in a succeeding chapter.



#### EMINENT PHILOSOPHERS WHO MADE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY THOUGHT

Essentially practical, John Locke (1632-1704) produced two celebrated Treatises of Government capable of interpretation under the changed political conditions wrought by the Revolution of 1689. Although he lived and wrote in the latter half of the seventeenth century, his views formed an influential philosophic background for the theories of the eighteenth. This painting of him (right) is by Thomas Gibson. The theistic philosopher Bishop Berkeley (1685-1753) outshone Locke in literary brilliance, but did not eclipse him in popularity. The painting of the bishop is by J. Smybert.

*National Portrait Gallery, London (left) and Christchurch, Oxford*

# THOUGHT AND THINKERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Evolution of European Philosophy in a  
Transition Age of many-sided Progress

By Rt. Hon. J. M. ROBERTSON

Author of *Pioneer Humanists*, *Essays Toward a Critical Method*, etc

**B**EFORE its close, the eighteenth century was generally recognized by open-minded people as the most variously progressive in all history. To the retrospective eye, its limits serve well enough to mark off the century as an era, recognizable as such, at least for the leading countries. In France, it opens with the consummated autocracy of Louis XIV, built up in the reigns of two Bourbons after Henri IV had ended the Wars of Religion and consolidated France, and it closes with the 'general overturn' of the Revolution, and the political consequences. In England, a very different evolution begins under the new constitutionalism of William III and Anne, and that political system broadly stands firm at the century's close. But in both countries there had taken place a mental evolution very much of the same order, temporarily arrested in both by that reaction against the Revolution which lasted through the first half of the nineteenth century. And that mental evolution remains lastingly significant.

For convenience and clearness of survey we mark off 'thought' from exact science and literature, though these provinces are obviously interconnected and interactive, and scientific theory must at times be recognized on its philosophic side. Under the categories of thought and thinkers we call up Newton as well as Locke, the two leading names in English intellectual life in 1700; but this chapter of survey proceeds in the main down the list of thinkers as distinct from non-philosophical men of letters and men of science. And it is in England that, at the outset, the intellectual life of the new century is most active. In France, the culminating

orthodox tyranny of the Grand Monarque had driven such life back under the surface, though the great *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1696) of Pierre Bayle, who had done his work in Rotterdam, remained a charged battery stirring French life for generations. In Germany the great name of Leibniz, who died in 1716, stands solitary in a political world still broken and socially backward after the ruinous tempest of the Thirty Years' War.

Lonely in his thinking as in his life, despite his great services as scholar, as lawyer, as statesman, Leibniz wrote his philosophical treatises largely in French. He was not in Leibniz and his day a national figure, Locke nor did the French dress

of his philosophy win it much French vogue, while in England his mathematical and theological opposition to Newton, as well as the peculiar cast of his own system, precluded for him personal popularity. Yet his optimistic doctrine that 'all is for the best' was skilfully made current by Pope in the *Essay on Man*, where the influence of Shaftesbury, however, is also obvious. For all three countries alike, but especially for England and France, the philosophy of Locke is the outstanding thing in the world of serious thought for the first half of the century, and Locke, himself wholly a product of the latter half of the seventeenth century, served from the first to form a kind of philosophic background for a remarkably various output of newer thought, theological and anti-theological, ethical, social, economic and political.

Everything seemed to be in the melting-pot at once. The fanaticism of the Cromwellian period had elicited, by reaction,

on the one hand the new movement of groping science represented by the Royal Society, which refused to discuss theological matters at all; and on the other hand new audacities in critical literature, including the beginnings of anti-scriptural deism at the hands of such writers as Blount and Toland, before the century was out. Politics were in the tempestuous whirl presented to us by Macaulay. All manner of new political problems had to be faced; and Locke himself, before emerging as a systematic philosopher, had figured as politician, fighting a fine battle for tolerance (in three Letters, 1689-92). That, with his *Two Treatises of Government* (1689-90), won him well-paid governmental posts under the new king, and would have secured him an ambassadorship had he cared to take it.

Close upon his epoch-making *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) came his first treatise (1691) on *The Consequences of the Lowering of the Rate of Interest and Raising the Value of Money*, which was followed by two other papers on that subject in 1695. Locke had 'the economic head,' and nowhere does he think more clearly and soundly than in these *Locke's Essays on Economics* essays. Converting as he did Somers and Montague, he is entitled to a main part of the credit for the restoration of a sound currency which was begun in 1696 and completed in 1698. On the subject of state regulation of interest he was right where Adam Smith, in the next century, was wrong until converted by Bentham.

The great *Essay* had reached its fourth edition, largely expanded, in 1700; and already had appeared the treatise on *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695); the author's replies to the attacks of Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester, on his orthodoxy; and the critiques on Norris and Malebranche. Practicality is the essential quality of Locke's great work. He sets himself, by business-like analysis, to ascertain first the powers of the mind to reach tested truth, thus making, as it were, psychology the basis and gist of the whole. The new word psychology he did not use, associated as it was up

to that time with the kind of absolutist thinking that he deprecated in regard to metaphysics. Nor was he strictly original. Like all sane philosophers, he proceeded by way of development of previous thought; and he sets out on lines laid by Descartes and Hobbes. But he gave to all philosophic thought a new practical lead in the direction of actuality.

It is an easy matter to-day to detect the formal and the real inconsistencies of Locke's philosophic argumentation. Some of them were pointed out by Sergeant in the seventeenth century, and some by Hume and Reid and others in the eighteenth. We shall find the same trouble in the philosophy of Kant at the close of the century; as in that of the intermediate men and in those of the nineteenth century. But his service to the development of thought remains indisputable. It might be said of him, as of Socrates, that he brought down philosophy from the skies to the street. Hazlitt, who accused him of 'stealing' his philosophy from Hobbes, yet admits that he won for it a universal hearing. Voltaire's eulogy of 'that cautious anatomy of the human understanding, that blind man's staff which supported the walk of the modest Locke as he sought his way and found it,' well expresses his service. Thenceforth all a priori doctrine, including his own, was under the constant challenge of criticism. A century earlier Bacon, partly under the influence of the keen questioning of Montaigne, had set forth incisively the faultiness of men's intellectual processes in the search for truth. Locke reduces to something like positive method that necessary inquisition.

Scarcely was his treatise afloat when he found that the new generation was carrying his method to new ends. Toland startled and perturbed him by applying it against orthodox faith, in *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696), and though he did not live to know how far his beloved young friend Anthony Collins was to go in the same direction, that author's *Discourse of Free-thinking* (1713), the beginning of a new and long campaign of anti-scriptural polemic, was an outcome of Locke's



methods, previously applied in Collins's *Essay concerning the Use of Reason* (1707). Locke's own 'reasonable' Christianity was an attempt to get rid of perplexing dogmas and fanatical conceptions by reducing the Christian creed substantially to its practical ethics; and neither the Stillingfleets on the one hand nor the deists on the other would be content with that compromise, which in fact is still under debate.

When Locke died, in 1704, new critical impulses were germinating in many heads. The third earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), who had had Locke for his private tutor, had in youth written, visibly under the pantheistic influence of Spinoza, an *Inquiry concerning Virtue or Merit*, which was first published in 1699 by Toland, without his permission. In that lay the seeds of further anti-ecclesiastical thinking which began to emerge in 1708 in its author's *Letter concerning Enthusiasm* (then synonymous with fanaticism), and in further treatises which in 1711 were embodied in the collection entitled *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Times*, one of the famous books of the age. The burden of the whole is that moral principles are spontaneous in man; that nature is the work of a benevolent omnipotence; and that revealed religion may rather hinder than help men's bias to good. To Locke's denial that moral ideas are 'innate,' he justly replied that they are 'connatural,' thus finding for ethics a social basis where Locke stood for a theological one. And as against Hobbes and the early sociologists, who conceived society as beginning in the calculated combination of savages who had previously lived in hostile isolation, he soundly reasoned

that social aggregation of some sort is a primary human tendency. Thus he led later writers right when both Montesquieu and Rousseau were still assuming a primary state of individual isolation.

A very different spirit from Shaftesbury, Bernard Mandeville, born of French stock and educated in Holland, but effectively naturalised in England, where he practised all his life as a physician, produced in 1705 a Hudibrastic poem entitled *The Grumbling Hive*, à propos of the political crisis of the hour. This served as the germ and nucleus of a compilation entitled *The Fable of the Bees*, which has been unfairly entitled an optimism of immorality in contrast with the moral optimism that underlay the whole of Shaftesbury's treatises. As against Shaftesbury, Mandeville is indeed 'the spirit who denies,' ironically professing to

censure Shaftesbury for lack of religion, but really seeking to bring all issues to the tests of actual human nature, which he viewed without illusions. Apart from his imperfectly sustained paradox that 'private vices [in particular, luxury and love of gain] are public benefits,' Mandeville is a kind of practical sociologist, finding the roots of law and morals and religion in primitive human needs and utilities.

An enthusiastic disciple of Shaftesbury, the Irishman Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), described by Adam Smith as 'the never-to-be-forgotten,' produced in 1725 an anonymous *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, vindicating his master and energetically criticising Mandeville. In Hutcheson's hands the ethical problem is to some extent well developed; and as the



THIRD EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

The philosophical activity of Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671-1713), shown in this full-length portrait by Clostermann, was concerned chiefly with ethics and religion.

From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brühlmann A.G.

instructor of Adam Smith at Glasgow University he had an extended influence on the next generation. But though Hutcheson usefully stressed the psychic fact of moral bias he did not scientifically establish his concept of a 'moral sense'; and neither he nor Shaftesbury can be said to have shed any decisive light on the difficult problems of aesthetics. The remarkable thing is that Hutcheson, while avowedly deriving his philosophic inspiration from pagan antiquity, professed Christian orthodoxy with apparently complete sincerity, which can hardly be said of Shaftesbury. Yet he was actually prosecuted before the Glasgow Presbytery (1738) for teaching to his students 'false and dangerous doctrines' in ethics, to wit, that the standard of moral goodness is the promotion of happiness in others, and that 'we can have a knowledge of good and evil prior to a knowledge of God.'

Thus there was already on foot in England, early in the century, a new and searching debate on the nature of morals,

in which, from the outset, a number of divines took part. Of these the most prominent was Dr. Samuel Clarke, who in two courses of Boyle Lectures had discussed theism, natural religion, and the Christian Revelation (1705-6). In his theism he holds to previous positions; in his ethics he partly follows the newer 'naturalistic' tendency to see morality as 'connatural,' regarding moral rightness as substantially social fitness. It was a view developed in the previous century by the clerics Cumberland and Cudworth, on the stimulus of Hobbes, and partly on the lead of the French cleric Malebranche, who for Hume was the leader of the attempt to reduce all ethic to a process of 'reason.' Of course, Clarke, as a theologian, formally connected his ethics with his theism; but he nevertheless forwarded the tendency to make moral philosophy stand on its own feet; and he was embroiled in the general debate on theism which marked the age.

#### Debates on Ethics and Theism

The outstanding feature of that debate was that no reasoning theologian missed being challenged for heresy. In the previous generation Cudworth, seeking to repel atheism by a doctrine of 'plastic nature' which represented the universe as constituted by the Deity to proceed by its own implanted laws, was himself charged on that score with atheism, and Bayle calmly maintained the criticism against Le Clerc in Holland. Leibniz in the same fashion charged Newton's doctrine of gravitation with being materialistic; and Clarke retorted that Leibniz's own philosophy of monads tended to 'banish God from the world.' Yet Clarke in turn was charged with heresy on the subject of the Trinity; and he had a warm admirer in the good Whiston, who was an Arian. Later, Dr. Peter Browne of Trinity College, Dublin, who had obtained an Irish bishopric by attacking Toland's Christianity not Mysterious in 1697, marred his status by producing two books (1728, 1733) in which he virtually denied the possibility of a rational conception of deity. This was represented by George Berkeley, then also an Irish bishop, as putting an argument in the mouths of



#### THEOLOGIAN AND PHILOSOPHER

Dr. Samuel Clarke (1675-1729) played a prominent part in the moral debates of his time. Though not an original thinker, he possessed great logical power. His cheerful disposition is revealed in this painting by J. Vanderbank.

National Portrait Gallery, London

atheists; whereupon Bishop Browne retorted the same charge on Bishop Berkeley.

That famous writer (1685-1753) was, of course, a devout Christian, and indeed the most brilliant theistic philosopher of his age. Alike in literary and in dialectic gifts he outshone Locke, though he never outweighed him in the esteem of the majority of his educated countrymen. Proceeding from Locke's standpoint as to ideas, and partly on  
 The Philosophy of Berkeley Locke's lines, he turned his subtle intelligence to the construction of a new theistic philosophy which should re-establish religion and morals, both being regarded by him as in a corrupt and declining state. His philosophy was, as he called it in his *Commonplace Book*, 'the immaterial hypothesis,' according to which 'only persons exist,' other things being 'not so much existences as manners of the existence of persons. As a fellow and tutor at Trinity College, Dublin, he published at the age of twenty-four (1709) his brilliant *Essay towards a New Theory of Vision*; followed in the next year by his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, Part I, of which treatise no more appeared. The essay on *Passive Obedience* (1712) was so strenuous in support of that doctrine as to make some reckon him a Jacobite; but he meant it to apply in favour of the *de facto* king, his great object being law and order. It was after a long absence from Ireland, spent in London, France and Italy (where he resided for four years), that he resumed authorship (1721) with an anonymous *Essay towards Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*. The collapse of the South Sea Bubble gave him his immediate cue; but his effort was inspired rather by dread of irreligion than by alarm at stock-exchange gambling. That 'blasphemy against God' should be punished equally with 'treason against the king' was one of his prescriptions.

In 1732 he published his largest and most widely read work, *Alciphron*, or *The Minute Philosopher*, a set of brilliant dialogues in which he derided and confuted to his satisfaction the unbelievers of the age. Popular in its day, it adds little or nothing to his philosophic status, though

it is his most learned work. His *Querist* (1735-37), so entitled because it consists of series of queries, is a really memorable miscellany of suggestive and acute ideas, many of them anticipating the economic science of a later generation.

He thus remains an outstanding figure chiefly in respect of his youthful philosophic work, the doctrine of immaterialism, and the Theory of Vision on which it is in part founded. His doctrine is not, as was supposed by Johnson and Byron, a flat denial of the 'existence of matter.' Berkeley expressly if inconsistently insisted on the reality of things as perceived by 'the vulgar.' What he denied was the long-standing doctrine, ancient and modern, of the unreality of all the known forms of matter, and the idealistic inference that under all those forms there exists a 'sub-stantia,' a primordial and archetypal substance, **Doctrine of Reality** which cannot be known to sense. That philosophic theory had been the creation of thinkers impressed by the transiency of all perceptible things, and seeking in abstraction a 'something permanent.' Inasmuch, however, as that conception seemed to involve the assumption of an eternal and uncreated universe, which from Aristotle onwards tended to undermine practical theism, Berkeley rejected it as fundamentally irreligious. For him there was no difficulty in the conception of creation out of nothing.

But while professing to insist on the reality of things sensible as did 'the vulgar,' Berkeley propounded what was for the vulgar a virtual negation of matter, since he insisted that all the things perceived as real 'exist only' in the minds of the perceivers. Dialectically speaking, this seemed to follow on Locke's primary doctrine, accepted by Berkeley, that 'all we know is our ideas, our impressions.' Locke, in turn, had proceeded on Descartes, who in fact had supplied Berkeley with his thesis, in the sentence: 'The things which I perceive or imagine are perhaps nothing at all apart from me' (*Third Meditation*). And that in turn proceeded on much previous debate. The question of the existence of an external world had in fact been pronounced the

**POWERFUL PREACHER AND THINKER**

Joseph Butler, bishop of Durham (1692-1752), author of the famous *Analogy of Religion*, occupies an important place among eighteenth-century theological thinkers. In his sermons he opposed the current disbelief in the Bible.

*Permission of the Bishop of Durham*

'opprobrium philosophorum,' the scandal of philosophers, inasmuch as the proposition was avowed to be proved and disproved by arguments equally irrefutable. Descartes, however, adopting a method later developed by Kant and others, disposed of his difficulty by deciding that all our notions of the reality of outward things are implanted in us by God, and that God could not deceive us. For him, all 'clear' ideas are to be taken as true. Locke in effect took up the same position, declaring, truly enough, that our intuitive knowledge of our existence and of that which we sensate 'comes not short of the highest idea of certainty.' But he had expressly posited at the outset that our knowledge is only of ideas or impressions. This confusion was removed in later philosophy by the recognition that the supposed primary knowledge of sheer ideas as such is fallacious, and that all the ideas in question involve object no less than subject, a merely self-conscious subject being a verbal illusion. Self can be thought only with Not-self.

Berkeley extended Locke's assumption by his thesis, evolved from the systems

of Descartes and Malebranche, that the object 'exists only' in the subject's thought; falling back on the purely verbal argument that if we suppose an object to have existed before us, or to exist after us or in our absence, we are really thus perceiving it in thought. The proposition is, in sum, the mere truism that we can think of things, as existing, only by thinking of them. That is simply the statement of the psychic fact, carrying no logical inference. No verbal or formal inference can be more certain than our certitude that things subsist while we are asleep, did subsist before our birth, and will subsist after our death. Berkeley therefore was but brilliantly spinning a verbal cobweb.

His subconscious motive, apparently, was his intense temperamental aversion from all forms of 'scepticism' that assailed his religious creed. On that motive, however, he evolved, as Hume soon pointed out, a scepticism which outwent in range that which he assailed. In the England of Berkeley's day there was little atheism; and what there

was probably leant to the **An age of deistic pantheism of Spinoza.** **free-thought**

The 'free thought' of the age was almost wholly deistic. His attempt to undermine it by a quite incomplete 'immaterial' view of external reality is historically comparable to the sceptical rejoinders by which Catholic churchmen repelled the criticism of Protestants, as other thinkers had sought to repel critical unbelief before Protestantism arose.

In the nature of things it could have no popular success, even apart from the undermining philosophy of Hume; and the deistic movement, which declared the existence of a creative and ruling God to be indisputable, but the Christian creed and Sacred Books to be incredible, defied Berkeley's resistance. Against his will, like the Catholic sceptics, he rather fostered than quieted the questioning spirit of his age.

Before Hume, the only contemporary theological thinker who vies with Berkeley in general power and personal weight is Bishop Joseph Butler (1692-1752), whose *Fifteen Sermons* preached at the Chapel

of the *Rolls Court* (1726), and *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* (1736), still rank as classics. This is not by reason of literary charm or brilliance, in which attractions Butler is quite inferior to Berkeley, but in virtue of their air of pregnancy and force, and their very avoidance of rhetoric. Butler, like Berkeley, was deeply disturbed by the spread of aggressive disbelief in the Bible, and set himself to oppose it, in *The Analogy*, by an argument which, though as old as Origen, had not hitherto been used in the modern defence of the faith, save incidentally by William Law, in his *Case of Reason or Natural Religion fairly and fully Stated* (1731) in reply to Tindal's *Christianity as old as Creation*. This is the plea that men may naturally expect in revelation the kind of perplexities that they find in the scheme of nature, considered as that of a benevolent Providence.

Law, the ablest and most earnest religious propagandist of his age, employed the plea as part of an argument against all reliance on reason as apart from Scripture. Butler sought to employ it in the cause of 'reasonable religion.' In his hands it was practically a retort on the non-Christian deists, who held unquestioningly the belief in an omnipotent and benevolent Deity; and it has been latterly assumed that the effect was to disconcert them and to put deism out of fashion. There is no evidence of any such consequences. *The Analogy*, in fact, evoked hardly any discussion in its author's lifetime. Deists seem to have gone on increasing in numbers long after 1736; though the production of new English deistic literature gradually fell off. It appears to have been generally assumed that the questions of miracle and prophecy had been fully thrashed out in a whole generation of debate; though after 1760 the new brilliance of the campaign of Voltaire, who had been largely inspired by the English deists, including Bolingbroke (whose *Philosophical Writings* were posthumously published, 1754) was naturally attractive. Deism remained

common among the educated classes and was not without friends in the Church.

The explanation seems to have been that perplexity over the order of nature was not at all a new experience, and had not as a rule led men to atheism; whereas the official admission of anomaly in revelation told against a faith which had been delivered as all-sufficing truth. Butler's argument had two weak points, of which he was perhaps not unconscious. The plea was that by

analogy a divine revelation might be expected to present some of the moral and other anomalies of nature. An obvious answer was that, by the same principle of analogy, the Scriptures were to be supposed a purely human production; grave anomaly being characteristic of pagan religious literature. On the other hand, the admission that revelation would naturally be marked by anomalies left it possible that other alleged revelations, the Mahomedan, for instance, were no less divine than the Christian. It is not surprising that there is small sign of any revival of faith wrought by Butler. On the other hand, he can be seen to have influenced Hume.

It is interesting to note, however, that his reputation rose considerably in the nineteenth century, when the deism of the previous age was spontaneously passing either into Unitarian or into agnostic or 'positivist' forms. Always Butler had won respect by his grave simplicity and his frequent candid avowal of lack of certitude where other apologists had professed a glowing certainty. For that he substituted a simple appeal to a balance of probability. He thus won an extended esteem when old certitudes had been still more widely undermined. Serious men found in him an earnest observer of life who saw the difficulties of his case and did not seek to conceal them. His defence of the belief in immortality has been confessed even by Gladstone to be at first study disappointing. At the same time, he made mere orthodox assumptions where orthodox readers looked to him for defensive arguments, as on the subject of miracles and prophecy. It is thus doubtful whether his fame will be

maintained at its nineteenth-century level; and scholarly theologians of modern times have impugned his treatise as an ineffective apology. The Sermons, however, with their searching glances into the springs of human action and their steady pressure on moral reflection, have an unadorned impressiveness not always retained by more eloquent moralists. In the matter of ethical theory he made his effect by stressing the difficulties of utilitarianism, without however turning back the general tendency towards a utilitarian position.

The next eminent figure in the line of British thinkers is David Hume (1711-76), who might be said to exhibit in philosophy a Scottish temperament, as distinct from those of the English Locke and the Irish Berkeley. Yet a deep desire for literary fame withheld him from the pursuits to which his pecuniary position would otherwise have inclined him; and at the age of twenty-eight he produced, after a quiet and economical residence of several years at La Flèche in France, the anonymous *Treatise of Human Nature: Being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental*

[i.e. experiential] *Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects* (1739-40), which has admittedly been the most influential philosophic work of its century. Hume proceeds on a knowledge of both Locke and Berkeley, but says little about them beyond (1) challenging Locke as to 'innate' tendencies, (2) dividing his 'ideas' into 'impressions and ideas' and (3) warmly adopting Berkeley's 'sceptical' argument against abstract ideas.

Of his own positions on the side of the philosophy of mind, the principal are (1) his doctrine that our knowledge of causation is solely a matter of inference from *The Philosophy of David Hume* unvarying experience, and (2) his contention that the mind itself is but a series of 'impressions and ideas.' The latter is a turning against Berkeley of his own procedure. If objects exist for us only as and in our ideas of them, equally our ideas exist only as successive experiences; and there is no more trustworthy knowledge of 'mind' or personality as such than of objects.

Like Berkeley, Hume was developing previous argument. His doctrine that causation is known only through confirmed experience had been explicitly put long before by Raleigh in the preface to his *History of the World*: 'That these and these be the causes of these effects, time hath taught us, and not reason; and so hath experience without art.' Raleigh argues the matter with a clear perception of the issue. The same proposition is held by Glanvil in his *Scepsis Scientifica* (1665), and it had been recognized by Hobbes and Malebranche. It can be traced farther back to the medieval Moorish philosopher Al Ghazzali (or Algazel), who in turn had derived it from the ancient Greek sceptics. Hume, however, was not merely framing a philosophy of knowledge for its own sake: no less than Berkeley he had in view a practical end; and whereas Berkeley, like Collier, aimed at establishing a 'spiritual' conception of reality which should buttress the current creed against critical doubt, Hume had in view a dissolution of all such philosophy by its own logic, leaving the ground clear for scientific criticism.



DAVID HUME THE PHILOSOPHER

This portrait of the Scot, David Hume (1711-76), eminent in history, philosophy and political economy, is by Allan Ramsay. It was from the standpoint of universal scepticism that Hume wrote his *Treatise of Human Nature*.

*Scottish National Gallery: photo, Annan*

He was not, however, merely destructive, any more than he was optimistically constructive. After producing his *Treatise*, in which he avows that his 'scepticism' is but an impartial statement of the difficulties (which had been partially stated with partisan aims), he set himself to the quite practical tasks and problems handled in his very perspicuous *Essays Moral and Political* (1741-2). The *Treatise*, by reason of its very depth and scope, had met with only a 'success of esteem,' and he was bent on a wider influence. After

**Revision and Recasting** some years he recast his *Treatise* into *An Inquiry Concerning the Human Understanding* (1748) and *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1752), which together he desired to be taken as the only authoritative statement of his philosophy. He has been sharply censured for putting aside the powerful work of his youth, and for complaining of the bigoted zeal which sought to triumph over its negligences. But the *Treatise* really exhibits some laxities of argument, as well as an occasional youthful arrogance and a good deal of youthful exuberance of style which to the mature Hume might well be distasteful; and it was the re-written book which, as part of his *Essays and Treatises* (1753-4), made him generally known to the philosophic and the educated world. The *Natural History of Religion*, published as one of *Four Dissertations* in 1757, and the *History of Great Britain* (1754-61) further built up the edifice of his fame; the posthumous *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (1779) completing the structure.

Hume's thought really underwent developments in the process of his revision of his *Treatise*. He finally admitted, in his ethics, the play of forms of benevolent bias which in the *Treatise* he had treated as suppositions. Some of the most important revisions indeed occur in *Notes* to the rewritten *Inquiries* which vitally modify their positions. Thus in the *Inquiry on the Understanding*, sec. V, he observes that 'all inferences from experience . . . are effects of custom, not of reasoning.' In a note on the passage he convincingly shows that the distinction

'is at bottom erroneous, at least superficial.' It really follows that his strict distinction between reason and sentiment, in the *Inquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, is open to a similar solution, 'sentiment' being implicit in reason, and vice versa, very notably so in the 'sentiment of utility.' When he avows that much reasoning is needed to 'feel the proper sentiment,' he has yielded the point. Hume, in fact, devoting himself to other pursuits, left his philosophic work formally imperfect at various points. The *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* were indeed under revision by him to the end, and are not finally reduced to formal unity.

In the last named work, however, Hume's whole outlook on life is sufficiently revealed. The book is one of the few model dialogues in which nobody gets everything his own way, the two chief disputants (theist and sceptic) in turn scoring hits and making concessions. But in the **Agnostic position** end, under cover of a **of the Dialogues** formal recommendation of the theist's case, the reader is left with a strong inference that Hume's own final position was what to-day would be termed agnostic. The book had been written while he was recasting the *Treatise*; but withheld; and it was only the sense of duty of his nephew and heir that finally gave it to the world. Adam Smith, Hume's admiring friend and his literary executor, spurned the responsibility of issuing it thus indicating his own interpretation of the work. Although it was reprinted in the 1788 edition of the *Essays and Treatises*, a number of later editions left it out.

From it we gather that Hume, who had always professed theism, considered that belief so far conformable to 'experience' and probability that, though open to serious challenge, it might fitly be professed by a thinking man who realized the usefulness of religion in common life. As he put it in his *History*: 'The proper office of religion is to reform men's lives, to purify their hearts, to enforce all moral duties, and to secure obedience to the laws of the civil magistrate.' But he had a fixed aversion from the fanaticism



of which he had seen so much at close quarters at home, and of which he wrote the history for the previous century, and to expel what he called 'superstition' was as much his ideal as to turn theism to the purposes of law and order. Thus he lived his latter life as librarian of the Edinburgh Faculty of Advocates (from 1752), with interludes as an embassy secretary at Paris and an under-secretary for the Home Department in London, passing his closing years in his native town, on good terms with all but bigots, the warmly esteemed friend of Principal Robertson, the Church leader, and of Adam Smith—and all along known as the author of the essay *Of Miracles* (1748).

That essay indicates his practical objective. The negative argument that causation is only an inference from uniform experience was now applied on its positive front, uniform experience is required to justify belief in any alleged process of causation. miracles are by definition solitary exceptions, therefore incredible. One of the inconsistencies resulting from the alternations of his bias to speculation and his practical purpose is that in a note on the very topic he claims, by his account of causation as a mere inference from experience, to cancel the 'impious' maxim, *Ex nihilo, nihil fit*. So far as we know, he declares, the will of the Supreme Being or 'any other being' may create matter. Then it follows that it may effect unprecedented events.

But in the chapter *Of Miracles*, while he incidentally makes this admission, he recognizes only the principle of experience, in effect establishing the 'impious' maxim for all practical purposes. A miracle, he writes, may be theoretically possible, but it cannot be so proved as to be a fit foundation for a religion. His tactic was, in fact, to parade theoretic scepticism by way of outflanking the defensive scepticism of Berkeley and others, and nevertheless to adopt the standpoint of science as against the religious defence. In his recast of his *Treatise*, in a note on the very passage in which he adopts Berkeley's argument against abstract ideas, he points to that

philosopher as the master sceptic, producing arguments which admit neither of conviction nor of answer. Later thinkers found answers.

The practical argument against miracles, in turn, had been used before him, in his hands it became a philosophic weapon against 'superstition'. All the answers to it missed the main point: nobody believed in pagan miracles, which the arguments of the defenders would validate as well as the Christian. And so Hume, the Tory and the believer in a politically useful theism, who advised a young man 'with doubts' to proceed to ordination as a clergyman, became the philosophic exponent of 'unbelief' for his own and the next age.

His philosophic vogue, doubtless, was helped by his Toryism in politics as against his theological

disrepute, and, yet further, by the marked sagacity of his thinking on economic and sociological questions.

His *Natural History of Religion* opened up, clearly though loosely, new scientific views in anthropology. This turning of thought to the ends of what may be termed the 'humanist' sciences as distinguished from the 'natural' is characteristic of the great bulk of eighteenth-century thought, from Locke to Kant. It is marked in Shaftesbury, Mandeville and Berkeley, different as were their temperamental outlooks. The deists, from Toland and Collins onwards, were naturally warm advocates of 'freedom of thought,' and there Hume comes in line with them. It appears to be admitted that the deistic movement was a main factor in imposing a policy of entire religious toleration in India, that it furthered humanitarian movements, and that the deists' biblical criticism either anticipated or laid the foundations for the more scholarly work of the next age. Samuel Parvish, a bookseller at Guildford, had so early as 1739 come to the conclusion that Deuteronomy is a product of the seventh century B.C., a discovery too far ahead of contemporary scholarship to be then effectively recognized. Deists in general were satisfied with discrediting tradition, and the 'imperial' expansion

of England in the latter half of the century seems to have diverted energy even from the fields of physical science into those of commercial adventure. The work of Newton was carried on rather by French than by English heads.

French intellectual life (see also Chapter 155) showed a new vigour after the death of Louis XIV, though the persecuting activity of the Church was strong even under the dis-

**Intellectual revival  
in France**

solute regime of the regency. Collins's Discourse of Free-thinking was promptly translated (1714), but not for a good many years was it followed by versions of anything more combative than selections from Shaftesbury on Ridicule, and on Enthusiasm. Apart from such polemic, however, native faculty produced (1718) in the *Traité des premières vérités* of the Jesuit Father Buffier (1661-1737), a work which has not had fair recognition in the history of philosophy. He was really an exponent, in advance of his time, of the so-called 'Common Sense' philosophy produced in Scotland two generations afterwards by Reid, but his Jesuit status and his formal orthodoxy repelled the more free-thinking readers, while his essential rationalism chilled the orthodox in so far as they studied him. Voltaire, however, who on the whole preferred Jesuits to Jansenists, had a good word for him. Philosophical proofs of the existence of God, he insisted, were wholly unsound, the idea being derived simply by way of experience and verified by revelation. Morals, on the other hand, he grounded not on revelation, but on the humanist principle of reciprocity, declining to take his stand with Locke on 'the will of God'. In a more popular treatise, an inquiry into vulgar prejudices, he declared so strongly in favour of free discussion that he cannot have been acceptable to the authorities.

That spirit of inquiry was to become the great characteristic of the century, in France as in England, and Charles Sécondat, baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu (1689-1755), may be taken as its first memorable impersonation. Montesquieu's importance consists in his sociological work, seen perhaps at its best

in his masterly study of *The Greatness and Decadence of the Romans* (1734); but more at large in his more famous *Spirit of Laws* (1748). He had certainly undergone English influences, but he, in turn, influenced English thought. His treatment of social evolution was so essentially rationalistic that it did not pass the censorship till that office came into the hands of the free-thinking Malesherbes in 1750, and it was put on the papal Index Expurgatorius in 1752—a treatment previously accorded to the French translations of Locke.

The *Spirit of Laws*, however, was of more value as a stimulus to fresh thinking than as a structure of tested truth. The same may be said of the *New Science* (see page 4074) of the Italian Giovanni Battista Vico (1725-30). Buckle has justly written of Vico that his 'genius is perhaps even more vast than that of Montesquieu,' yet of less influence on thought, 'for, though his *Scienza Nuova* contains the most profound views on ancient history, they are rather glimpses of truth than a systematic investigation of any one period.' On



ORIGINAL FRENCH THINKER

The works of Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) embody the spirit of inquiry that characterised the eighteenth century, and are charged with great admiration for English institutions. This portrait, by H. Grevedon, is from his works.



#### TURGOT THE FRENCH ECONOMIST

The two lectures on the philosophy of history, which the French economist Robert Jacques Turgot (1727-81), delivered at the Sorbonne (1750-51) played a prominent part in the founding of sociology. This drawing is by Panilli.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.*

the other hand, the *Spirit of Laws* cannot be called a systematic investigation of any one period; it is only the smaller book on *The Greatness and Decadence of the Romans* that can be even partly so described, and even that is a masterly survey of social movement in mass rather than a detailed investigation. The seminal value of both books lay, as Buckle claimed, in their dismissal of the biographical view of history and their concentration on what we to-day call the sociological view—the whole process of socio-political causation. Montesquieu, indeed, was not wholly original. He adopted from his predecessors, for instance, generalisations on the socio-political effects of climate which Voltaire in the next generation showed to be untenable. But as an intellectual stimulus he was powerful in respect at once of the vigour of his speculation and the sparkle of his style. His admiration of the English constitution had a lasting influence on French political thought, which receives fuller treatment in Chapter 155.

Immediately after the *Spirit of Laws* came the two lectures on the philosophy of history delivered by Turgot at the Sorbonne (1750-51). These, in turn, had an important part in founding sociology, in respect of their clear insistence on the process of continuous causation in human affairs. That Turgot's thought was essentially scientific may be held to be proved by the fact that he was one of the first in his day (Dubos preceded him in 1703) to predict the independence of the American colonies; and already, in the first half of the century, he had set forth those ideas of social progress which became violent ideals before its close. In a more sober fashion, the concepts of Montesquieu and Turgot, brilliantly developed by Voltaire in his great *Essay on General History and the Manners and Morals of Nations* (*Essai sur les mœurs*, 1756) stirred to fruitful sociological thought a whole series of writers in Britain and France. Hume and Adam Smith were alike affected, though they had also intellectual impulses from the sociological and economic thinking of, their English predecessors Locke, Berkeley, Shaftesbury and Mandeville.

Economic thought was in fact progressing independently in both countries. The problems of English trade and of commercial politics had evoked a series of English treatises from the Caroline period onwards, the majority advocating protection and bullionism (principles implied in the phrase 'the mercantile system') even while collecting evidence of a contrary bearing. In France, where internal corn laws, hampering trade exchanges between provinces, wrought much distress, Turgot and others took up the principle which came to be generalised as '*laissez faire*'—'leave things alone, let trade be free' (see pages 4127-8). Turgot's *Reflections on the Formation and Distribution of Riches* (1766), which preceded Smith's *Wealth of Nations* by ten years, shows at points a deeper economic insight than is revealed by Smith's larger survey. A more dogmatic theory of things culminated in the body of writings collected under the title of *Physiocratie* (1758)—a title implying that

Development of  
Economic Science

economics were reducible to the study of primary production—of which the chief inspirer was the physician Quesnay; and of that doctrine, which saw in agriculture the main economic factor, there remain distinct traces in Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776), the educator of the next age in England for free trade.

That Scotland should play a special part in this development of economic science was partly a natural result of the fact that the legislative union with England had brought to the northern kingdom a new prosperity, by reason of the freedom of trade with England which it involved. Hume had ably argued the case before Smith began his book; urging also the moral consideration of international reciprocity as against blind national self-seeking. Smith's famous treatise was preceded also by the large and systematic work of the long-exiled Jacobite Sir James Steuart (1767), entitled *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*. That was a

Utilitarian trend of thought though a heavy performance; but it took the side of the old mercantilism, which stood for the bullionist principle that Hume and Smith exploded; and it accordingly failed. Both Hume and Smith have been disparaged by idealists of the nineteenth century as exponents of an uninspiring moral philosophy. But their fundamental utilitarianism was in keeping with the whole irresistible movement of eighteenth-century thought, which involved clerical as well as lay moralists; and their practical inference will well bear comparison with that of their theoretic antagonists. Smith, however, counted for less as a lasting force in moral than in political philosophy; his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), a study of all the reactions of sympathy on moral judgement, having in the end no such permanent status as the *Inquiry* of Hume, though it was translated into French with applause, and ran into many editions at home. He shows no knowledge of Gay, whose schematic gift might have simplified his labours.

His strength lay on the side of his study of social causation; for the *Wealth of Nations* is not merely an economic treatise

but a manifold inquiry into the conditions of social advance and retardation. And this aim is seen animating a considerable body of Scottish work of the same age. Adam Ferguson's *Essay of Civil Society* (1766) has a more lasting value than his *History of the Roman Republic* (1782), his *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (1772) and his *Moral and Political Science* (1792); and Professor John Millar's *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1771) has similarly outlasted in interest his *Historical View of the English Government . . . to 1688* (1787-1803). Millar is at least remembered as perhaps the first modern sociologist to discuss, though with inadequate knowledge, the so-called 'matriarchate'; and Comte has paid just tribute to Ferguson. But a more penetrating thinker than either of these was Professor James Dunbar of Aberdeen, whose *Essays on the History of Mankind in Rude and Cultured Ages* (1780) exhibit much of the scientific temper of latter-day sociology.

The contrast between the English and French developments begins to be marked long before 1760, when Voltaire entered the field as an active combatant against the orthodox creed, which in France grew more persecuting while in England it grew less so. Previously the most advanced thinking on the philosophical side of things was that of Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709-51) on one hand and the abbé Condillac and Diderot on the other. The first work of La Mettrie (1745), on *The Natural History of the Mind*, was published pseudonymously at Amsterdam as a translation from an imaginary English author. It is so definitely and audaciously materialistic that to this day it has met with little patient study. Trained as a physician, La Mettrie, after some early writings on medical matters, involving controversy with Astruc, produced his *Histoire naturelle de l'âme* as the fruit of the reflections set up by an illness.

Between his professional quarrels and his levities and audacities in this work, he incurred exile, and had to take refuge at the Prussian court. The book had but a success of scandal, and its successors, *L'homme plante* and *L'homme machine*

(1748), were too festively extravagant to mend matters, though the theory, partly traceable to Leibniz, of a fundamental unity of type in all forms of life, which is put forward in the former work, is found to recur in the serious speculation of the next age. Only at the court of Frederick the Great, where La Mettrie was in his last years a boon companion, could such an intellectual rebel have been safe, and even there his heedlessness of

**Problems raised by La Mettrie** life was exceptional. His defenders admit that he

lacked the seriousness of temperament requisite for science. Yet he abounds in physiological ideas which were to be more soberly developed in the next century, and his *Man a Machine*, which was promptly translated into English and published at Dublin as a work of the marquis D'Argens, gave as much trouble as offence to the theologians by insisting vigorously on the constant determination of mental processes by bodily conditions—a problem which they had always uneasily evaded in their discussions on the soul. La Mettrie's positions, of course, involved the denial of immortality.

Etienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715–80), abbé de Mureau and generally known as the abbé de Condillac, brother of the abbé Mably, was a much more respectable person. His *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge* (published at Amsterdam in 1746) is founded on Locke, but already takes up some new positions, notably that sensation 'envelops all thought'. Like Locke, he is to be regarded as primarily a psychologist, and he adhered more faithfully to his grounds, abstaining from teleology and theology. In his *Traité des systèmes* (1749) he assails the abstract systems of Spinoza, Malebranche and Leibniz. These works he followed up with a *Traité des sensations* (London, 1754), in which he develops further his conception of ideas as 'transformed sensations', with a *Traité des animaux* (Amsterdam, 1755), in which he antagonised Buffon's acceptance of the thesis of Descartes that animals are automata, and with a series of philosophical manuals for the education of the prince of Parma, to whom he was appointed tutor on the strength of his growing fame.

Broadly, Condillac proceeds from the ancient formula that 'there is nothing in the intellect which was not previously in sense', though as he advances he appears to give some effect to the comment of Leibniz—'except the intellect itself'. Adhering to the formula that ideas are 'transformed sensations,' he stresses the transformation, though he always insists on the sensational basis. His famous illustration of the 'animated statue,' in which a marble figure is imagined as successively acquiring senses, and reaching reflection through them, has led some to regard him as a materialist, but he expressly denied that matter could think. Facing Hume's problem of the 'identity' of the self, he found the answer in memory, without realizing that any difficulty was left. Yet he did some of Hume's work, and his doctrine of 'transformed sensations' may be seen developed in a more scientific fashion in Spencer's generalisation that the highest processes of the mind are complexes of the simplest.

Had not Condillac insisted on the term 'sensations' as descriptive of processes which far outgo sensation, his acceptance might have been greater,

though he is not to be treated as obsolete by an age in which a hundred

**Influence of**

**Condillac's works**

American and British novelists make their characters 'sense' their inferences. As it was, he had a great European influence in his age, and not till 1836 was he put on the Index Expurgatorius for his *Cours d'étude* for the prince of Parma.

As befitted an abbé, Condillac never attacked religion. Denis Diderot (1713–84) was more drastic. At his philosophic outset, in his *Principes de la philosophie morale* (1745), which is an adaptation of Shaftesbury's *Inquiry Concerning Virtue and Merit*, he professes faith in revelation, but in his *Pensées philosophiques* (printed at The Hague, 1746) he is already a deist, much influenced by the scepticism of Montaigne, and in the *Promenade of the Sceptic*, written about 1747 but unpublished and unprintable in his lifetime, he is already keenly critical of deism as of every other philosophical system. His ultimate position can be described only as that of atheism with a pantheistic colouring. In

his *Letter on the Blind, for the Use of Those Who See* (1749), he directly assails, in an argument which he puts in the mouth of the blind English mathematician Sanderson, both the ethical and the cosmological grounds of theism. The result was that, where the *Pensées* had merely been ordered to be burned by the common hangman, the *Letter on the Blind* led to his arrest and imprisonment for six months.

In this penal policy we have part of the explanation of the divergent course of political evolution in France and England. Irreverent popular free thought in England did in that age incur persecution; but the pressure there was slight in comparison with the savage severities of the Church in France. The result was an ever-rising tide of aggressive anti-Christian polemic, which was probably heightened by the political ill will aroused by the much-debated immunity of ecclesiastical wealth from taxation. Apart from

Diderot opposes questions of creed, the orthodoxy French clergy were politically in bad odour as early as 1750. Eager spirits like Diderot flung themselves into the battle in a disinterested spirit. Trained, like Voltaire, by the Jesuits, he had been one of their most brilliant pupils. Faced by omnipresent persecution, he became a formidable enemy of all orthodoxy. When the abbé de Prades was forced to fly for his Sorbonne thesis (1751), *To the Celestial Jerusalem*, which had at first been officially approved but was soon found to contain much ill-disguised heresy, Diderot, who had had a hand in the thesis, helped eagerly to prepare a copious *Apologie* (1752). With his wide reading, he turns against the persecutors the official scepticism of the deceased Bishop Huet as well as the weapons of the English deists.

Hitherto French free-thinking books had circulated chiefly in manuscript. One of the most remarkable was the *Testament* of the curé Jean Meslier, who died about 1730, leaving behind him several copies of his amazing treatise. The work of a diligent and humane parish priest, it is one long, implacable bombardment of the Christian religion in all its aspects. So bulky is it that it was never printed in full till the nineteenth century, its printed



FAMOUS FRENCH FREE THINKER

Denis Diderot (1713-84), here portrayed by Van Loo, will always be associated with his editorship of the great *Encyclopédie*. He contributed many new ideas to philosophy, but his wide interests precluded perfection in any one field.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.*

circulation in the eighteenth being in the form only of abridgments by Voltaire and Diderot and Holbach. But the *Apologie* for de Prades (who later turned his coat) was printed in Holland, and became the vanguard of a new printed propaganda. In the previous decade there had appeared half-a-dozen 'unsettling' works, chiefly on scientific lines. In the 'fifties there appeared twenty, of a more aggressive kind; and in 1757 the death penalty was newly decreed against all writers attacking religion. In the 'sixties, the number of anti-religious books increased to more than fifty, the great majority being issued after the suppression of the Jesuits in 1764.

Diderot's work, however, was only in part 'destructive.' The great task of his life was the famous *Encyclopédie* (1751-65), which he edited after the withdrawal of d'Alembert in 1758, and carried to its conclusion under heart-breaking conditions of official oppression and of treachery in the printing house (see page 4121). As philosopher, as psychologist, as aesthetician, he may be said to stand in the front rank for insight if not for completeness, inasmuch as he contributes new ideas or arguments in all of those fields; and as a dramatist he exerted

a critical influence even when he failed as an artist. Perhaps his most characteristic aspect is his enthusiastic generosity of appreciation of every kind of mental merit. No French writer did more for the fame of English thinkers and writers, from Bacon to Richardson.

Voltaire, with whose name that of Diderot is so constantly coupled, figures in the history of thought rather as a great fighter for intellectual freedom and sane

opinion than as an original Deism of or systematic philosopher. To

Voltaire the last he remained a convinced deist while systematic atheism was making new headway, though his *Ignorant Philosopher* (1766), his most important venture in metaphysics, is markedly agnostic in its theism, and exhibits pantheistic leanings. Like much of the thought of the century, it tells of the seminal influence of Montaigne. Eminently concrete in his thinking, he met the philosophic optimism of Leibniz, declaring that all is for the best in the best of possible worlds, with the dazzling humour of his *Candide*, picturing the evil of the world with an unfaltering gaiety which carried its point as no stress of solemnity could. It is in his synthetic treatment of history, in his *Essai sur les mœurs* and elsewhere, that he is most definitely original in his method, and most scientific in his temper, here advancing on Montesquieu, and his *Age of Louis XIV* is a masterpiece of a new kind. After all deductions for error, he is admittedly one of the creators of modern historic thought.

His early sojourn in England (1726-29) had brought him in vital contact not only with critical deism but with the new scientific spirit as represented by Newton, and, with Maupertuis, whom he was afterwards to overwhelm with ridicule, and his brilliant associate the marquis du Châtelet, he wrought successfully to establish the Newtonian system in France against the Cartesian tradition. His *Lettres philosophiques*, otherwise entitled *English Letters* (1734), had so stirred opinion alike on political and on scientific issues as to make him at once an important publicist when he was already a famous poet and dramatist, and after having in his first youth been sent to the Bastille on

a false charge of political incendiarism he incurred new dangers from his daring approval of the political liberty which he had seen realized in England as nowhere else in modern Europe. There is much plausibility in the view that his subsequent life was largely dominated by a 'Bastille complex'—a fear of the dungeon which threatened every exponent of new ideas on Church and state. Even at the court of the free-thinking Frederick of Prussia he had suffered from tyranny—provoked, certainly, by himself.

For his manifold polemic against religious tradition and dogma, he has been commonly disparaged as a scoffer, though the orthodox side never demurred to scoffing against free thinkers, whether by Swift or Berkeley in England, or by the foes of the philosophes in France. The trouble with Voltaire was that his mockery was so dreadfully effective. But an intense humanitarian feeling

underlay all his work, Campaign against religious dogma and it was the persistent and merciless

persecution carried on by Jesuits and Jansenists alternately that goaded him to his long campaign. Only about 1760 did he set to the work in earnest. In all his previous work he had but sent random shafts at clericalism and dogma, and even for these he had been menaced. It was mistakenly asserted by his first biographer, Condorcet, that he was stimulated to a bolder attack by the example of *The Creed of a Savoyard Vicar* in Rousseau's *Emile* (1762), but it is the historic fact that his explosive *Sermon of the Fifty* was circulating in Paris in manuscript in 1761.

His further activity was intensified by the judicial murder of the Protestant Calas at Toulouse, and of the young Catholic La Barre at Abbeville, two cases of religious crime which he so exposed as to create a new sense of justice in France. Had there been no serious persecution, Voltaire's anti-theological crusade would never have taken place. The 'Infamous' which he exhorted his literary comrades to destroy was not religion, but the spirit and machinery of persecution. Of his polemic it may suffice to say that it re-delivered to all Europe the critical work of English deism, with a hundred added arguments,



anticipating at important points the more scholarly Biblical criticism of the next century. It is instructive to note that on the one matter on which he resisted contemporary discovery, that of marine fossil shells in the Alps, his error was inspired by resistance to the general assumption that the phenomena proved the truth of the story of the Deluge.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), who with Voltaire and Diderot makes the famous triad of French publicists of the century, ranks as a thinker only in respect of his social doctrine, and even on that side is rather a great writer than a reasoner. Yet he had as wide an influence as any teacher of the century. Mainly he concerns us here as author of the *Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts* (1749), the *Discourse on the Origin and the Bases of Inequality Among Men* (1753), the essay *On the Social Contract and Principles of Political Justice* (1762), and the *Emile; or, On Education* (1762). The first and second were written on prize-essay themes propounded by the Academy of Dijon; the first won the prize and made a great sensation; the second did not win, and had much less immediate success; the third became the most popularly influential of all, and the fourth counted for much in stimulating fresh thought on education, being indeed the most soundly reasoned of Rousseau's main works.

In the first we have a brilliant exposition of the old thesis that human life was at its best in a remote and absolutely unhistorical golden age of happy ignorance and simplicity, the existence of which is simply taken for granted. Only the power and charm of the style can explain its success, and even in its own day it was dismissed as charlatanism by cool critics. Rousseau seems to have made his effect by recurring to the larger cadences and the sonorous eloquence of the previous century, somewhat as Burke secured his by re-creating, in a very different spirit, the 'periodic' prose manner of the seventeenth century in an age of formally constrained style. The Dijon Academy had put the question 'Whether the restoration of the sciences and arts had contributed to the purifica-



JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

Houdon's bronze statuette shows Rousseau exhibiting the 'social contract,' upon which he believed that political society should be based. A vastly influential thinker, Rousseau preached the doctrine that man should return to nature.

From Buffenour, 'Le Prestige de Rousseau'

tion of morals?' and it is quite credible that, as Marmontel asserted, Rousseau chose the course of acclaiming happy ignorance and deploring the corrupting effects of science and art and civilization because, as Diderot pointed out to him most competitors for the prize would be sure to take the other side.

Of scientific reflection or inquiry the essay shows no trace. It was but a super-eloquent advocacy of the ever-recurring ideal of the simple life; and it had a fashionable and popular success, due to its literary charm, in an age in which the luxury of the few had certainly outrun the bounds of good life, and eloquence of style had been out of use.

The *Discourse on Inequality among Men*, tracing that phenomenon solely to the institution of property, is no less superficial, if less eloquent, and its dedication to the Republic of Geneva, Rousseau's



## MASTER OF MATHEMATICS

Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717-83), brilliant scientist and mathematician, was the founder and joint editor, in association with Diderot, of the famous French *Encyclopédie*. Mademoiselle Lusurier's portrait shows him at the age of 59.

*Musée Carnavalet*

birthplace, did not increase its popularity. The reading public was not anxious to abolish property. The *Social Contract* is a more serious treatise, which has no logical connexion with the two Discourses. It is a doctrine of democracy put a priori, with a quite illusory account of historical origins. Its thesis, like that of the prize essay, was ancient and familiar, being as old as Aristotle, and having been expounded by at least twenty prominent writers in the two previous centuries. In England it was well known through Hooker, Hobbes and Locke; and it had been often discussed in France. What Rousseau did was to clothe it with fiery eloquence, in a richly harmonious prose, for a new reading public, grown conscious of the hurt given to self-respect by all autocratic government and naturally aspiring to the measure of self-rule seen in action in England. He thus did much to create the temper which a generation later precipitated the Revolution.

The scope of his success can perhaps best be realized by noting his influence among serious-minded Germans. In England it was not great, precisely because there the relative political freedom

precluded the excitement set up by advocacy of self-government in France, and the theory of the social contract was an old battle-ground. But in Germany, where Prussia had freedom of thought and speech only in non-political matters, and all states were autocratically ruled, Rousseau deeply affected such exceptional minds as Kant and Herder, no less than the intelligent many. His personal character is another matter. It is best to be understood by noting that he was markedly neurasthenic, and that he was not seldom on the verge of insanity; hence his quarrels with nearly all his friends. But his fervid personality no less than his literary power gave him a really constructive influence in respect of the new educational ideals which he propounded in *Emile*. In particular, he created or fostered a new appreciation of the claims of women, earlier emergences of feminism having come to nothing. After the close of the Napoleonic wars, there was already recognizable in England a new activity in female education; and this, as well as the forward movement of education in general, is in large measure ascribable to Rousseau's influence, though Mary Wollstonecraft was not a Rousseauist.

A very different mind and temperament from Rousseau's are seen in d'Alembert (1717-83), the distinguished mathematician, secretary to the Académie, the first

Education and career  
of d'Alembert

editor of the *Encyclopédie*, and the disappointed lover of Mlle. de Lespinasse, who stimulated her brilliant coterie without being a writer. Picked up as a foundling near the Paris church of St. Jean-le-Rond, he was given the name Jean le Rond, and only long afterwards added the d'Alembert. His parents were Madame de Tencin and the Chevalier Destouches, of whom the latter saw to his upbringing by a poor glazier's wife, to the extent of an annual allowance of 1,200 francs. At the Collège de Mazarin he pleased his Jansenist teachers by some attention to theology; and it was by his own subsequent studies that he acquired his mastery in mathematics. It was after winning high status by a long and brilliant series of original mathematical and scientific papers that

he contributed to the *Encyclopédie* an admirable Preliminary Discourse, which he read to the Académie on the day of his reception as a member, in 1754, and which constituted him a guide and leader in the whole culture movement of the time.

Never competing with his great contemporaries in sheer popularity, antipathetic to the methods of Rousseau and even to the eloquence of Buffon, he was one of the chief scientific figures of France in the eyes of Europe as well as of Paris. None excelled him in range of knowledge, none in the charm and goodness of character, which won for him the affection of Diderot and Voltaire, and moved Hume to leave him a legacy of £200; and only one man of science excelled him in literary gift.

This rival was George Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707-88), who belongs to the history of thought in respect of the original ideas which he expounded in his famous *Natural History* (1749-67), a work which for the first time gave literary splendour to its manifold theme. Buffon's first of Buffon bent was to mathematics, physics and agriculture, and he translated from the English *Hale's Vegetable Statics* and *Newton's Fluxions*. It was his appointment as keeper of the king's botanic garden and the Royal Museum in 1739 that led him to the vast task of his life, which won for him in his day no less literary than scientific fame. Inevitably unequal in scientific value as to its parts, it set newly afloat the two great conceptions of a connected series of forms through the entire animal kingdom, and of the possibility of the development of new species under compelling changes of environment. The first idea was derived from Leibniz; the second had been suggested in a crude fashion by De Maillet (1656-1738), whose curious book entitled *Telliamed* (an anagram of the author's name) had in 1735 initiated in a rather fantastic way the modern movement of geology. Though Buffon partly retracted his speculation, it bore fruit. But the compulsion put upon him by the Sorbonne (1751), to retract formally what he had written in his earlier volumes on the age of the earth, registers

the stage of culture history then reached in France.

Twenty years after Buffon's ordeal, in 1770, the general campaign of free thought had reached a point at which the heresies of Buffon were negligible. The naturalised Baron d'Holbach, who for a whole decade had been carrying on, anonymously, a series of frontal attacks on the Christian creed, then published a *System of Nature* (see also page 4126) which expounded an atheistic philosophy with a confidence and energy that roused the aged Voltaire to come to the defence of deism against this attack from the left wing. Such books were still burned publicly by the Church; but after the fall of the Jesuits in 1764 its power even to suppress books was lessened, and Holbach, a rich and hospitable man of the world, was never personally molested. His *Système* had indeed been anticipated, in a more scientific temper if with small solid result, by the treatise of J. B. Robinet *On Nature* (4 vols., 1761-68), and still more definitely by the same writer in his *Philosophical Considerations on the Natural Gradation of Living Forms* (1768), which sets aside theism. Oddly enough, Robinet lived to be a press censor, and died peacefully at the age of 85 in 1820.

Robinet, like Buffon, approached cosmic problems from the side of science, though much more speculatively. Holbach came to them from the side of an ethical and historical antagonism to religions. His work is, in consequence, rather declamatory than philosophic, and French thought was probably more influenced by the translated essays of Hume. Though the *Système* was acclaimed by the advanced minority of free thinkers in France, it neither converted the general body of deists, themselves a minority of the middle and upper classes, nor received notice at the hands of the later writers of philosophic status, though it had many critics. Neither did the same author's *Universal Morals and Social System* (1773) enter into the European philosophic current. But Henri Meister, who approached his problems in a philosophic temper, had as little attention for his inquiries on *The Origin of the Religious Principle*, and *Natural*

Morality (1788) France was now in the vortex of revolution, and such new thinking as was done in the remaining years of the century was confronted with a nascent intellectual revolution, by which all new thought was antagonised

On the other hand, some of the most suggestive contributions by Frenchmen to the mental sciences in the generation before the Revolution had made little or no effective impression on even the emancipated minds of

**Scientific Thought in France** that age Among such contributions were the essay of Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657-1757), the nephew of Corneille, on the Origin of Fables (printed 1758), and that of Charles de Brosses, president of the Parlement of Burgundy, On the Worship of Fetish Gods (1760)—the first scientific use of the term 'fetish' These treatises between them offered a foundation for a scientific study of the evolution of mythology and religion, more deep and exact than that sketched by Hume, but, though Fontenelle, who died in his hundredth year, had a wide influence as a critical thinker, they were not in that age assimilated, and the learned and able work of Dupuis on The Origin of All Cults, which appeared at the height of the Revolution, was the less well built on that account A strictly inductive anthropology was not to flourish until geology and zoology had by their method prepared men's minds for it

While France was thus in many directions advancing or stimulating scientific thought, Britain continued to maintain a larger output of serious philosophy It was not, however, intellectually consecutive David Hartley, an earnestly pious and benevolent physician, published in 1749 Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations, which may be described as a work of Christian materialism, determinism and semi-utilitarianism, clamped to a religious doctrine no less intensely pietistic or less visionary than that of William Law

Greater weight attaches, in philosophic history, to the work of Professor Thomas Reid (1710-92), successively of Aberdeen and Glasgow, who historically ranks as the founder of the 'Common Sense'

school—a term that has rather injured than helped the school with students The term had been used with more precision by Buffier, who was following an old scholastic usage, but it might advantageously have been dispensed with Reid's first notable work, An Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense (1764), is a somewhat ponderously vivacious operation against the 'idealism' of Descartes, Locke, Berkeley and Hume, a varying body of theory which he treats as homogeneous Clerically trained, he had by his own avowal long held the idealist view as 'self-evident and unquestionable', but Hume's swift turning of the tables on Berkeley disturbed him to the point of rejecting the whole procedure by which Hume had been enabled to discomfit the metaphysics of orthodoxy Aiming at a solution which was better framed later by Kant in one of his contradictory positions, Reid took the indecisive course of denying that the Lockian and Berkeleyan 'images' of things in the mind had any existence

In his later and larger works, Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man (1785), and Essays on the Active Powers of Man (1788), Reid went over the ground more extensively and more circumspectly, but the metaphysical problem was really more complex than he had realized, and in his last years he declared that all he had achieved was but a result of the labours of his predecessors, of whom he reckoned Hume the greatest

In 1775 the Unitarian Dr Priestley, who had attained a fame in science that has proved more solid than that he acquired as a student of early Christian history, made a stringent attack at once on Reid and his compatriots, Dr Oswald and Dr Beattie, exhibiting among other things the arbitrary character of Reid's process of multiplying 'principles' of credulity, veracity, and so on, and exposing some of the plainer fallacies of his criticisms of Locke Priestley was, in fact, a Christian materialist, founding on Hartley, and his polemic was in effect a support of the definite physiological view of mental action as against Reid's indeterminate spiritualism Reid's influence,

however, remained very considerable throughout the next generation, being sustained by the warm discipleship of Dugald Stewart, who at Edinburgh University indoctrinated a whole generation of young Scotsmen and Englishmen. Translated into French, and expounded by Jouffroy, Reid's 'system,' through the influence of Cousin, became the official university philosophy under Louis Philippe. But, the editorial work of Hamilton being partly destructive of his claims, he ceased from that time to rank as a decisive thinker.

At the close of the eighteenth century, philosophy in Britain was an area of debate on which the banner of Locke had still, probably, the largest number of adherents, and that of Hume a much smaller but better drilled group of competent thinkers; while the 'Common Sense' school offered a ground of union for those who had begun to crave the fuller use of the inductive method, in accord with the practice of science, but greatly preferred a 'safe' kind of realism, coupled with orthodoxy in religion, to a sceptical method which had led to the dialectical triumph of Hume.

On the side of ethics this temper was efficiently represented by Archdeacon Paley, whose *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785) represented, under strictly orthodox auspices, the utilitarian drift which had been proceeding through the century. Paley's services to the Church in his long popular *View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1794), which in turn was an efficient selection and arrangement of the arguments that had been used to resist the deistic attack, did not suffice to ward off censure of his utilitarianism from the theological side; but he had one of the widest influences of the half century following the issue of his first work.

Positions substantially in accord with his had been maintained with much more of originality and charm by Abraham Tucker, who, beginning with a treatise on *Freewill, Foreknowledge, and Fate*, issued as by 'Edward Search' (1763), and another, in the same year, on *Man in Quest of Himself*, professedly by 'Cuthbert



DR. ERASMUS DARWIN

The theory of the origin of species established by Charles Darwin in the nineteenth century was remarkably foreshadowed by his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802), author of *Zoonomia*. J. Wright painted this portrait.

National Portrait Gallery, London

Comment,' proceeded to the compilation of a huge, discursive work entitled *The Light of Nature Pursued*, which took shape in seven volumes (1768-78).

A portent of another age appeared in the *Zoonomia* of Dr. Erasmus Darwin (1794-5). This curious treatise, seeking for a 'law of life,' is an attempt by a skilled and gifted physician to apply a conjoined physiological and psychological treatment to all vital phenomena. To philosophy it gave small help, inasmuch as it set out by defining 'ideas' alternately as notions and the cerebral action which produced them; but its speculations on animated nature include remarkable anticipations of the theories of the origin of species which the author's grandson, the greater Charles Darwin, was to establish in the nineteenth century. Some of those ideas are embodied in the sonorously eloquent poems which won for Erasmus Darwin even a larger contemporary fame than that accruing to the *Zoonomia*. When, however, his *Loves of the Plants* was burlesqued by Canning and his friends in *The Loves of the Triangles* by way of retaliation for his acclamation of the outbreak of the French Revolution, his poetic vogue disappeared almost as quickly as it had

risen; and the *Zoonomia* suffered accordingly. Yet it reached a third edition, in four volumes, in 1801.

Another emanation of new thought appears at the close of the century in *An Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society*, by Thomas Robert Malthus (1798). This, the first form of a treatise destined to arouse a momentous discussion, was primarily motivated by the appearance, in 1793, of William Godwin's *Political Justice*, a treatise touched with the visionary emotions of the Revolution, and much more akin to Rousseau than to any large element in English opinion. Of scientific or philosophic weight it has none, though it fired the congenial emotions of the young Shelley. The *Essay* of Malthus, soon remodelled, formed the definite stop to its power of persuasion; and the firm mental pressures set up by Jeremy Bentham, beginning with his *Fragment on Government* in 1786 and his *Defence of Usury* (1787), which elicited a candid recantation of economic doctrine from Adam Smith, forecast the intellectual movement of the next age.



THOMAS ROBERT MALTHUS

Political economy was the life study of Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834), author of *Essay on the Principle of Population*. The treatise, violently attacked and frequently misunderstood, aroused great discussion.

Engraving by Fournier after portrait by John Linnell

British thought was turning much more generally to a newly exact study of all social, scientific and anthropological problems than to the Sisyphean tasks of philosophy proper; and the deep reaction set up by the Revolution meant a return, on a footing of revived evangelical earnestness, to the concrete rather than the abstract issues of religious belief. Gibbon had by his great work (1776-88) raised these anew on the historical side, from the standpoint of deism; and thus was recommenced a controversy that is still in progress.

It was in Germany that the task of philosophy was most strenuously taken up. The uncoded doctrines of Leibniz, skilfully connected and modified by Johann Christian von Wolff (or Wolf), served for a time as a philosophic system that could hold its head above the revived Pietism which had for a time driven Wolf out of Prussia. Substantially, he was a 'rationalist,' grounding morality on human needs, and thus obnoxious to the orthodox. On the metaphysical problem he stood for Leibniz's theistic formula of a 'pre-established harmony' between external nature and human notions, which was practically equivalent to Descartes' maxim that God could not conceivably deceive us. But after having had a good official vogue, the Wolffian system became a theme of banter in a Germany which was being permeated by English and French deism, and was turning with avidity to science in preference to a philosophy which settled nothing. Others than Kant were being moved, about the period of the Seven Years' War, to seek a philosophy which, in Kant's words, should 'reach experience.'

Immanuel Kant (see page 4948), born in 1724 of Scottish stock, developed at Königsberg University an ideal of plain living and hard thinking. Brought up in the atmosphere of Pietism, he diverged from it emotionally and intellectually, yet retaining its strict intuitive view of morals; and in philosophy he was indoctrinated in the reigning Wolffianism. His first published writing (1747) was his *Thoughts on the True Estimation of*

Living Forces, which elicited a mocking epigram from Lessing, and his interests seem to have long lain in scientific synthesis, though his 'magister' thesis was on metaphysics. His *General Natural History and Theory of the Heavens* (1755) is a work of historic importance in the record of evolutionary science, which would alone have served to preserve his name. But, as he has told, a reading of Hume roused him from his 'dogmatic slumber' in philosophy.

**Influence of Hume on Kant** and through a series of studies on logic, on the God-idea, on the claims of Swedenborg to be a spirit-seer, on Space and (upon his appointment as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics) on the Forms and Principles of the Sensible and Intelligible World (1770), we trace him progressing to his great *Critique of the Pure Reason* (1781), which he built up during a decade. It undertakes, by a process of criticism, to eliminate from philosophy all dogmatism in the sense of a priori doctrine.

Kant's was the most strenuous and sustained effort thus far made to grapple with the fundamental philosophic problems which we have seen undergoing British and French handling from Locke to Reid. Lacking the placid penetration of Hume, he put forth the greater effort. The result, however, is a composite of criticism in which old and new ideas are left in contradiction. Primarily, Kant is at the idealist position that we know the sensible world only as phenomena, assimilated by our minds, and that we can have no knowledge of 'things-in-themselves,' which we must yet suppose to exist. In positing this last, he clashes with Berkeley's denial of that abstraction of 'substance' which had been posited by previous thought. To the dilemma raised by Hume that by parity of reasoning we know no more of a 'mind' underlying our experience, he made the independently sufficient answer that our knowledge of our ideas is on all fours with our knowledge of things—here subsuming the Cartesian basis, that our knowledge of ourselves as thinking is irreducible.

But the rejection of Berkeley's denial of an abstract 'substance,' equivalent to

'things-in-themselves,' drove Kant to a complete rejection of the idealism on which he had founded. In his second edition (1787) he inserted 'Refutation of Idealism' which, on the admission of virtually all competent students, affirms the simple reality of things perceived (apart from 'secondary qualities' such as colour). Thus Kant ends in affirming that the perceptions which he had reduced to bare mental phenomena are after all just perceptions of 'things-in-themselves.'

Beginning as an idealist of idealists, he speedily becomes a realist of realists, only to revert again to an a priori absolutism.

To this he was led on the one hand by his hostility to Berkeley's account of space as a mere mental phenomenon, like colour and taste, Kant having confidently classed it as a necessary condition or 'form' of all intuitive

perception. On this it follows that external objects are equally necessary conditions of perception. **Kant's reversion to Absolutism**

On the other hand, his not unfriendly German critic, F. H. Jacobi (1743-1819), exerted the same pressure by arguing that external existence is 'undemonstrable,' which, as Kant had clearly seen, forces philosophy back on the scepticism of Hume as to mind and personality. Seeing, with Hume, both sides of the problem where Berkeley and Jacobi only saw one, he in effect cancels idealism as an account of the universe by affirming that the external world is as much a matter of primary knowledge as are the ideas it sets up in us.

Thus the *Critique of the Pure Reason* becomes an accompaniment of radical negations. It had set out by demonstrating that the great themes of philosophy, 'God, freedom (of the will) and immortality,' are problems upon which we cannot attain to logically reasoned knowledge. This doctrine was naturally offensive to the theological world, but Kant's plan was to show that what could not be established by the 'pure reason,' was established by the 'practical reason,' and in his *Critique of the Practical Reason* (1788) and *Critique of Judgement* (1790) he develops his positions on that side. The substance of it all is a rebuilding of theism on the basis of the conviction that our



moral nature demands an immortality in which virtue and happiness shall be in conjunction, which they are not in this life; that there must accordingly be a virtue-rewarding God; and that though man, as part of the phenomenal world (now reasserted as such), cannot be rationally said to have free will, being part of the universal stream of causation, he can have it as a 'thing-in-himself' in an ideal and undemonstrable yet ultimately actual world.

Thus, beginning as a philosopher bent on ousting all dogmatic doctrine, Kant ends in becoming a kind of theologian.

Not that he had any real agreement with current theology. His chief Critique attracted to him men who definitely rejected Christianity while remaining theists; and many of his earlier votaries turned his philosophy against all revealed religion. On the other hand, theologians who had resented his denial of the reasoned demonstration of deity found that he gave them an apparently less difficult basis, along with an ethic of the most dogmatic kind, labelled 'categorical imperative.' Founding on the once universal doctrine that there can be no virtue without self-denial, Kant insisted that only those actions are good which are done from a sheer sense of duty, denuded of satisfaction. Thus he diverged absolutely from the general progression of the century towards utilitarian tests, and equally from the emotional morality of Jacobi, declaring that action done from a pleasurable motive of any kind has no moral value. The fact that he never asked what 'value' could mean save in terms of human preferences is the proof of the primarily dogmatic character of his ultimate ethic. Yet, after insisting that even a lie told to save life is unpermissible, he latterly encouraged 'rationalist' clergymen to preach from a Bible in which they did not believe. In ethics, as in metaphysics, his self-contradiction in practice is thus complete. And inasmuch as his 'critical' or theoretic ethic is formally grounded on the concept of an unknown and humanly unknowable universe and an

admittedly unrealizable ideal, it had no philosophic bearing on practice, despite its hortatory form.

If the metaphysical contradictions of Kant are formally solved, as some seek to solve them, by putting them as the unavoidably conflicting results of all study of the aspects of the problem, the result is in effect an avowal that metaphysics yields no truth save the recognition of the conflict, leaving men to go about the business of science and conduct without any metaphysical misgivings. Kant, however, seems to have regarded his Critiques as a clearing of the ground for some new philosophic construction; and in his closing years he occupied himself with a work which at times he declared to be his masterpiece, though at others he spoke of it as fit only to be burned. In reality, his mental faculties in those years were decaying, and the manuscript, which has been repeatedly examined, is admittedly a chaos.

It remains true, nevertheless, that Kant exerted the widest philosophic influence of his century. He had brought the greatest stress of criticism on each current formula and position in turn. The result was, in Germany, after a pause of **Acclamation** incubation, a **and Reaction** furore of acclamation unprecedented in philosophic history. Men of quite opposed opinions found in sections of his work the negative or positive philosophy they wanted. After his death there was a sweeping reaction, and new enthusiasts for new doctrine dismissed him as a 'Philistine.' But the new philosophies which swarmed in the next generation—those of Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Schopenhauer in particular—are classifiable as reactions from Kant, and as seeking the constructive solution which he had in effect shown to be chimerical.

He is thus the greatest figure in the intellectual life of eighteenth-century Germany. Alongside his youthful rise may be noted that of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-81), who first won notice and influence as a scholarly dramatic critic and a powerful if not a masterly practitioner of drama, which was then, in

Germany, struggling between French and other influences (see page 3956). He exhibited another order of power in his essay entitled *Laocoön* (1766), a highly learned and intelligent attempt to clear up the then common aesthetic confusion between the provinces of poetry and the plastic arts. It was, however, by publishing (1774-78), in a series of which he was editor, some of the manuscripts of the deceased professor Reimarus, impugning the historical foundations of Christianity, that Lessing made his most disturbing impact on public opinion, and did most to influence the direction of scholarly research. The age was, for Germany, one of intellectual 'renaissance'; and in all directions the new effort exhibited the capacity for untiring labour which is distinctive of the German people. It was German scholars who did most of the new pioneer work alike in Biblical criticism and in classic archaeology.

As a philosophic thinker, however, Lessing did not greatly develop his high critical powers; and his *Education of Mankind*, published in the year before his death, raises problems which it does not face, the thesis being that the succession of religions is a divinely planned progressive training of the race. In the terms of the case, negation of religion may be the outcome; and the

The Stimulus of thesis is either equally  
Lessing & Herder applicable to the life of  
politics or is a mere  
reduction of one aspect of human evolution to a theistic conception. But, apart from Kant, no other German of the period, save in some degree Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), was so diversely stimulative. Herder, trained under Kant but ultimately antagonistic to him, was properly a humanist rather than a philosopher; and his manifold critical and expository work shows an exceptionally catholic response to all forms of literature. *The Ideas on the History of Mankind* (1784-91), which was translated into English in 1800, is a sociological treatise of great suggestiveness, embodying the new recognition of evolution which was at work on all hands. But he has left no distinct impress; and Jacobi and Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86), a liberal and



THE 'GERMAN SOCRATES'

Johann Zimmermann painted this portrait of Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86), who became, through the vogue of his philosophical writings, the foremost Jewish figure of his century. He was a stout champion of Jewish emancipation. From Kōnnecke, *'Bilderatlas zur deutschen Nationallitteratur'*

liberalising Jew, much esteemed in his time, are equally subsidiary figures.

All of these, however, played a part in developing alike the scientific and the imaginative powers of Goethe, who was to be the most illustrious figure in German literature in the next generation (see page 3955); and Schiller, too, formed his mind in the intellectual ferment aroused by Kant. Schiller has, in fact, been described by a German historian of philosophy as 'the most gifted of all the Kantians.'

An evolution of another kind had taken place in Italy. Galileo, in the previous century, had given to inductive science a great practical impulse where Bacon had given only a theoretic though still powerful stimulus; and Italy, politically enthralled under alien rule, had gained a front place in scientific Europe. It was in Naples that Giambattista (Giovanni Battista) Vico (1668-1744) developed his signal faculty for innovating thought. His education, made desultory by his variety of interests and changing of teachers, left him in early manhood to shape a new philosophy for



## AN INFLUENTIAL ITALIAN

Giovanni Battista Vico (1668–1744) is outstandingly important among Italian philosophers of his age. He pursued manifold researches in fields of history and jurisprudence, and his great work is the *New Science*. This plate is from Ferrari's edition of Vico's *Opera*.

himself. At the outset, in his academic discourses, it is marked by reaction against Descartes, whose doctrine that all clear ideas are true was by Vico shown to be untenable. Living in an atmosphere of new physical science, and yet fixed in Catholic orthodoxy (of which he always boasted), he seems to have troubled himself little over the special metaphysical problems which exercised the leading English thinkers. His so-called 'theory of knowledge' is but an a priori ascription of all mental life to divine immanence, a pantheistic formula which is not only never argued, but is never embodied in the exposition of causation. If it were, it would expound savagery as a phase of the divine mind.

When, however, he reached the conclusion that the special certitude of mathematics is due to the fact that its matter and its truths are alike created by the mind, he was on his way to the recognition that another order of truths was to be found in the study of the process of human civilization, such truth being

capable of reasoned demonstration like those of physical science. His clearness of vision here is the more remarkable as that of a professor of rhetoric, who disliked Descartes for belittling eloquence.

His *New Science* (1725) was in effect an application of the developed concept of causation to the entire social process, given the datum of a general rise from a state of savagery, which as a Catholic he could assume as post-diluvian. The Hebrews, of course, he treated as never having been savages, his theology forbidding the application to them of his general theory. Over the metaphysics of causation he took no trouble; proceeding on the lines of the physical sciences, save in so far as he imposed a theistic doctrine on all. Beginning with the study of law, he turned his investigation to philology, mythology, literature and politics. For the latter he had only the partial lead of Machiavelli, which had so far yielded no general notion of social science, and of the French Bodin, whom he appears to have disliked on racial grounds, as he did Machiavelli on religious ones. It may have been his anti-French bias also that led him to ignore Bossuet, whose *Discourse on Universal History* was in his day famous. Montesquieu, whose *Spirit of Laws* perhaps owes something to Vico, was still to come. Vico's manifold inquiry is thus an extraordinary mental effort for his time, rough-hewing the tasks of whole schools of research.

It was ultimately his scientific thought that won for Vico, in the period of the French Revolution, an Italian acclaim at the hands of free-thinking enthusiasts who went so far as to profess to see in his sincere theism a mere outward conformity to Catholic prejudice; and the plain falsity of that view led to a new Italian reaction, so that it was largely left to later French writers, such as Ballanche, Michelet and Mignet, to win for him in the nineteenth century the recognition he had missed in his own day. The French translation of the *New Science* by the princess Belgiojoso, further, made him newly intelligible. He is not unfittingly described as having written

Vico's influence  
in France

for the next century, and, though the actual scientific content of his New Science has been otherwise superseded, his fame as a pioneer remains bright, especially in Italy, where his racial pride evokes a natural response

No Italian philosopher of Vico's age ranks with him in importance. Paolo Mattia Doria, his friend and contemporary, who vigorously defended older metaphysics against Locke (1732), set up no school. Though a number of thinkers

continued to write on philosophy, and Condillac in particular had a large Italian following, native energy in that period was directed to practical and social rather than to metaphysical science. Vico's assumption of a deep primeval savagery led after his death to a long debate, in which the supporters of his view were called 'Ferimi' and their opponents 'Antiferimi'. Of that dispute there was an echo in Scotland, where Lord Monboddo maintained, long in advance of scientific research, an hypothesis of 'men with tails'.

A much greater immediate influence was wielded by the famous treatise of Cesare Marchese de Beccaria (1735-94) On Crimes and Punishments (1764), which won the attention of reformers all over Europe and led to a new practice of humanity in prison treatment. Beccaria ascribed his inspiration to the works of Montesquieu and Helvetius; and he in turn decisively influenced Jeremy Bentham, who found in his work the guiding ethical conception of 'the greatest good of the greatest number.'

The originaive philosophic thought of the eighteenth century in Europe may be said to be confined to the four countries whose intellectual history has been above briefly set forth. Switzerland contributed much detail work to science, the reaction against the dogmatism of the past having there taken in large part that direction; but the emotional Rousseau, domiciled in France, was the most influential publicist of Swiss extraction. The distinguished educationist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), however, had begun, shortly before the French Revolution, to develop on more solid lines than

Rousseau's the idéal of a moralised and reformed system of school teaching. After failing at farming and school-keeping, he produced, in 1780, a volume of thoughts and aphorisms, and in 1781 another entitled Leonard and Gertrude, a story of the regeneration, by a good woman, first of a household and then of a village. This found wide acceptance in Germany, where Pestalozzi had philosophic correspondents, to one of whom he confided his rejection of Christian orthodoxy. It was only in 1799, after heroic efforts on behalf of the Swiss children left helpless by the revolutionary wars, that he resumed school-keeping, and only in 1801 that he published his book How Gertrude Teaches her Children, which set forth the creative ideas that give him a foremost place in the



EDUCATIONAL REFORM

This spirited drawing by Chodowiecki illustrates Leonard and Gertrude, the masterpiece written by the influential Swiss educationist, J. H. Pestalozzi, in 1781. His new educational system met with wide acceptance.

From Könncke, 'Bilderatlas zur deutschen Nationalgeschichte'

history of educational theory, and led to the acclamation of his system by Fichte in 1807 and its virtual adoption in the schools of Prussia afterwards.

Spain, in the earlier part of the century, was at the very nadir of her economic, political and intellectual life. The immense impoverishment which had followed the expulsion of the Moriscos in the seventeenth century had involved a national exhaustion in which high native capacity of every kind appeared to have ceased, and the one rich class, the enormously numerous clergy, was wholly reactionary. Foreign statesmen had to be called in by Philip V to rule Spain's affairs, and foreign commanders to handle her army. Until the advent of Carlos III the higher mental life appeared to be extinct, and the brief renaissance of that reign could not yield any great fruits. Portugal counted for no more, on the mental side.

In the nations round the Baltic, on the other hand, a new intellectual life was on foot, perhaps in a higher degree than in Austria, where the Jesuit influence was in the ascendant, and only music was in a state of superiority. But while Denmark presents the striking figure of the brilliant littérateur Holberg, and Sweden the great name of Linnaeus, the only quasi-philosophic influence coming from Scandinavia was that of Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), whose powerful faculty must be classed as that of a seer of visions rather than that of a thinker. His remarkable writings thus belong to the history of theology rather than to that of philosophy.

In Holland, which in the seventeenth century had been remarkable alike for artistic and intellectual activity, having been the home of Spinoza after being a place of refuge for Descartes, as it was later for Bayle, the eighteenth century was on the whole a period of intellectual as of economic arrest. A native historian of literature has even termed it an age of retrogression and weakness. The most progressive activities were those of science, and in particular of medicine; and no Dutch name was prominent in philosophy.

It is in the United States that we find the one outstanding philosophic

performance yet to be recorded for the century. Living in an environment open to British influences, Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) seems to have owed his philosophical outfit mainly to his own exceptional thinking powers. Educated for the Congregational ministry at Yale, he was for a time a successful pastor, till he quarrelled with his flock on a question of the circulation of certain books, whereafter he became a whole-hearted missionary among Redskins. The extraordinary power of his treatise on the Freedom of the Will (1754) earned for him a call to the presidency of Princeton College in 1758, but he died within a few weeks of his installation.

From the large mass of his controversial work the treatise on free will stands out as a masterpiece of ratiocination, the theological purpose being kept subsidiary to the pure logic. From the theistic standpoint, granted the normal premisses, the argument for determinism is irrefutable, being calmly carried through every reflux and divagation of the age-long debate on foreordination and freedom. An eminent scientist of the nineteenth century, Dr. Croll, avowed having read it five times without being able either to refute or to accept it, finally yielding perforce.

He did not, however, specify the one point at which the argument breaks down and normally fails to convince—that, namely, of the presupposed responsibility of man for foreordained sins. Here Edwards stood on the consensus of Christendom, joining omnipotence with omniscience, and carrying his theory, in his theology, to the most repellent extremes of Calvinism—including infant damnation. The normal recoil is made by the ethical instinct, frequently in disregard of the theistic and theological dilemma, which that recoil ignores. Theoretically, the argument of Edwards is thus corrosive of the theistic position, and it probably has had such an effect on modern thought, at least as regards orthodoxy. But thinkers of all schools have recognized its unsurpassed acuteness, given its premisses, and no American name stands higher in philosophic history until near the end of the nineteenth century.

# TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXVIII

- 1789 George Washington first president of the United States of America.  
May 5: Meeting of the French States-General.  
June 20: the Tennis Court Oath.  
" 27: Attempted coup d'état having failed.  
National (Constituent) Assembly is recognized, sitting as one chamber.  
July 11: Fall of the Bastille.  
Aug. 4: Abolition of feudal privileges and rights.  
Oct. 5-6: 'Insurrection of Women'; royal family moves from Versailles to Tuileries.
- 1790 Joseph II d.; acc. Leopold II, his second son Ferdinand succeeds in Tuscany. Leopold I reverses his brother's policy, makes concessions in Hungary and Treaty of Reichenbach with Prussia.  
The French Assembly attacks Church property and organization; celebration of new constitution on July 14.  
India: Cornwallis at war with Mysore to 1792.
- 1791 April 2: Mirabeau d.  
June 20: Flight of Louis to Varennes, where he is stopped and brought back to Paris.  
Aug.: Declaration of Pillnitz, regarded in France as threat of foreign intervention.  
Sept.: Louis accepts new constitution.  
Oct.: Constituent Assembly ends; Legislative Assembly begins.  
Treaty of Sistowa (Turkey and Austria).  
Canada separated into Upper and Lower.
- 1792 Washington again president of U.S.A.  
Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement (Bengal).  
Jan.: Treaty of Jassy (Russia and Turkey).  
March: Leopold d.; acc. Francis II, elected emperor July. Sweden: Gustavus III d.; acc. Gustavus IV.  
April: France declares war on Austria.  
July: Prussia declares war on France; Brunswick issues Coblenz manifesto.  
Aug. 10: Louis driven from Tuileries, where Swiss Guard die fighting; Assembly suspends monarchy and summons National Convention.  
Aug. 23: Prussians take Longwy.  
Sept. 2-6: 'September massacres' in Paris.  
" 20: Cannonade of Valmy; Prussians retire.  
" 21: Convention meets; proclaims Republic.  
Custine advances on the Rhine.  
Nov.: Savoy and Nice annexed from Sardinia.  
" 6: France decrees opening of Scheldt.  
Dumouriez wins Jemappes and overruns Netherlands.  
" 15: Decree to abolish all existing authorities where French armies are in occupation.  
Dec.: Trial of Louis 'Capet'.  
Godoy becomes Spanish minister.
- 1793 Jan. 21: Execution of Louis. Committee of Public Safety constituted.  
Second Partition of Poland.  
Feb.: War with England declared.  
March: War with Spain declared.  
Fall of Dumouriez. Revolutionary Tribunal created.  
June: Arrest of Girondins. Committee of Public Safety reconstituted; Carnot 'organizer of victories'.  
July: Marat assassinated by Charlotte Corday.  
Sept.: Law of Suspects.  
Oct.: Reign of Terror begins; execution of Marie Antoinette and Girondins. Fall and destruction of (royalist) Lyons.  
Dec.: Fall of Toulon (Major Bonaparte).
- 1794 Polish revolt of Kosciuszko.  
March 24: Fall of Hébertists.  
" 30: Arrest of Dantonists.  
April 3: Death of Danton. Robespierre supreme.  
Ap.-July: Successes of Pichegru in the Netherlands. Prussia though subsidised by England remains inactive.  
June 1: Howe's naval victory; Vengeur legend.  
" 7: Festival of the Supreme Being.  
July 28: Fall of Robespierre; 'Thermidorean reaction'; end of the Terror.  
Oct.: Polish revolt crushed.  
Dec.: Flight of Stadtholder William V to England. Pichegru's cavalry capture Dutch fleet.
- 1795 Jan.: Third partition and end of Polish kingdom.  
Feb.: Tuscany withdraws from coalition.  
April: Treaty of Basel; Prussia withdraws.  
May: Paris 'insurrection of Prairial' suppressed; Horche in Brittany.  
William V cedes Cape Colony to England for the period of the war. British occupation till 1802.  
June: Dauphin (Louis XVII) d. Spain and Holland ally with France.  
Oct. 5: Insurrection and coup d'état of Vendémiaire. The Convention, having established the Directory, is dissolved.  
Dec.: Failure of French campaign on Rhine, and of attempted invasion of Ireland.  
Bonaparte appointed to Italian command.
- 1796 Bonaparte in Italy.  
April: Montenotte; Sardinia (Piedmont) retires.  
May: Bridge of Lodi; gives Lombardy to French. Bonaparte occupies Ferrara and Livorno.  
Austrians are shut up in Mantua.  
Oct.: French Danube campaign frustrated by Archduke Charles.  
Nov.: Bonaparte defeats Austrians at Arcola.  
Russia: Catherine II d.; acc. Paul I.  
John Adams elected president U.S.A.
- 1797 Jan. 15: Bonaparte's decisive defeat of Austrians at Rivoli.  
Feb. 2: Capitulation of Mantua.  
" 14: Spanish fleet broken up at St. Vincent.  
Bonaparte forces treaty of Tolentino on pope.  
Italian conquests formed into Cispadane and Cisalpine Republics.  
Bonaparte defeats Archduke Charles at Tagliamento; advances to Leoben, where peace preliminaries with Austria are signed, April 18.  
Sept. 4: Coup d'état of Fructidor.  
Oct. 6: Dutch fleet defeated at Camperdown.  
" 14: Treaty of Campo Formio; Great Britain isolated. Venice given to Austria.  
Nov.: Congress set up at Rastadt.  
Dec.: Frederick William II d.; acc. Frederick William III.
- 1798 India: Mornington (Marquess Wellesley), governor-general (to 1805).  
Roman and Helvetic Republics set up.  
France annexes left bank of Rhine.  
May: Bonaparte sails from Toulon, takes Malta and reaches Egypt (June), wins battle of Pyramids and enters Cairo (July 25).  
June: Irish rising suppressed at Vinegar Hill.  
Aug. 1: Nelson finds and annihilates French fleet at Aboukir Bay (B. of the Nile). Isolation of Bonaparte in Egypt.  
Nov.: Second coalition, joined by Austria, Russia and Naples. French take Naples, Ferdinand securing himself in Sicily; and occupy Tuscany and Piedmont.
- 1799 India, March-May: Mysore war and capture of Seringapatam.  
March: French checked in North Italy.  
Ap.-Aug.: Victories of Russians under Suvarov in Italy; Moreau conducts withdrawal. Break up of the Directory.  
Sept.: Masséna defeats Korsakov at Zürich; Suvarov retreats through the Alps.  
May-Oct.: Bonaparte foiled in Syria by failure to capture Acre. He deserts the army in Egypt, slips across the Mediterranean, and lands at Fréjus, Oct. 9.  
Nov. 9: Coup d'état of Brumaire; Sicily's new constitution, remodelled, makes Bonaparte 'First Consul' with autocratic powers under democratic forms.
- 1800 Bonaparte crosses the St. Bernard and reconquers N. Italy by victory of Marengo (June 14).  
Tsar Paul makes secret agreement, but negotiations with Austria and Britain break down.  
Sept.: British take Malta.  
Dec.: Moreau defeats Austrians at Hohenlinden.  
Ireland incorporated with Great Britain by Act of Union (June); first Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland meets next year.



## TABLE OF DATES (*continued*)

<p><b>1801</b> Feb.: Treaty of Lunéville strips Austria of territory and again leaves Britain isolated.          March: British expedition to Egypt. Resignation of Pitt (Catholic emancipation question). Revival of Armed Neutrality. Paul I murdered; acc. Alexander I.          April: Battle of the Baltic.          May: Capitulation of French troops in Egypt.          Oct.: Peace preliminaries.          Holland becomes the Batavian Republic.          U.S.A.: Thomas Jefferson President.</p> <p><b>1802</b> Jan.: The Cisalpine becomes the Italian Republic, with Bonaparte president.          March: Peace of Amiens.          April: Bonaparte's concordat with pope.          Aug.: Napoleon declared Consul for life.          Sept.: Annexation of Piedmont and reorganization of Helvetic Republic. Diet of Ratisbon deals with German affairs.          Dec.: India: treaty of Bassein with peshwa.</p> <p><b>1803</b> Jan.: Publication of Sebastiani's report on Egypt which alarms British government.          May: Declaration of war between France and England. Menace of invasion.          India: Maratha war; battles of Assaye and Laswari.</p> <p><b>1804</b> Issue of Code Napoléon.          March: murder of duc d'Enghien.          May: Napoleon proclaimed emperor.          French occupy Hanover.          Pitt resumes office. Alexander seeks to form a new coalition.          Francis II assumes title 'Hereditary Emperor of Austria.'          Organization of Army of Invasion at Boulogne.          Napoleon crowns himself in presence of Pius VII.          Spain joins France.</p> <p><b>1805</b> April: Anglo-Russian league; joined by Austria, Naples and Sweden.          Italian Republic makes Napoleon king.          March-July: Nelson's pursuit of Villeneuve.          Aug.: Completion of Coalition.          Sept.: Grand Army marches on Danube.          Oct. 20: Capitulation of Ulm; 21: Trafalgar.          Nov. 13: Vienna occupied.          Dec. 2: Austerlitz; 15: Treaty of Schönbrunn with Prussia; 26: Treaty of Pressburg with Austria.</p> <p><b>1806</b> Jan.: Pitt d. British reoccupy Cape Colony.          Napoleon distributes kingdom and principalities among his kinsfolk and marshals. Joseph k. of Naples, Louis k. of Holland, etc.          July: W. German states combined in Confederation of the Rhine, separated from Empire. End of Holy Roman Empire.          Oct. 9: Prussia declares war; 14: Prussian army crushed at Jena and Auerstädt.          Nov.: Napoleon issues Berlin Decree for exclusion of British shipping and commerce from Europe (the 'Continental System').</p> <p><b>1807</b> Britain retaliates with successive Orders in Council. Russia supports Prussia; Eylau (Feb.), Friedland (June).          April: British bombardment of Copenhagen.          July: Treaty of Tilsit; humiliation of Prussia. Grand duchy of Warsaw set up.          Jerome Bonaparte k. of Westphalia.          Junot occupies Lisbon; flight of Portuguese royal family to Brazil.</p> <p><b>1808</b> Napoleon makes Carlos IV and Ferdinand abdicate (Spain), giving crown to Joseph, whose place is taken at Naples by Murat.          Reforms of Stein (Prussia) and Stadion (Austria).          July: Spain revolts; surrender of French force at Baylen. Great Britain intervenes in Portugal.          Aug: Vimeiro; Convention of Cintra; French evacuate Portugal. Peninsular war begun.          Oct.: Conference of Erfurt. Dismissal of Stein.          Napoleon's Spanish campaign. Moore attacks his communications (Dec.). Napoleon leaves Spain to Soult.          Russia takes Finland from Sweden.</p> <p><b>1809</b> Jan.: Moore's force embarked at Corunna; Soult invades Portugal.          Austria declares war.          May: Confiscation of Papal States. Wellesley returns to Portugal; expels Soult. Napoleon enters Vienna but is checked at Aspern.</p>	<p><b>1809</b> July: Napoleon defeats Austrians at Wagram. Wellesley (Wellington) invades Spain; wins Talavera but retreats to Portugal. Disastrous Walcheren expedition (British).          Oct.: Treaty of Vienna; transfers of Austrian territory. Metternich's ascendancy begins.          Sweden: Gustavus IV deposed; acc. Charles XIII.          U.S.A.: Madison president.</p> <p><b>1810</b> Louis k. of Holland deposed for admitting English commerce; Holland annexed to France.          Napoleon divorces Josephine, m. Marie Louise of Austria.          Masséna in Peninsula; takes Ciudad Rodrigo; is checked at Busaco by Wellington, who falls back (Sept.) on Lines of Torres Vedras.          Bernadotte adopted as crown prince of Sweden.          British capture Isle of Mauritius.</p> <p><b>1811</b> Retreat of Masséna.          May: battles of Fuentes d'Oñoro and Albuera.          Wellington again retires to Portugal.          Growing breach between Napoleon and Alexander, who breaks from the 'Continental System.'</p> <p><b>1812</b> Spanish provisional government at Cadiz draws up the 'Constitution of 1812.'          Wellington storms Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz.          Bernadotte as virtual ruler of Sweden joins Alexander.          June: French Grand Army invades Russian Poland.          July: Wellington defeats Marmont at Salamanca, but again has to retire.          Sept.: Retreating Russians make a stand at Borodino; their defeat enables Napoleon to enter Moscow (14), which is set on fire.          Oct. 19: Retreat from Moscow begins.          Nov. 27: Battle of Bridge of Beresina.          Dec. 30: Prussian commander Yorck makes convention of Tauroggen.          War between Great Britain and U.S.A., whose attempt to invade Canada is repulsed.</p> <p><b>1813</b> Feb.: Treaty of Kalisch between Russia and Prussia.          March: Prussia declares war.          May: Napoleon defeats allies at Gross Görschen and Bautzen.          June: Armistice of Poischwitz. Negotiations fail.          Wellington wins decisive victory at Vittoria.          Aug.: Austria declares war; Blücher's victory at Katzbach; Napoleon's at Dresden.          Sept.: Allies renew agreement at Töplitz.          Oct. 16-18: 'Battle of the Nations' at Leipzig.          Napoleon rejects peace terms.          India: Moira (marquess of Hastings) governor-general to 1822.</p> <p><b>1814</b> Wellington penetrates the Pyrenees.          Ferdinand VII, restored in Spain, abolishes the Constitution.          Allies invade France.          March 30: Paris capitulates.          April 10: Soult and Wellington at Toulouse.          11: Napoleon abdicates; is sent to Elba.          29: Louis XVIII restored.          May 30: Treaty of Paris; French boundaries as in 1792; details referred to Vienna Congress.          June 2: Louis issues the Charta.          Nov.: Vienna Congress meets. William of Orange made king of Holland and Belgium; Norway transferred from Danish to Swedish crown; Poland reconstituted as a kingdom for Alexander; Sardinia reinstated; Venice to Austria.          Discord among the powers.          Dec.: Peace of Ghent ends Anglo-American war but leaves disputed questions unsettled.</p> <p><b>1814-16</b> India: Gurkha war.</p> <p><b>1815</b> March 1: Napoleon escapes from Elba and lands at Cannes; 13: Vienna Congress declares him a public enemy; 19: Louis flies to Ghent; 30: Napoleon at the Tuileries.          April and May: Napoleon rebuilds an army to strike before Austria and Russia can take the field; Prussian army brought up under Blücher, Wellington in command of composite force in Belgium. Murat attacks Austrians in Italy unsuccessfully; is expelled.          June 15: Napoleon seizes Charleroi; 16: Strikes at Ligny, to split Wellington from Blücher, who is driven off the field but wheels to Wavre; 18: Attacks Wellington at Waterloo, but is held up through the day till Prussians arrive on his flank and his army is completely shattered.          July 15: Napoleon surrenders, and is sent to St. Helena.</p>
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## Chronicle XXVIII

# THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEONIC AGE: 1789—1815

THE story of this Chronicle begins with the opening of the States-General at Versailles on May 5, 1789, and closes with the elimination of Napoleon as a factor in European politics at Waterloo on June 18, 1815. Throughout the whole period, as in the days of Louis XIV, the interest of European history is concentrated upon the activities of France; though at the same time in Asia India was passing under a Western ascendancy, and on the other side of the Atlantic a new nation was building itself up.

The immediate cause of the summoning of the States-General in 1788 was the necessity for dealing with a financial situation with which the king and his ministers had proved themselves unable to cope, in spite of the abilities with which Necker was credited. The Parlement demanded the States-General, on the theory that in view of the failure of ministers the country must deal with the problem. But it followed that the country must also deal with the problem of reforming the whole system of administration; and it was no less certain that the country, having been taken into consultation, would insist upon dealing not only with finance and administration, but with the grievance of the class privileges which were at the bottom of the trouble.

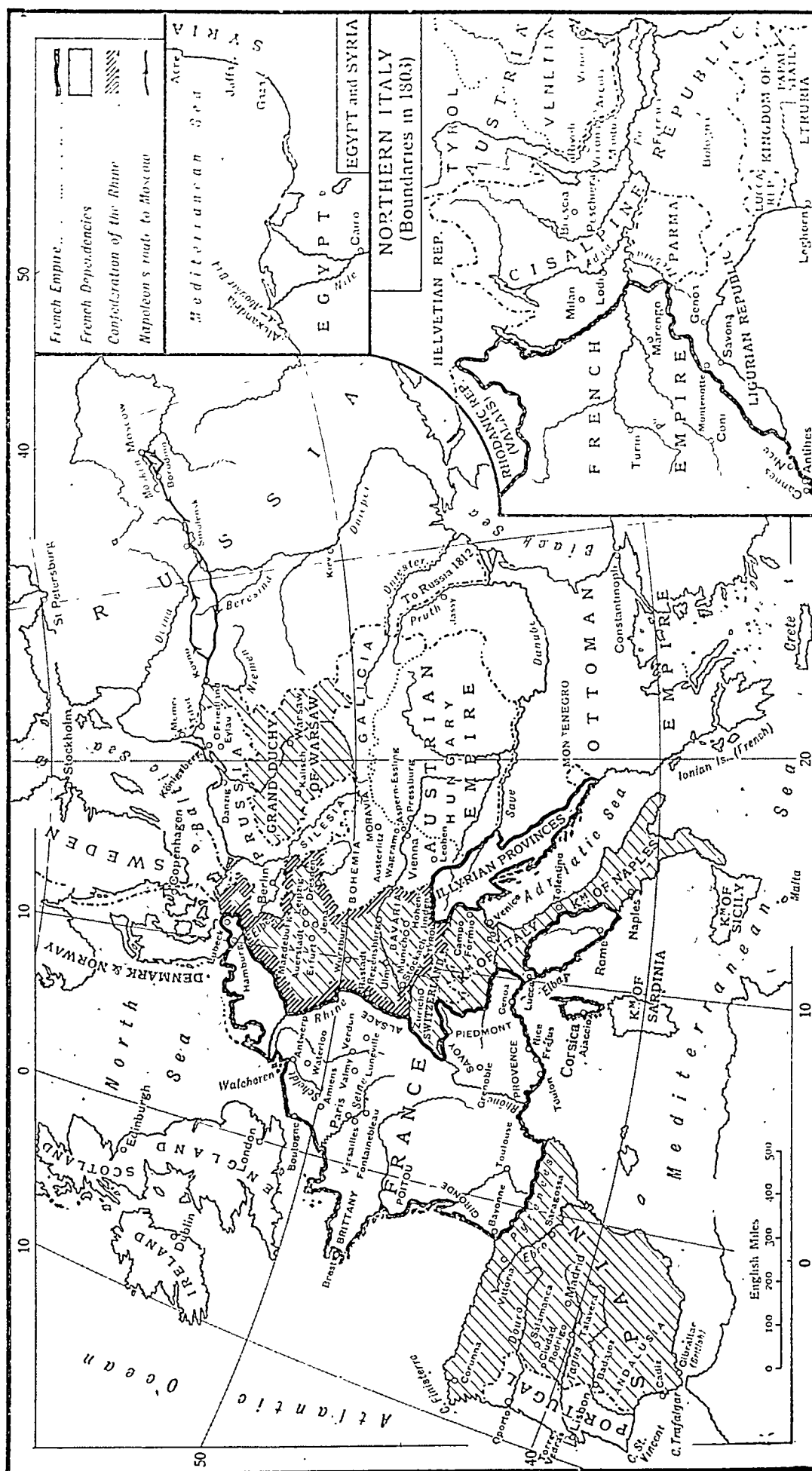
The appeal to the States-General, then, must be made an appeal not to one class or another, but to the nation. The chambers of the Three Estates—noblesse, clergy and commons—together represented the nation; but the first two represented each only a privileged class, forming together only a fraction of the nation, and that fraction which had hitherto foiled all attempts at reform. If the three chambers voted separately, those two would combine to resist any reform which touched their purses or their privileges and outvote the Third Estate, whose representation would be a farce, though its numbers equalled those of the other two together.

When the States-General was opened it was announced that the Three Estates would meet and vote separately. The Third Estate, led by Mirabeau, one of the few 'aristocrats' who had joined them, a man of battered moral reputation but great ability, at once joined battle, proclaiming that the three must sit and vote together. The Commons could then be sure of a general majority, as some of the minor clergy who had grievances of their own would vote with them, and also some few of the noblesse. They met to discuss not the prepared agenda but the present situation, the principle of political equality. They declared on June 17 that the one chamber was the National Assembly, whether the other two joined it or stayed away. Shut out from their hall on June 20, they nevertheless met and took the famous 'tennis-court oath' not to separate till they had won constitutional government. The king threatened to disperse them by force; they defied the threat, and he surrendered. Some of the clergy and of the aristocrats were already joining them. On June 27 Louis requested the other two chambers to join the National Assembly.

### Attack on the Old Regime in France

PARIS was seething with excitement; the troops were not to be trusted. German and Swiss troops were brought up. The excitement grew and came to a head on July 13, when the mob rose, marched on the Bastille (the great but feebly guarded prison-fortress which was the symbol of the old absolutism) and stormed it without difficulty. To Paris and to the world at large the fall of the Bastille seemed to signify the downfall of the 'ancien régime,' which rested upon the conviction that the force it could call into play was irresistible—but the Bastille had gone down like a house of cards.

The sober citizens of Paris organized in Paris a control to take the place of that which had collapsed—a commune, or



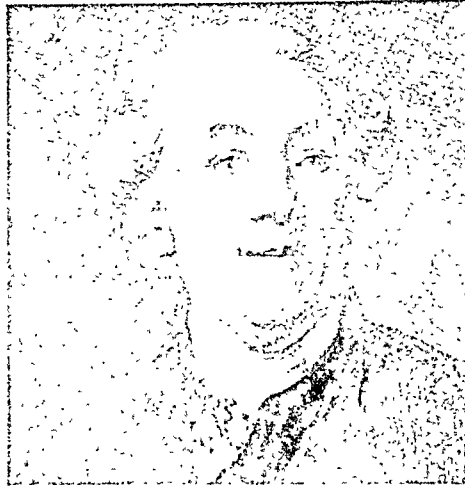
### BOUNDARIES OF THE EUROPEAN STATES IN 1812 AS REARRANGED BY NAPOLEON

Between his assumption of the imperial style in 1804 and his Russian disaster in 1812, Napoleon extended French control in Europe over the area indicated here. The kingdom of Naples he bestowed on his brother-in-law Murat. Eugene Beauharnais acted as his viceroy in the kingdom of Italy, which had absorbed the northern Italian republics of Directory days, shown in the lower inset. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw absorbed part of Prussia. Although represented as a French dependency, because nominally ruled by Joseph Bonaparte, Spain from 1808 was in chronic revolt, only controlled by the presence of French armies engaged in the Peninsular War. Inability to wrest command of the sea from Britain defeated Napoleon's design to assimilate Egypt and Syria.

## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age

municipal government. The Commune enrolled a new national guard for the preservation of order, setting in command of it the popular young aristocrat Lafayette, champion of liberty, the French hero of the American War. And meanwhile the peasants in the country were rising against the seigneurs and burning their châteaux. There, too, national guards were being enrolled—but their sympathies were with the insurgents. The king's brothers and many of the aristocrats—the

'émigrés' of the next few years—fled from a dangerous country and were soon clamouring for foreign intervention. But



**FRENCH FINANCE MINISTER**

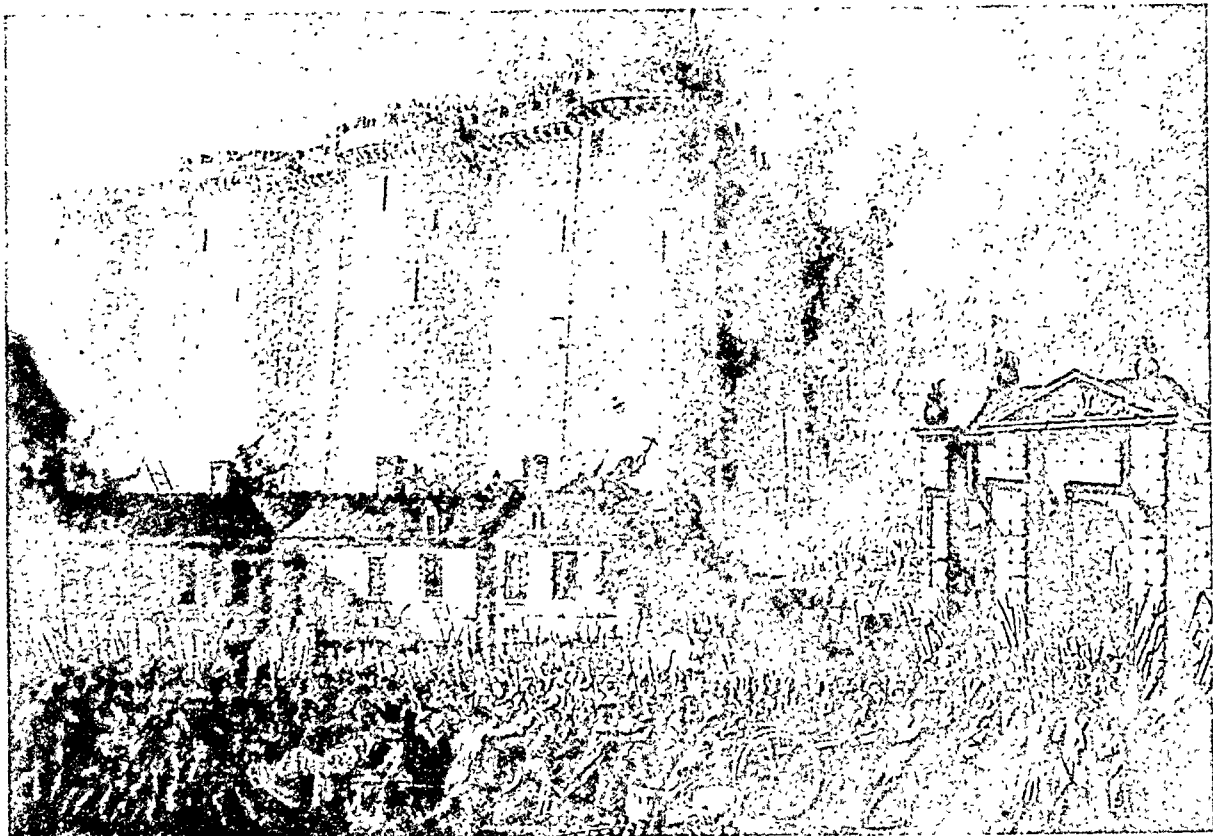
Appointed director-general of finances in 1788, Jacques Necker found the situation too difficult even for his undoubted abilities, and advocated the summoning of the States-General.

*Portrait by Duplessis; from Seidlitz, 'Portraits'*

in Paris the Commune and its chiefs, the leaders of the Third Estate—reformers as yet, not conscious revolutionists—held control.

The National Assembly turned itself into the Constituent Assembly for the framing of a constitution and the abolition of grievances. On August 4, three weeks after the fall of the Bastille, it abolished all the privileges which had survived feudalism. It adopted Rousseau's doctrine of the Rights of Man as its fundamental principle, and

went on to invent the ideal constitution, planned out with mathematical precision, taking the absolute separation of the



**PARIS MOB STORMS THE BASTILLE SYMBOL OF ROYAL ABSOLUTISM**

On July 14, 1789, the populace of Paris rose, stormed the Bastille, and razed it to the ground. To the frenzied mob this massive prison-fortress was the embodiment of royal autocracy and their own subjection, while its fall signified the collapse of the detested 'ancien régime'. This drawing by Prieur (like that in page 4086, an original drawing for one of his famous engravings) represents the chaotic scene in the smoke-shrouded courtyard during the attack.

*The Louvre: photo, Giraudon*

## Chronicle XXVIII. 1789-1815

executive from the legislative as the basic law of sound government, nevertheless, after a hot contest it was decided to allow the crown the head of the executive, a suspensive veto on legislation

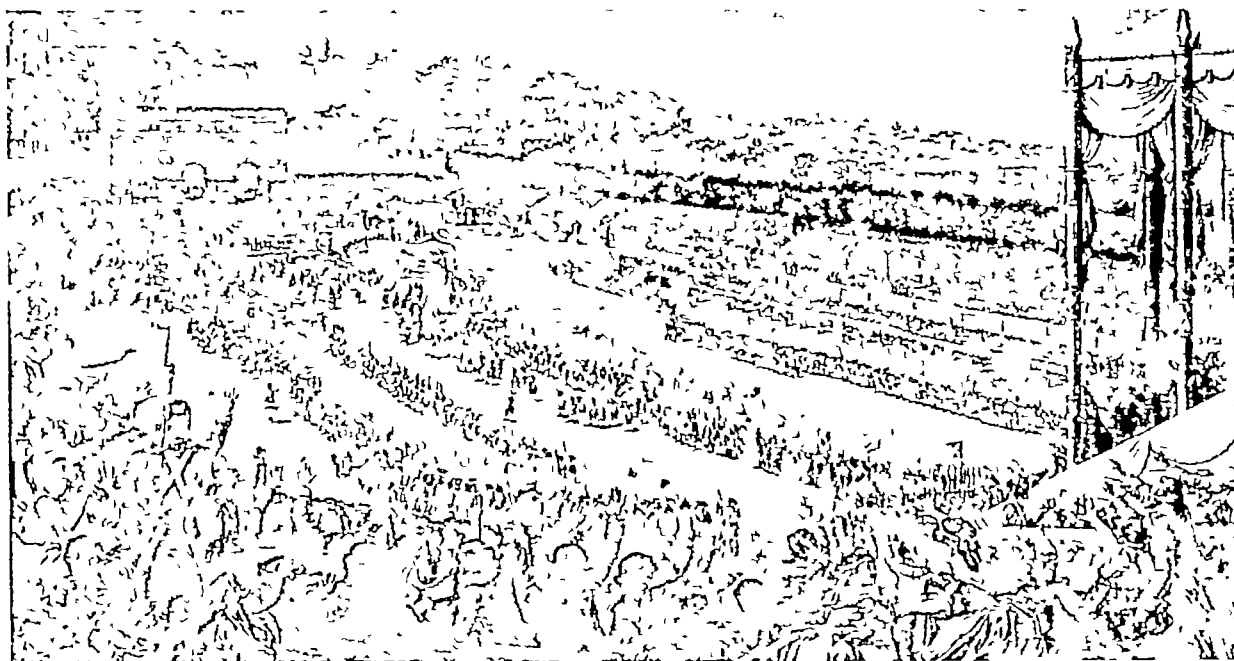
Meanwhile the populace was clamouring not for an ideal constitution but for bread, of which there was a painful scarcity. On October 5 was witnessed the amazing procession of the women of Paris to the palace at Versailles, the Commune could still keep male mobs in check but not a mob of women. The court had to remove from Versailles to the Tuileries, that its presence in Paris might be a guarantee that there should also be bread in Paris.

### Work of the Constituent Assembly

THE Assembly abolished the Parlement as being of no further use. It made a new division of the country into 'departments,' for administrative purposes, each being theoretically a self-governing area. Symmetry in form, uniformity in method, equality in numbers were the aims in view. Reform of the ecclesiastical system followed reform of the feudal system, the Church was to be a department of the state, and the clergy its state officials.

her lands were to be nationalised. Half the clergy refused the functions assigned to them and resigned, and the lower as well as the higher clergy were set in antagonism to what was manifestly revolution.

The privileges had gone, but without consideration of the reasons which had brought them into being in days when they were not grievances but safeguards. With them had gone the whole of the old machinery of which they had formed a part, a new and untried machinery had been set up, but it was not yet in working order. The disappearance of the privileges did not bring immediate relief of the popular discontents, and in fact probably intensified class hostility. The air was thick with suspicion and distrust. Mirabeau wanted to strengthen the executive—officially, the crown—while keeping it in touch with the legislature, the body representative of popular feeling with all its diversities, but that meant that the king must be under the guidance of the strong man—Mirabeau. Actually the king was under the guidance of his reactionary court, who detested Mirabeau, while the extreme wing at least of the popular party suspected him of aristocratic leanings,



FRENCH OATH OF LOYALTY AT THE FESTIVAL OF THE CHAMP DE MARS

At the suggestion of the municipality of Paris, the National Assembly decreed a general federation of all France to be held on the Champ de Mars on July 14, 1790, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. Deputations from all parts of the country attended and a vast assembly took the oath of fidelity to the constitution in the presence of the king and queen. This engraving by Helman is from the original drawing by Charles Monnet, painter to Louis XVI.

Photo W. F. Mansell



#### FLIGHT OF THE FRENCH ROYAL FUGITIVES ARRESTED AT VARENNES

In June, 1791, Louis XVI, with his wife and children, attempted to escape in disguise from Paris, where they had been virtually held captive in the Tuileries. This contemporary aquatint represents the well known incident of the detection and arrest of the runaways at Varennes at eleven o'clock at night. A retired soldier recognized the king from his effigy on an assignat and stopped the progress of his carriage. The royal family were brought back to Paris the following day.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*

and the king himself, so long as he remained in Paris, was not a free agent.

In the summer of 1790 there was an enthusiastic display of harmony, when a vast concourse assembled on the Champ de Mars in the presence of royalty and all with acclamation took the oath of loyalty to the constitution. But beneath the surface the dissensions were growing more acute, fostered by the antagonistic political clubs, Cordeliers, Jacobins, Feuillants, and by the flood of pamphlets constantly issuing from the press. Still there was a moment when it seemed that an understanding between the queen and Mirabeau might effect a combination strong enough to control the situation; but the prospect, such as it was, vanished when Mirabeau suddenly broke under the terrific strain of his labours and died after a few days' illness, in April, 1791.

Less than three months had passed when the king took the fatal step of attempting flight. At Varennes, almost on the Netherlands border, he was recognized, stopped and taken back to Paris. The situation hardened. The flight from one point of view amounted to an abdication; from another it pointed to an appeal for foreign intervention; it was scarcely possible to reconcile it with loyalty to the new

constitution. Extremists openly called for the establishment of a republic. But the 'Constituent' Assembly was constitutionalist, not republican; the moderates in it were the majority. It preserved order, and settled down to a revision of the constitution, which was formally accepted by Louis in September, arrangements having been made for the summoning of a new assembly.

The new body, distinguished as the 'Legislative Assembly,' was of a very different type. Expressly all the old members were excluded from it, though the old extremists found a field for themselves outside it, in the Paris Commune, which they dominated. But the most notable of the new members were the Girondists, the deputies from the Gironde, most of them filled with republican theories extracted from a somewhat perverted study of Roman history. But there was no present intention of subverting the revised constitution, which had further restricted the king's powers.

#### European Reaction to the Revolution

UNHAPPILY, however, the new assembly came in at the moment when a spark had been struck which fired the train that kindled the great European

conflagration, because it touched the inflammable material in France in a manner which had not been intended.

Europe had hitherto watched the progress of the revolution in France with varied feelings. In England it excited interest primarily as a commendable but undisciplined and uninstructed attempt to achieve for France at one stroke the constitutional government which England had achieved for herself in centuries of development. Advanced and ardent spirits were enthusiastic over the fall of the Bastille; though before long Burke was denouncing the excesses of the revolutionists and prophesying troubles to come with a surprising insight, yet failing to arouse much alarm, since the sense of class antagonisms was less in England than in any continental state. The idea of intervention in the domestic affairs of France seemed absurd.

On the Continent, however, where almost every state had done its best to copy the despotic French system, the collapse of despotism in France was viewed by the despots as ominous. The



**EMPEROR LEOPOLD II**

Brother of Marie Antoinette, Leopold II succeeded Joseph II as emperor in 1790. He co-operated with Frederick William of Prussia in issuing the Declaration of Pillnitz in 1791. This engraving is after the portrait by Krezinger.



**WIFE OF LOUIS XVI**

Her Austrian origin, her extravagance and interference in politics all contributed to the unpopularity of Marie Antoinette, shown in this painting by Madame Vigée-Lebrun. Guillotined in 1793, she faced death with fine courage.

*Musée de Versailles*

sympathies of every despot were with the French monarchy. In Russia, indeed, Catherine viewed the revolution hopefully as something which did not concern herself directly, but might usefully keep the attention of Austria and Prussia fixed on the west rather than on her own activities in the east. Frederick William II again was more anxious about Poland than about Paris. Generally the key of the situation was to be found in the policy which the emperor might decide to adopt. The French queen was the emperor's sister, and in France the fear on one side and the hope on the other were constant that Austria would thereby be drawn into intervention.

Now, as recorded in the last Chronicle, Joseph II had thoroughly committed himself to the Russian alliance in 1788 and plunged into a war with Turkey, while Prussia, guided by the minister Hertzberg, stood aloof, purposing to intervene at the moment when intervention would bring most advantage to herself. The

## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age

war went ill for Austria in that year and only less ill in the next ; but Russia was gaining ground. Hertzberg wished to break up the Austro-Russian combination, and the Austrian position became critical. Hertzberg was on the point of intervening on behalf of the Porte, when Joseph died at the beginning of 1790, and the accession of his brother Leopold II changed the whole situation.

Joseph had been an unlucky failure. He had sought power for himself, and extension of his dominions, with the benevolent intention of improving the lot of his subjects in his own way—a way which did not appeal to them. He acquired their hostility instead of gaining their affection, and his schemes for territorial concentration and aggrandisement had been consistently foiled. The Netherlands were in open revolt, and Hungary was on the verge of it. He had pursued his ideals with a persistent disregard of facts.

Leopold was an eminently practical statesman who had shown his quality by the excellence of his administration in his grand duchy of Tuscany. On his accession he reversed Joseph's policy. He dealt tactfully with the subjects whom Joseph had only succeeded in irritating. He had no sympathy with Joseph's grandiose schemes of expansion. Seeing no real advantage for Austria in continuing the Turkish war and much inconvenience in the hostility of Prussia and the moral support of Prussia's friends, he diplomatically invited Prussia's friendly mediation ; but when Prussia responded with proposals for the territorial exchanges for which Hertzberg hankered, Leopold uncompromisingly rejected them. The proposals themselves were not to the taste of Frederick William's northern allies, England, Holland, Sweden and Poland ; and Leopold's skill effected the

treaty of Reichenbach with Prussia (July, 1790), and the peace of Jassy, between Austria and Russia on the one hand and Turkey on the other, in January, 1792.

Leopold was the last man to allow his judgement to be overruled by sentimentalism. But the flight of Louis to Varennes, his detention, and his return to Paris practically as a prisoner in June, 1791, stirred the émigrés to new clamours ; Leopold had established formally amicable relations with Frederick William ; and in conjunction with the latter he issued, in August, the famous Declaration of Pillnitz, the spark which fired the train.

In fact the declaration missed its mark. Intervention for the restoration of the monarchy, it said, might be necessary, provided that the powers generally were



**THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY THREATENED WITH WAR**  
Published early in 1792, this Royalist caricature in aquatint shows the plight of the National Assembly dancing about in sore distress upon ground which is unbearably hot for their feet. The great powers are stirring up a blazing fire in a cellar beneath, symbolising the hostilities soon to break out

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*

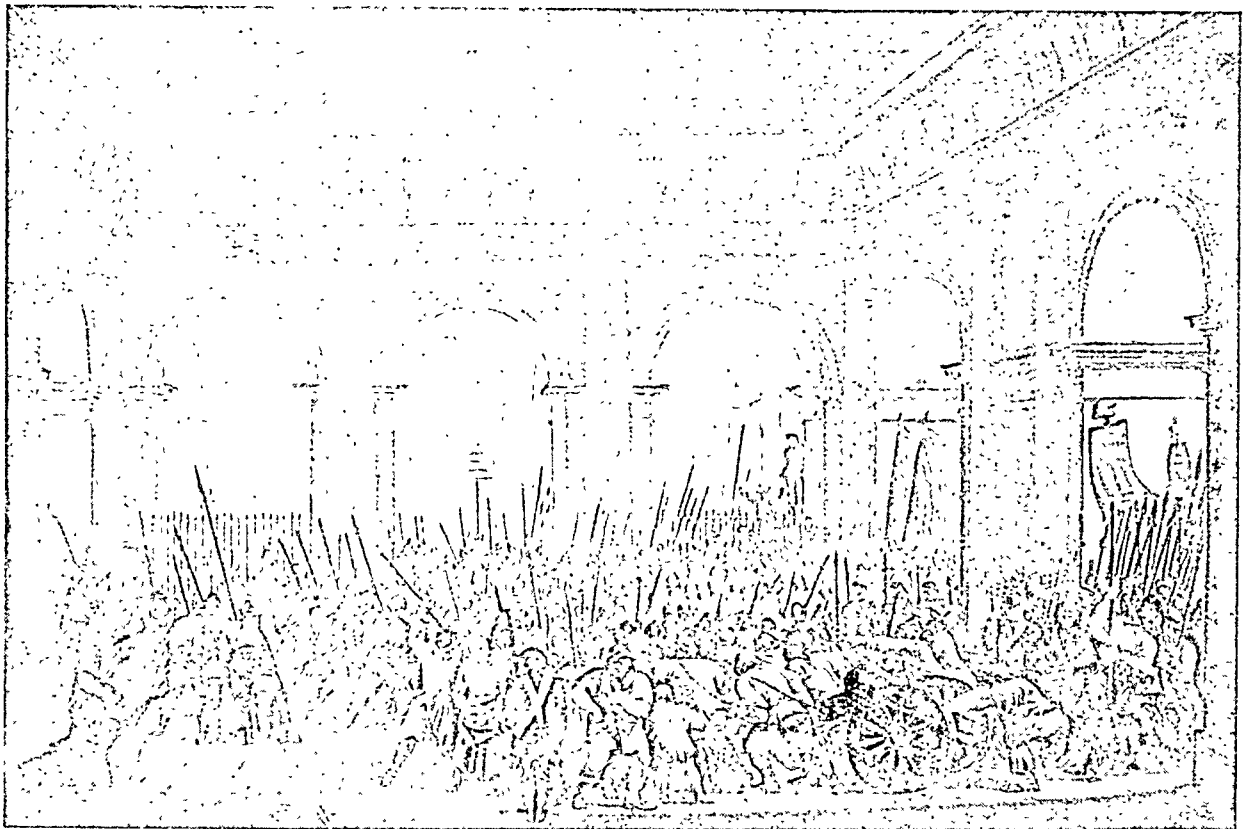


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in agreement. As there was no prospect of the powers generally agreeing, it should have been correctly interpreted as a snub to the émigrés; moreover, the monarchy was actually restored three weeks later, on Louis's acceptance of the new constitution; but in Paris at least it was interpreted as a threat to France; and France was very soon ablaze with indignation—very much as a century before England's wrath had blazed when Louis XIV presumed to recognize the exiled James II as her lawful king. Austria was already more than sufficiently unpopular, because the extremely unpopular Marie Antoinette was an Austrian princess. Whether Leopold himself could have allayed the storm may be doubted; but in March, 1792, he was dead, succeeded by a young and inexperienced heir, Francis II. On April 20 the unfortunate Louis was compelled to come down to the Assembly and pronounce a formal declaration of war against his nephew the 'king of Bohemia

and Hungary'—the imperial election not having yet taken place.

The French troops were already on the Netherlands front—the point of contact between France and the Austrian dominion; but the men were under officers whom they distrusted as aristocrats; their commander, Lafayette, enjoyed the confidence neither of the king nor of the ministry, though he wanted to be loyal to both. The first collisions with the Austrian troops were unfortunate; the king and the Girondist ministers were at odds; new but incompetent ministers were appointed from the moderate party, the Feuillants. The Paris mob broke into the Tuileries; Prussia declared war in alliance with Austria; Paris rang with the strains of the Marseillaise, the new war song of Revolutionary France; in the popular belief the king and the moderates—including Lafayette—were traitors playing into the hands of the enemies of France; and on July 27 the

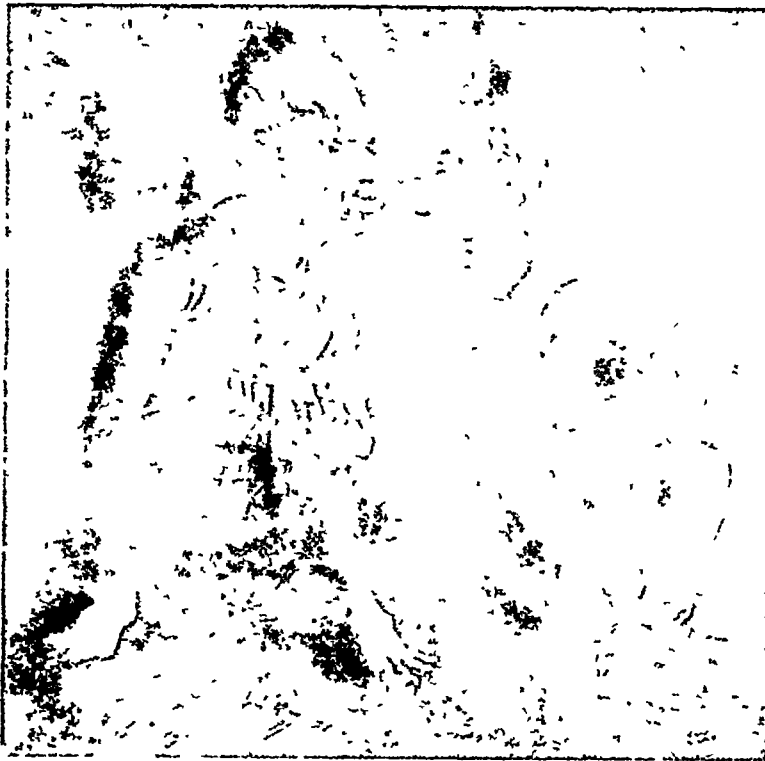


INVASION OF THE TUILERIES BY INSURRECTIONARY PARISIANS

On June 20, 1792, an armed Parisian mob marched to the Tuileries with loud cries of 'Vive la nation! Vive les sansculottes!' The crowd surged into the Assembly Hall and invaded the royal apartments. Although in great peril, the king and queen faced the clamouring multitude with courage and dignity, and refused to make any promises. The insurgents were finally dispersed by the intervention of Pétion, the popular mayor of Paris. This drawing is by F. L. Prieur.

*The Louvre*

## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age



### SAVAGE SATIRE AGAINST THE JACOBINS

A German aquatint of 1793 shows the Devil clutching his brood and rejoicing at its success in wrecking the French monarchy. His better half scorns his efforts as futile compared with the Jacobin whom she herself has hatched.

*Bibliothèque Nationale*

Prussian commander, the duke of Brunswick, confirmed the belief by a manifesto threatening Paris with divers penalties if any harm befell the royal family.

Then the Paris Commune, headed by Danton, took control, having with it the armed force of the city, the National Guard. The royal family (August 10) fled from the Tuileries—where the Swiss Guard, refusing submission, fought and fell to the last man—to the feeble ‘protection’ of the Assembly. The Assembly could only obey the orders of the Commune, at whose dictation it appointed an arbitrary ‘tribunal for the trial of suspects.’ Lafayette would have marched on Paris to restore order, but no one would follow him, and he fell instead into the hands of the Austrians, who held him prisoner. Prussian troops advanced and captured Longwy and then Verdun (September 2). The Commune had already arrested and flung into prison a huge number of suspects. On September 3 it organized a massacre of the prisoners in their prisons. The example was followed all over the country. Under

these conditions the elections for the new assembly, the ‘Convention’ which was to take the place of the Legislative Assembly, were being carried on. On September 20 the new commander on the front, Dumouriez, engaged the Prussian troops at Valmy and was not defeated. The ‘victory’ was hailed with wild enthusiasm, once again the soldiers of France had proved that they were invincible. Military confidence was restored, and from that moment the French troops fought to win.

The Convention met on September 21. The Royalists had been wiped out, and the chiefs of the Commune, the Jacobins, extremists who had



### GENERAL DUMOURIEZ

Rouillard painted this portrait of Charles François Dumouriez (1739–1823), victorious commander of the revolutionary army at Valmy and Jemappes in 1792. A defeat at Neerwinden in 1793 ruined his career.

*Musée de Versailles, photo, Neurdein*

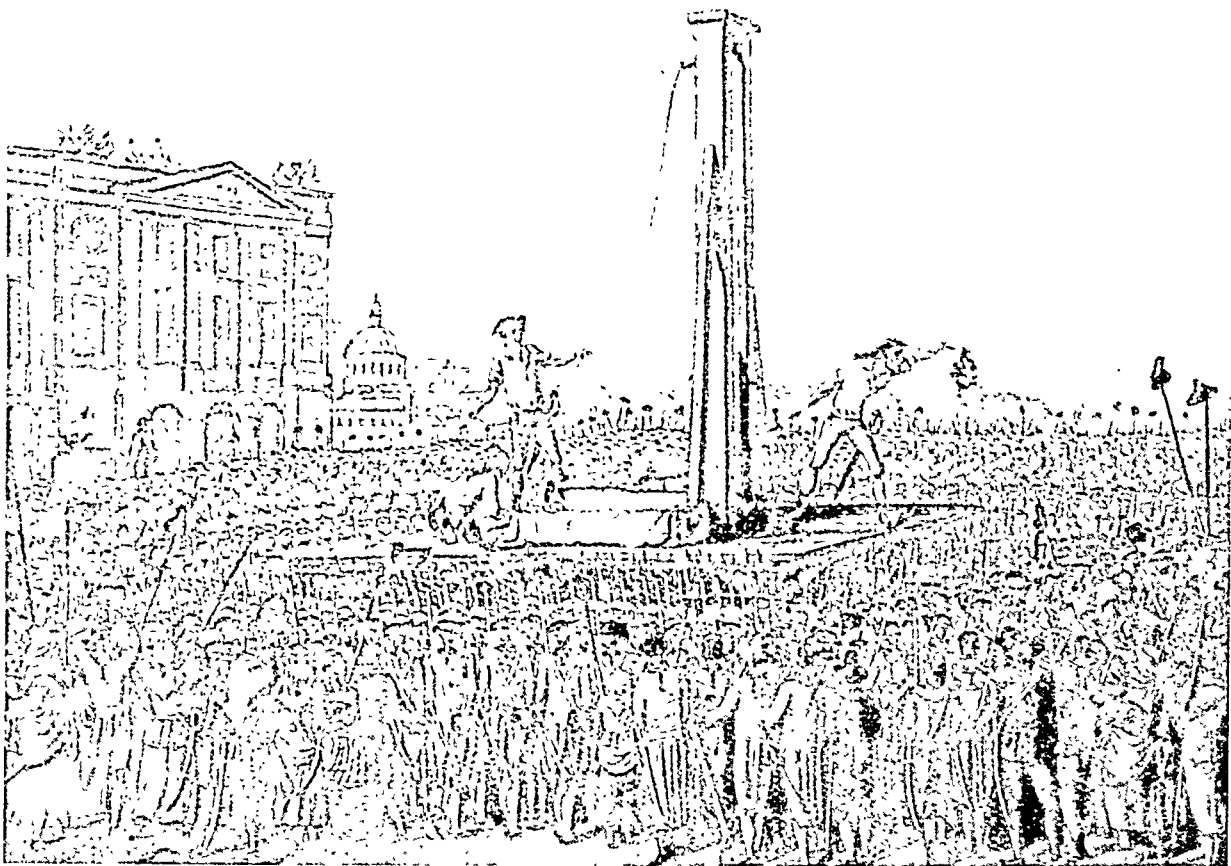
## Chronicle XXVIII. 1789-1815

sat in the old Constituent Assembly, were back again. They formed an organized body led by Danton and Robespierre, which knew its own mind and had no scruples about the method of attaining its ends; the party was known as the Mountain. The Girondists suffered from scrupulosity and indecision, though nominally the larger party; they were the new moderates, what was left of the adherents of law and order. Between them and the Mountain floated the 'Plain,' attached to neither but not themselves forming a party. There was no delay in proclaiming the end of the monarchy.



Then began the fight for domination. The Girondists denounced the Jacobins, the Jacobins with greater skill denounced the Girondists, but they united in bringing the unhappy Louis to trial before the Convention itself, and the Girondist leaders were among the bare majority which passed the death sentence. On January 21, 1793, the head of the deposed king fell under the guillotine — the ghastly challenge to the monarchies of Europe flung down by the French Republic; but it was only the finishing touch.

For at the beginning of 1792 the Legislative Assembly had conceived



**FRENCH REVOLUTIONARIES TRIUMPHANTLY EXHIBIT THE HEAD OF LOUIS XVI** Jacobins and Girondists combined in bringing Louis XVI to the trial before the Convention that led to his death by guillotine on January 21, 1793. This fine water colour drawing by an unknown but closely contemporary artist shows the scene of execution. Top, Ducreux's portrait, painted in the Temple three days before the execution, shows Louis XVI, well-meaning but weak, who paid with his life for the faults and follies of his predecessors as much as for his own.

*Musée Carnavalet (top); Bibliothèque Nationale (bottom)*

## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age



**ORGANIZER OF VICTORY'**

Lazare Nicolas Marguerite Carnot (1753-1823) brilliantly reorganized the armies that won the Republican successes of 1794. This picture of him appeared among Bonneville's Portraits of Celebrated Characters of the Revolution. From Seidlitz, 'Portraitwerk,' Bruckmann A G

itself to be forced into war by the aggressive threat of interference in French affairs by foreign powers, at the end of the same year the Convention had itself openly assumed the attitude of aggression, had declared its purpose of aiding the peoples to rid themselves of their rulers, had incidentally reasserted the right of France to acquire her own 'natural' boundaries, and, in connexion therewith, proclaimed her intention of tearing up the treaty of Fontainebleau and opening the Scheldt—to the extreme detriment of Holland and Holland's guarantor, England. In other words, she had declared herself to be the enemy of every existing government in Europe which was not in form republican. Even this might conceivably have been ignored by England, as not seriously concerning a country which prided itself upon being the land of liberty, but the claim of France to tear up at her own choice treaties to which she had been an active party was incompatible with international ethics. French armies were already giving effect to the doctrine of republican aggression in the

Rhenish principalities and in the Netherlands, and thus at the beginning of 1793 the war became general.

On the part of the coalition it was conducted with extreme inefficiency, each of the allies having their own distinct objects in view, and their own view of the way in which those objects could be most conveniently attained. Only in England was there any enthusiasm, and British enthusiasm concerned itself only with naval operations, though British gold supported the armies of the allies. France, on the other hand, threw herself into the struggle with her whole soul. The allies were hide-bound by military conventions established in the Seven Years' War, the French flung the old conventions to the winds, and only demanded of their captains that they should win battles—if they failed to win them their shrift was short. Any man who showed ability was given his chance, if he failed then he was not given another, and an amazing amount of first-class talent came to the front, while in the armies of the allies no first-class talent appeared at all. Moreover, while



**A PUPPET MONARCH**

This painting by Goya shows Carlos IV, incapable king of Spain from 1788 to 1808. The real rulers of the country were his queen (left) and her favourite, Godoy, who committed themselves to alliance with France.

Prado Madrid photo Anderson

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the other states expected their standing military machines to work automatically, in France the military organization passed into and remained through successive changes under the direction of a man of supreme genius, Carnot. Consequently the French armies met with continuous success and the allied armies with repeated failure, though the British fleets commanded the seas.

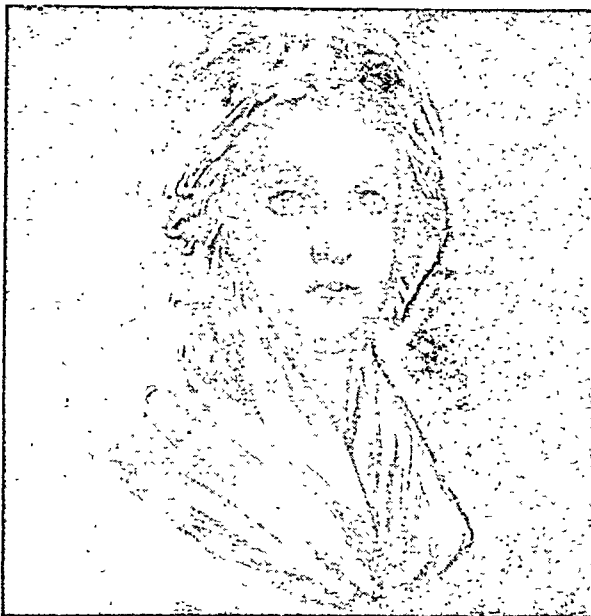
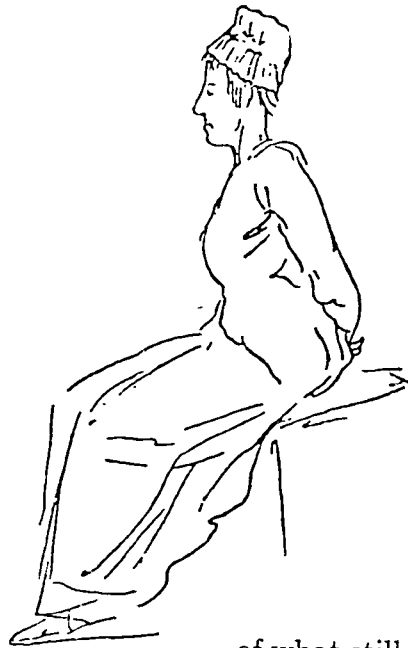
The allies showed no energy, because even from the outset Prussia was more interested in Poland than in the French war, from which she could expect to derive no direct advantage. Austria, also mindful of Poland, expected the British for their own sakes to do most of the fighting in the Netherlands, and Spain had fallen under the feeble rule of Carlos IV. Prussia kept her armies in the field—away from the fighting front—only because she could do so at the expense of Great Britain. In 1795

he made a separate peace and retired from the coalition, Spain following her example and improving upon it by joining France; while the French overran the Netherlands, and in Holland the republican party drove the stadtholder William out of the country, proclaimed the 'Batavian Republic' and joined France. Thus in 1795 the 'coalition' meant Great Britain, Austria and the minor principalities in Germany and Italy which still adhered to it.

In that year Poland as an independent state disappeared from the map of Europe. Even at the moment when Frederick William was declaring war in 1792, Catherine was completing with him her bargain for the second partition; they could afford at the moment to ignore Austria. Poland was powerless, and no one else would dream of interfering. Catherine annexed a substantial part and Prussia a smaller portion of the prey. The final partition

of what still remained came in 1795. This time it was with Austria that Catherine struck her bargain, lest there should be trouble over her own designs against Turkey. She offered a substantial share of Poland as the price of acquiescence, while Prussia, however reluctantly, would have to be content with the remaining fraction. Poland disappeared into the maws of her three big neighbours.

**M**EANWHILE France, winning victories abroad, extending her borders and transforming hostile principalities into friendly or dependent republics, was passing through a long internal agony. The Jacobins gained ascendancy over the Girondists; the Girondist Dumouriez, the hero of Valmy, tried and failed to organize a plot for a monarchist restoration; the Girondists were branded as traitors and their leaders were thrown into prison by the triumphant Jacobins. In various quarters there were royalist



### LAST HOURS OF MARIE ANTOINETTE

On October 16, 1793, the guillotine claimed Marie Antoinette, whose last portrait, by Prieur, was painted in the Conciergerie a few days before the execution. Her calm on the tumbril is cruelly portrayed in Jacques-Louis David's sketch done as he stood among the crowd (top)

*Musée Carnavalet*



On August 10, 1792, the mob of Paris stormed the Tuileries and Louis XVI took refuge with the National Assembly, which suspended the kingly office and confined him, plain 'Louis Capet' in the Temple. This print, *Louis le Dernier et sa Famille conduit au Temple*, shows him being made a sansculotte by the removal of his breeches and the imposition of a cap of liberty.



It was the period before the French Revolution that saw the popularisation of new colour reproduction. The upper illustration, for instance, shows the old method of hand-colouring the streets; the one below, by Tassaert after Harriet, is a 'stipple engraving' in two colours. It is 'the night of the 9th of Thermidor' (July 27, 1794), when Robespierre was arrested in the Convention, and reveals the true source of the wound that he was given by a young gendarme, Méda, and not self-inflicted, as was freely said of twenty-seven other members of the command of the

DOWNFALL OF LOUIS XVI AND OF HIS BITTEREST ADVERSARY

British Museum



David's crowded canvas, of which this is but the centre, shows the proudest moment of Napoleon's life, when in Notre Dame on December 2, 1804, with Josephine kneeling at his feet and 'Madame Mère' smiling approval, he waved aside Pope Pius VII and set the imperial crown upon his own head.

*The Louvre*

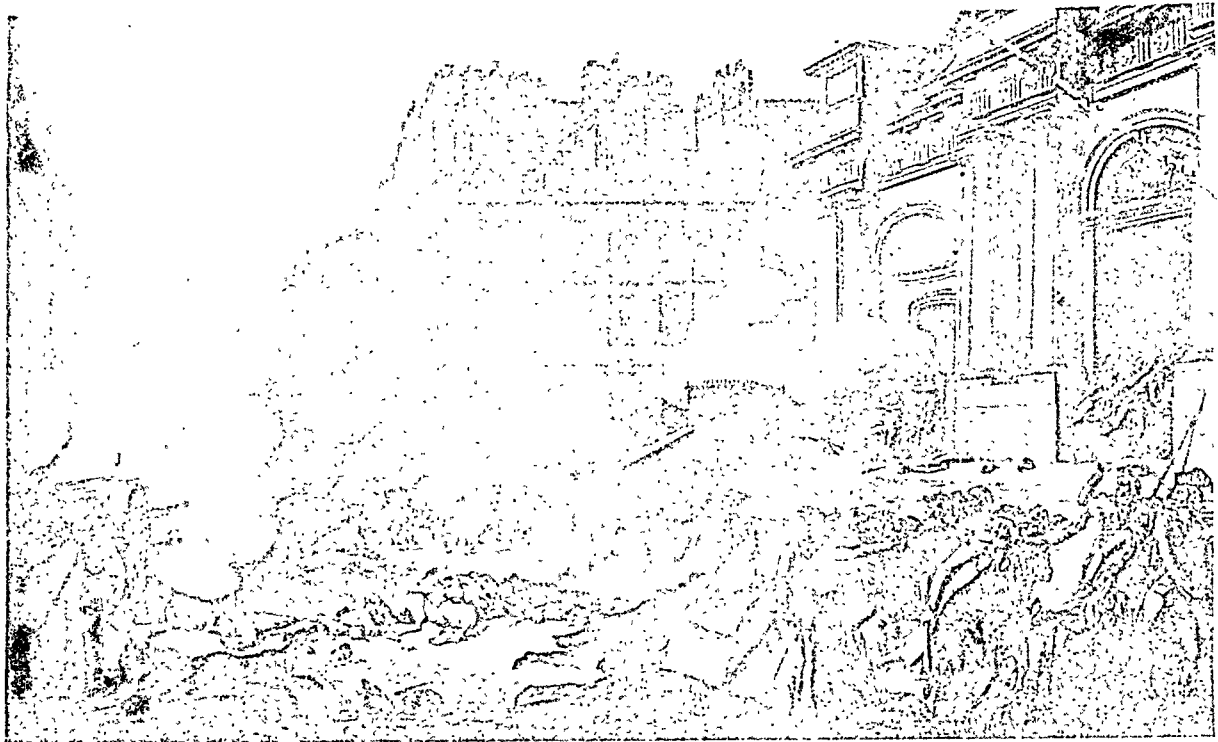


Napoleon had virtually been emperor since he was declared 'Consul for Life,' two years before his coronation, and that ceremony was an empty if magnificent form. Nevertheless the dignity stood him in good stead when he was forced to surrender to the Allies in April, 1814; since reverence for the title from a brother autocrat, the tsar, allowed him unfettered possession of the little Mediterranean island of Elba, whose inhabitants are shown welcoming their 'emperor' in this Viennese print.

DRAMATIC MOMENTS IN THE RISE AND FALL OF NAPOLEON I

*British Museum*





#### BONAPARTE CRUSHES THE PARISIAN RISING OF VENDEMIARE

The new constitution devised by the abbé Sieyès in 1794 did not meet with universal approval, and prompt action was necessary to quell the violence of its opponents. The government troops, under young General Bonaparte, were successful in crushing the rising of Vendémiaire (October), 1795, in Paris. Charles Monnet's famous picture, engraved by Helman, shows the struggle outside the church of S. Roch, Rue St. Honoré. The insurgents, ill equipped and ill led, were no match for regular troops.

*Photo, W. F. Mansell*

revolts, which were crushed, not without difficulty but without mercy. When the Girondists fell, the Jacobins had already pinned their faith to Robespierre, while Danton, the organizer of the 'September massacres,' was under suspicion as a 'moderate,' an 'indulgent.' The Convention bestowed absolute powers on a Committee of Public Safety (July, 1793) with Robespierre at its head, from which Danton was excluded.

In October the real Reign of Terror began. A 'revolutionary tribunal' sent the Girondist chiefs and Marie Antoinette to the guillotine, and after them a host of 'aristocrats.' Early in 1794 Robespierre turned upon the most repulsive group among his followers, the Hébertists, who were getting out of his control; a fortnight later he smote down the 'indulgent' Danton. The victims of the guillotine multiplied. But the agents of the Terror began to fear that they would become its victims; the orgy of bloodshed was followed by a revulsion; a plot was formed; Robespierre was suddenly arrested by order of the Convention in July—the month which the Republic had re-christened

Thermidor—and followed his victims to the guillotine. The mob applauded his death as it had applauded theirs; but it wanted no more. The Terror was over.

Freed from Robespierre, the Convention, with moderates in the ascendant, recovered its lost control; but the Commune and the Committee of Public Safety were reconstituted; almost as a matter of course a new constitution was devised by the indefatigable architect of symmetrical systems, the abbé Sieyès. The executive was to be in the hands of a directory of five, the legislature was to consist of two chambers in which members of the Convention itself were to predominate. The natural result was the rising of a hostile mob in Paris in October ('Vendémiaire'), 1795. Barras, the head of the Directory, entrusted the defence of the city to the young artillery officer Napoleon Bonaparte (who soon afterwards adopted this French spelling of his Corsican name); he brought up guns and cleared the streets, the rising was effectively suppressed and the Directory's authority established; and Bonaparte at the age of twenty-seven was rewarded with the command of the



THE BRIDGE OF LODI: SCENE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE'S SPECTACULAR SUCCESS IN 1796

Carle Vernet's drawing, engraved by Duplessis-Bertaux, shows Napoleon's troops crossing the river Adda by the Bridge of Lodi from which his fierce attack on May 10, 1796, dislodged the Austrians under Beaulieu, despite a stout resistance. It was after this battle that Napoleon's soldiers called him 'Le Petit Caporal.' This brilliant triumph, which greatly enhanced the military reputation of the victor, secured his dominance in Lombardy and was followed, on May 14, by his triumphal entry into Milan.

From Dayot, 'La Revolution française'

## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age

French armies in Italy, where little progress had been made since the taking of Savoy itself from the king of Sardinia.

Italy, in fact, was held by the Sardinians or Piedmontese; by the Austrians, and the Naples Bourbons within the coalition; by the Papacy, which was hostile to the Republic that had secularised the Church; and by Venice, which with Tuscany was a neutral.

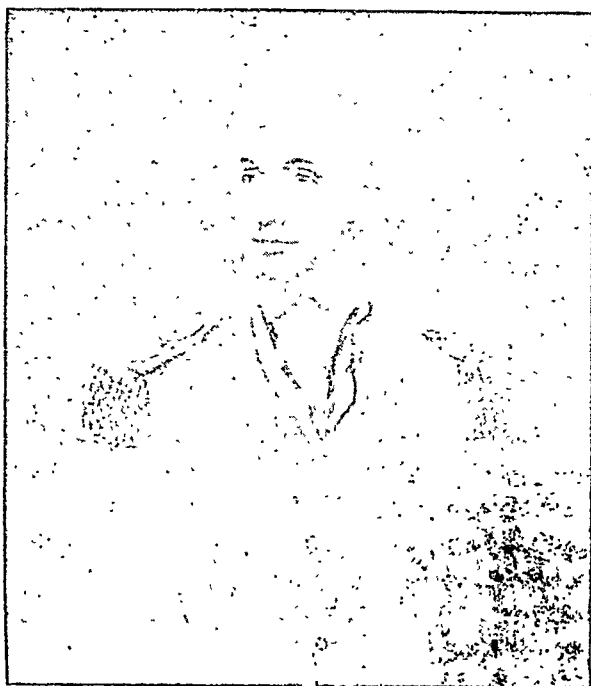
### Victories of Bonaparte in Italy.

THE appointment of Bonaparte to the command was immediately justified. He found three armies opposing him. He routed the central army at Montenotte, driving it to right and left upon Turin and Milan. He wheeled upon Turin, where the king of Sardinia could only submit to the terms he dictated—the surrender of fortresses, and Sardinia's withdrawal from the war. Then it was the turn of the Austrian Beaulieu, who tried to cover Milan. By an audaciously planned and brilliantly won victory at the Bridge of Lodi, Beaulieu was forced to fall back upon Mantua. Milan opened its gates to the victor. The contingent from Naples which had joined the Austrians retreated hastily to the south. Bonaparte seized Brescia in Venetia, the Tuscan port of Leghorn and Bologna in the papal territory—all neutral states. He drove the Austrians from Peschiera into Tyrol. Austrian reinforcements, released by a victory of the archduke Charles over Jourdan at Würtzburg, were pouring in to relieve the force at Mantua, to which he laid siege; but he broke them up in detail at Arcola and Rivoli; in February, 1797, Mantua was reduced to surrender, though with the honours of war. A fortnight later the pope was forced to sign the treaty of Tolentino, by which he surrendered Bologna and Ferrara. Bonaparte was master of all North Italy, which he had 'liberated'; that is, he had imposed upon the conquered territories a system of self-government on the French model, for which they had to pay a heavy price in hard cash and art treasures. They were now united as the 'Cisalpine Republic,' under the protection of France, the mother of republics.

But Bonaparte was also his own master—not the Directory whose nominal servant he was. Two very brilliant soldiers, Hoche and Moreau, were now in command of the armies which the Austrian archduke had driven back, and he did not intend them to share the honours in bringing Austria to terms. The naval domination of Great Britain was in doubt; she had, indeed, just won a decisive victory at Cape St. Vincent over the Spanish fleet which had gone over to France, but her sailors were becoming out of hand and mutinous, and the Dutch fleet would soon be available; and Bonaparte, besides, was not alone in underrating the effectiveness of sea power, the only power the British were manifesting. The matter of immediate importance was to effect a settlement with Austria. On his own responsibility he advanced on Trieste, defeating the archduke on the way, and thence to Leoben. There he was met by Austrian envoys who were now ready enough to accept the terms he offered—the surrender of the Netherlands and the Milanese and the partition of Venice as the return for her uneasy neutrality. It was easy to find an excuse for attacking Venice and extracting the cession of the Ionian islands. The rest of Venice passed to Austria when the terms of Leoben (April) were confirmed by the treaty of Campo Formio in October. In the interval, the mutinies in the British fleet had been quelled, and the Dutch fleet put out of action at Camperdown.

### Bonaparte's Egyptian Expedition

BONAPARTE had conducted both his military and his political operations without any regard to instructions or prohibitions from Paris, and the French government had to accept the fait accompli. The Directory, in fact, was tottering; three of its members (the 'triumvirate,' as they were called) were in constant opposition to the other two. Monarchical plots were in the air; prominent generals were under suspicion. The triumvirate defeated their opponents, and expelled Carnot himself from the Directory and the country, mainly through the help Bonaparte chose to give them from a



THE VICTOR OF TRAFALGAR

The genius of Admiral Horatio Nelson (1758-1805), whose features are here portrayed by L. F. Abbott, lay in his courage, knowledge and judgement. Daring and humane, he excelled as a commander and was beloved as well as obeyed.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

distance. When at last he returned in triumph to Paris he could have made himself master of the state there and then ; but he did not choose to do so yet. He was planning that Egyptian expedition the aims of which have been variously interpreted ; but had it not been for the British fleet it might quite possibly have made him master not only of Paris but of the world. The Directory, however, warmly approved a scheme which removed their dangerous servant to a safe distance.

When the expedition sailed in May, 1798, successfully evading the British squadron which was watching Toulon, France had already found means for ejecting the aged pope from the Papal States and turning them into the Roman Republic, and for adding the Helvetic Republic to the circle of dependencies. Also the Treaty of Campo Formio had left over the question of the treatment of other German principalities to a conference at Rastadt, which French diplomacy used to antagonise Austria and Prussia and to bring western Germany, and the Rhineland in particular, more decisively under French domination. Pitt

in England and the minister Thugut in Austria were already planning a new coalition, in which they were to find a formidable ally in Tsar Paul, who had succeeded Catherine in 1796, and to whom the Revolution was anathema.

Nelson, in command in the Mediterranean, with sound instinct pursued the French towards Egypt, but was led off on a false scent. Bonaparte reached Alexandria, having captured Malta on the way, in June. Egypt was theoretically a province of the Turkish Empire ; he was coming to deliver it not from the sultan, with whom there was no war, but from the tyranny of the Mamelukes. By the end of July he had crushed the Mamelukes in the battle of the Pyramids, and was organizing his own rule ; but on August 1 Nelson at last tracked down the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, and annihilated it in the Battle of the Nile. Thenceforth the British fleet held undisputed control of the Mediterranean and Bonaparte's communications with Europe were completely severed.

#### Coalition Successes and Bonaparte's Return

By this time the new coalition was on the point of striking ; the first and very unsuccessful move was made by the contemptible Ferdinand of Naples, who attacked the Roman Republic, was himself immediately ejected from Naples, and took flight to Sicily, where his safety was guaranteed by Nelson's victorious fleet. The Italian half of his kingdom was promptly organized as the Parthenopean Republic. But after that came disasters for the French in the first months of 1799. The archduke Charles defeated Jourdan at Stockach ; Masséna was isolated at Zürich ; Russian forces under Suvarov entered Italy, and his victory on the Trebbia prevented the junction of Macdonald's army from Naples with Moreau's in the north. Ferdinand was brought back to Naples, and with Nelson's aid inflicted savage punishment on the rebels who had ejected him.

The tale of disaster leaked through to Bonaparte, who had conquered Egypt and made it his base for the conquest of Syria, which in its turn was to be his

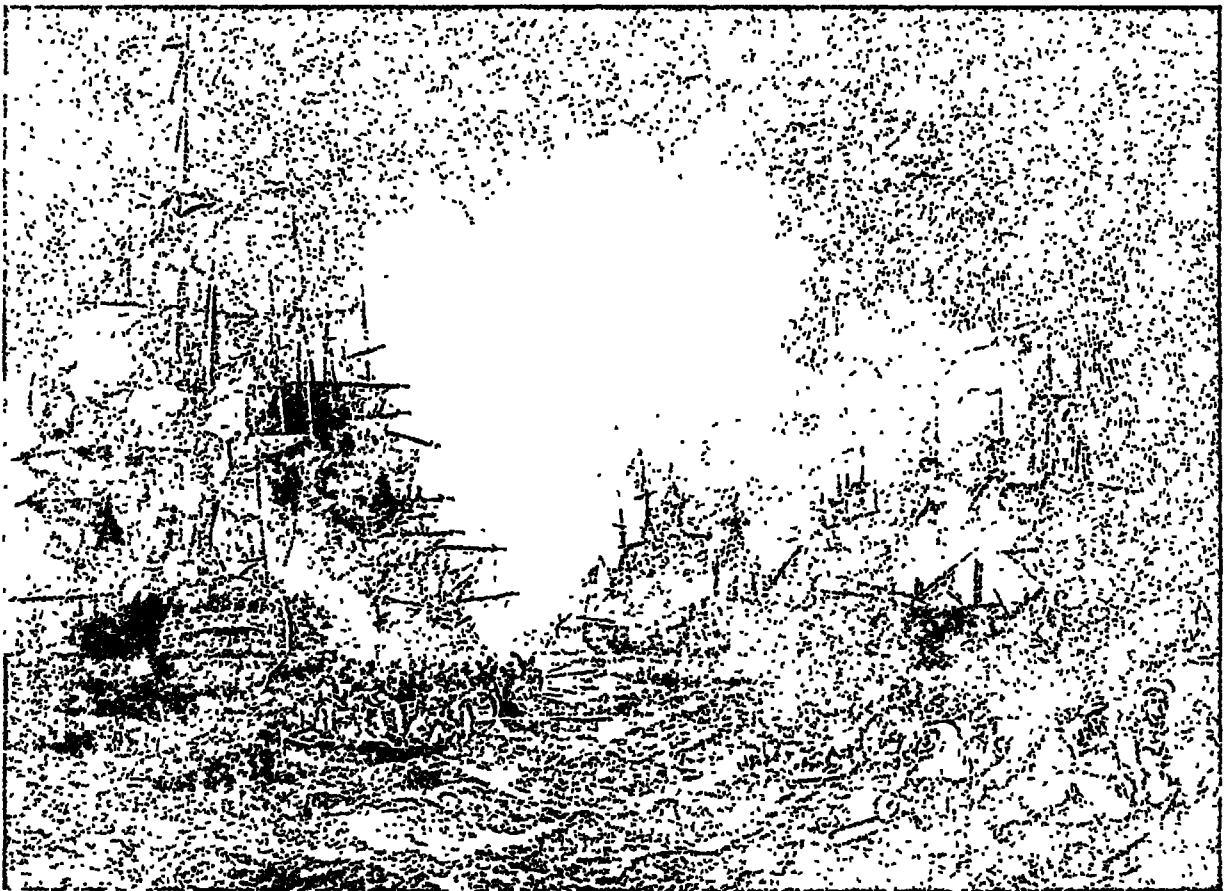
## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age

use either for a conquest of Asia, including India, or of Europe from the east, while France held her in the west. He did not conquer Syria because he could not capture Acre without command of the sea, and while Acre stood his communications with Egypt were always liable to be cut. But the news from Europe decided him that it was time for him to return to Paris and take control. With a few comrades he took boat—leaving Kléber in command in Egypt—threaded his way undiscovered across the Mediterranean, and landed at Fréjus in October.

The military situation had been completely changed during the interval. Moreau had effected a masterly retirement from Italy, while Suvarov had been forbidden to move till a fresh force under Korsakov joined him. Masséna dealt summarily with Korsakov, who did not reach Italy. Suvarov, and his master Paul, considered that they had been

betrayed by Austria, and Russia withdrew from the war in high dudgeon.

Bonaparte hastened to Paris, where moderates were now in the ascendant in the Directory itself and in one of the Chambers, but Chambers and Directory were in constant dissension. Sieyès, now at the head of the Directory, had another mathematically flawless constitution ready, but needed a general to institute it. The arrival of Napoleon left no choice as to the general who was to carry out the coup d'état—the coup d'état of Brumaire (November 9, 1799). It was duly carried out, not without some extremely critical moments; and its product was not the constitution of Sieyès with its finished scheme of checks and balances which must have completely paralysed any action whatever, but one which, while preserving something of its outward form, placed the legislature in the control of the executive, and the



**NELSON'S MASTERLY VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH AT THE BATTLE OF THE NILE**  
On August 1, 1798, Nelson, despite the numerical inferiority of the English fleet, inflicted on the French an overwhelming naval defeat in Aboukir Bay, from which time he became a national hero. As a result of this victory the British won command of the Mediterranean, and Bonaparte's communications with Europe were severed. The incident in the battle which this engraving, after the painting by De Loutherbourg, represents is the blowing up of the French flagship *Orient*.

executive in the hands of one man, the First Consul,' with two phantoms beside him who also bore the name of consul, with hardly even a semblance of authority. It was not long before the First Consul adopted the monarchical signature. Henceforth he is to be known as Napoleon, though more than four years were to pass before he assumed the title of emperor.

The new constitution was ratified by an overwhelming plébiscite. The Revolution had been born of popular grievances—the seigneurial rights and the aristocratic and clerical privileges which had actually been abolished before the fall of the monarchy. Their abolition had involved the destruction of the old system of government, for which it had been attempted to substitute democracy. The result had been not democracy but despotism exercised by a succession of small groups—first concentrating in Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety and then, very uncertainly, in the Directory. The culmination came with the despotism

of a successful general with a genius for administration, who chose to retain a semblance of democratic or republican forms, like Augustus in Rome eighteen centuries before him, and France was satisfied as Rome had been satisfied.

THE military situation was still critical, though Russia had retired. Masséna in Italy was isolated at Genoa, the Austrians being in greater strength. The First Consul made separate peace overtures to Austria and to Great Britain; neither trusted him and neither would make terms without the other. The negotiations fell through, and in 1800 Napoleon invaded Italy while Moreau advanced into Germany. No relief was sent to Masséna, who was starved into surrender in June; but a fortnight later Napoleon defeated the Austrians at Marengo. He procured thereby an armistice, which he employed in placating the tsar—in whose eyes he was now the representative not of Jacobinism but of autocracy—while he beguiled Spain with concessions which meant nothing. The British fleet captured Malta; he had just promised it to the tsar, but it was retained by its captors.

Hostilities were renewed, and Moreau won a brilliant victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden, which forced them to conclude a separate peace at Lunéville in February, 1801, on much the same terms as the earlier peace of Campo Formio. Great Britain was isolated, the tsar was on the point of turning upon her, and she was threatened by the 'armed neutrality' of the Baltic states, who resented her doctrines about the respective rights of neutrals and belligerents on the seas. However, she dispatched an expedition to Egypt which was completely successful; her fleet broke up the armed neutrality by its attack upon the Danes in the Battle of



BONAPARTE DISPERSES THE DIRECTORY

Bonaparte's realization that the French executive government, in the hands of the Directory, was unpopular, led him to determine upon its overthrow. The bold scheme was carried out in the coup d'état of Brumaire (November) 1799, and François Bouchot's painting represents the disorderly scene which accompanied Bonaparte's dissolution of the government.

*The Louvre*

## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age

the Baltic; Paul was assassinated, and his youthful successor, Alexander I, made haste to seek a reconciliation with Great Britain. There was no longer sufficient reason for refusing peace; and the war ended—for the time—with the Peace of Amiens in March, 1802.

The treaty included definite pacts on both sides, and indefinite understandings. The pacts were not carried out, because each side refused to make the first move. Napoleon's own proceedings were in the British view gross violations of the understandings. While he reinstated the pope, he reconstructed the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, accepting for himself the presidency of both. The German questions were again to be settled, as after Campo Formio, by a conference at Regensburg, which again appeared to mean only that the French grip on western Germany was to be tightened; British protests were denounced as being in violation of the treaty terms. In May, 1803, fourteen months after the treaty of Amiens, war was again declared between Great Britain and the French Republic. Diplomacy was not a strong point with the British, who invariably found themselves outmanoeuvred and put apparently in the wrong by that past master in the art whose services Napoleon enjoyed—Talleyrand.

For Great Britain the sea was the only possible field of warfare, and her fleet established an effective guard over the French ports, while Napoleon was organizing a great army of invasion, in the vain hope of finding or creating an opportunity for carrying it across the Channel unmolested, and stabilising his own position in France and in Europe. He reconciled himself with the Church by restoring the pope in Rome and declaring the old faith to be the official religion of the state. The royalists were welcome to return, whatever their past record might have



**TALLEYRAND THE DIPLOMATIST**

As foreign minister under the First Consul, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (1754-1838) had wide scope for his remarkable diplomatic talents. Later, he headed the anti-Napoleonic faction. François Gérard painted this portrait.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.*

been, on condition only of loyalty to the new order. His taxation was heavy but even-handed, and the old leakages in the collection of revenue were very thoroughly stopped. Through his own nominees he controlled local administration and the courts of justice. His expenditure was lavish and magnificent, but in the main directed to economically profitable public works, and, of course, to military efficiency. And he appropriated and made his own two great conceptions which he really owed to the reformers whose admirable work under the Convention had been overshadowed by the more dramatic and terrible aspects of



**THE DUC D'ENGHIEN**

Fear of Bourbon royalism in France led to the kidnapping of the duc d'Enghien, a prince of the blood, at Baden. After a mock court martial he was executed at Vincennes, March 21, 1804.

*Drawn from life in 1798, engr. by N. Bertrand*





#### THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ : NAPOLEON'S GREAT VICTORY OVER AUSTRILIANS AND RUSSIANS

Napoleon's boast concerning the opposing forces at Austerlitz was no idle one. Avant demain au soir, cette armée est à moi,' he observed on December 1, 1805. On December 2 he overwhelmingly defeated the Austrians and Russians, killing or taking prisoner about 35,000 of their 83,000 troops, and capturing forty flags that were the standards of the Russian imperial guard. The result of this battle was to break up the anti-French coalition from which Pitt had hoped so much. The Russians withdrew and Austria signed the peace of Pressburg. This aquatint is by Duplessis-Bertaux.

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**STEPSON OF NAPOLEON**

Appointed viceroy of Italy by Napoleon in 1805, Eugène de Beauharnais (1781-1824) ruled the kingdom well and exhibited great military talent. In 1807 he was created prince of Venice.

*Miniature by Isabey; Wallace Collection, London*

with Pitt, who had returned to the helm (after a brief retirement, owing to George III's refusal to concede Catholic emancipation in Ireland), set about organizing a new coalition.

Through 1805 the Coalition was taking shape on the one hand, and on the other Napoleon was endeavouring to obtain that temporary domination on the European seas without which the invasion of England could not even be attempted. Napoleon's grip on the dependent states was palpably tightening. The German provinces on the left bank of the Rhine had been annexed; the Ligurian Republic had been absorbed; the Cisalpine Republic, after conversion into the Italian Republic, converted itself into a monarchy and offered the historic Iron Crown of Lombardy to Napoleon, who accepted it and appointed his stepson, Eugène Beauharnais, viceroy. The assumption of the imperial title was almost a challenge to the Austrian emperor. Pitt and

its history—educational reconstruction and that codification and reform of the law which we know as the Code Napoléon, the penetration of which into the dependent republics and states, in fact, made the Revolution in them a permanent reality.

Napoleon, however, required for himself the form as well as the substance of royalty. Bourbon royalism in France was still, it seemed, a danger. In 1804 the duc d'Enghien, a prince of the blood, was kidnapped on German soil, carried over the border and, after a mock military trial, executed. Immediately afterwards Napoleon procured the plébiscite which put an end to the republican fiction and made him emperor. But the death of Enghien was in the eyes of the young tsar, Alexander I, a firm believer in the divinity that doth hedge princes as well as kings, an unforgivable crime; and the tsar, in conjunction



**NAPOLEON AS EMPEROR OF THE**

As a result of a plébiscite taken on the imperial title, Napoleon became emperor of the 18, 1804. The coronation ceremony is illustrated on page 4090, and a medallion in the plate facing page 4090. This portrait

*Musée de Versailles; photo,*

## Chronicle XXVIII. 1789-1815

Alexander adjusted the differences in their respective views; Austria was on the point of coming in, though the Spanish government was completely subservient to Napoleon. The armies were mobilising, when Napoleon made his move against the tyrant of the seas—and failed.

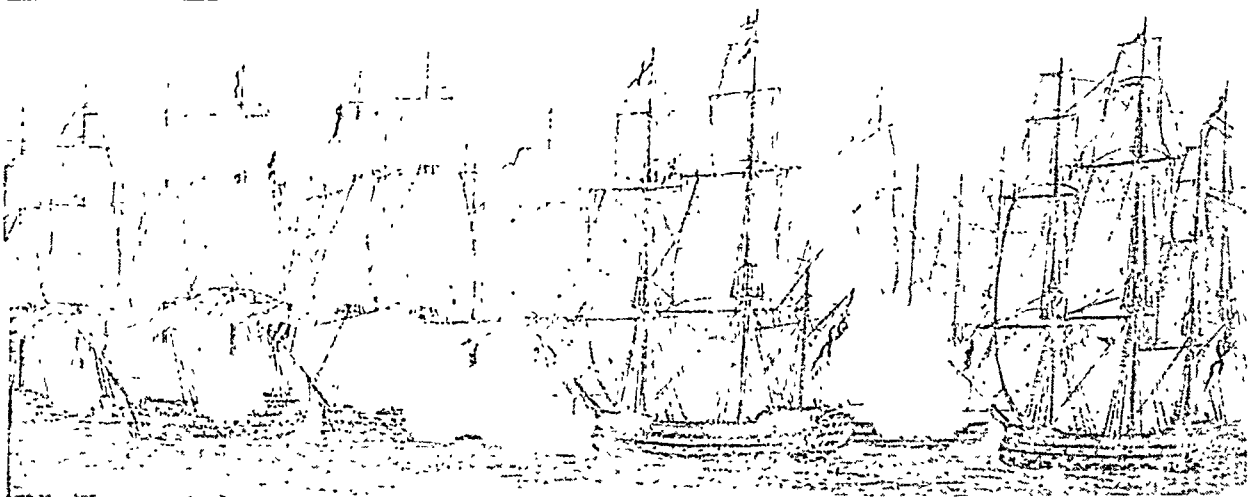
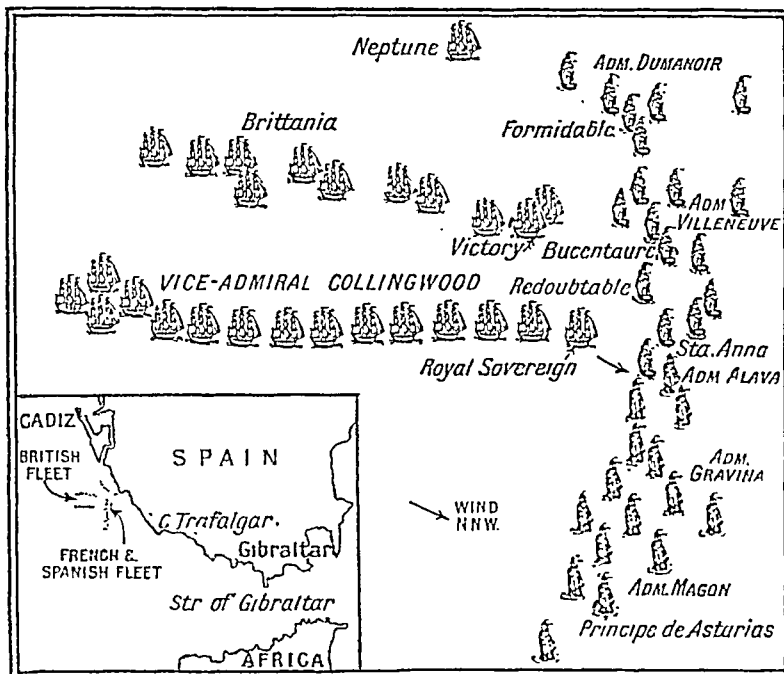
The Coalition was still incomplete when, in March, 1805, the Toulon fleet under Villeneuve came out—not to fight Nelson, but to draw him away to the West Indies, leave him there, effect a junction with the Brest fleet, and clear the Channel for the army of invasion. Nelson went in pur-

suit; Villeneuve evaded him and returned; but the news reached England; Villeneuve found a squadron on the watch, knew that there could now be no chance of bringing out the Brest fleet, and made for Corunna. Napoleon knew that his scheme had failed and launched the army of invasion not upon England but upon Austria.

The Austrian frontier force at Ulm was trapped and forced to capitulate (October); Napoleon marched on Vienna, and entered it on November 13. The Russians were already at hand; from Vienna Napoleon marched to meet them, and shattered

them at the brilliant victory of Austerlitz (December 3). Russia felt that Austria had failed her, and retired; Prussia might have joined the Coalition but for Austerlitz—as matters stood, she swallowed the bait dangled before her by Napoleon, that Hanover should be handed over to her. Austria lay at the conqueror's mercy; he was content to take from her by the treaty of Pressburg all her possessions in Italy and on the Adriatic.

Great Britain was again isolated, though Russia had not yet formally made peace.



### BRILLIANT NAVAL VICTORY THAT MADE BRITAIN MISTRESS OF THE SEAS

Nelson's annihilating defeat of the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, on October 21, 1805, established British maritime supremacy. Reproduced for the first time in 1928, this sketch, representing the battle was drawn by Admiral Spencer Smyth, who was himself there. Bearing down upon the enemy in two parallel lines (see plan and inset map above), Nelson and Collingwood broke the French line at two points, and nearly every enemy ship was captured or destroyed.

Courtesy of 'The Daily Telegraph'

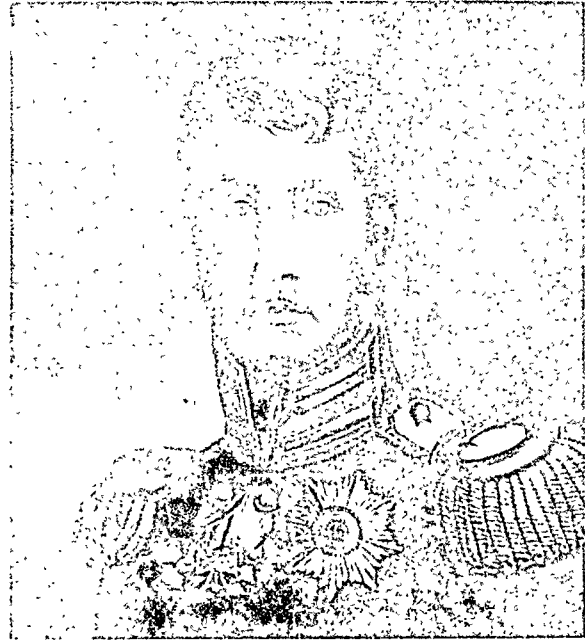
## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age

But six weeks before Austerlitz, Nelson had shattered the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar. No hostile fleet could again take the seas after that great victory. Napoleon professed to ignore it; he believed that he had another way of bringing England to her knees—but it was a way that could not in fact succeed, so long as her fleets swept the seas unchallenged and she held an unqualified monopoly of the ocean trade routes and in the Mediterranean: though his own supremacy on the continent might seem indisputable.

To that supremacy a challenge came from an unexpected quarter. There was a war party in Prussia which resented the pusillanimity of the government. Frederick William III—his father died in 1797—was feebly conscientious but timid, and very much in the hands of a minister who habitually overreached himself by the short-sighted cunning which he mistook for statecraft. The discovery that Hanover was not to be handed over after all gave the war party the upper hand. Prussia declared war.

Before she did so, Napoleon had turned Ferdinand out of Naples, set up his own brother Joseph as king, and made another kingdom for another brother, Louis, out of the Netherlands and the Batavian Republic. The western German principalities combined in the Confederation of the Rhine, with the military forces at the service of the French emperor; and the German emperor Francis proclaimed himself 'Austrian' instead of 'Holy Roman' emperor, just over one thousand years having elapsed since Charlemagne's coronation at Rome on Christmas Day in 800.

In the two battles of Jena and Auerstädt, the Prussian armies were shattered on a single



**FREDERICK WILLIAM III OF PRUSSIA**

His subjects loved Frederick William III of Prussia (1770-1840) for his kind heart and simple ways. Yet his statecraft was marred by weakness and inconsistency, which left him largely at the mercy of stronger personalities.

day (October 14, 1806). A fortnight later Napoleon was in Berlin, with Prussia under his heel. Her king found an asylum with the tsar. Napoleon issued the Berlin decrees, followed next year by the Milan decrees, which were intended to bring Great Britain to her knees by closing all European ports to British commerce and declaring all British ports to be under blockade. The British replied by successive orders in council which declared all ports that refused to admit British shipping to be under blockade. The British had a fleet to enforce their blockade, and Napoleon had none—and the British made sure that he should continue to have none by attacking and seizing the neutral Danish fleet.

A brief Russian campaign convinced the tsar



**NELSON'S DEATH MASK**

A death mask of Lord Nelson was taken immediately after his death at Trafalgar. This cast is now preserved in the Portsmouth Dockyard Museum

*Photo, Stephen Cribb*

that his allies were quite useless, and Napoleon that an agreement with the tsar was preferable to a duel. The tsar had no good will to England, but was benevolently disposed to Prussia. Napoleon found no serious difficulty in reaching an amicable arrangement with Alexander in a conference held on a raft in midstream on the Niemen, the issue of which was the treaty of Tilsit (1807). In effect—the actual details are unknown—the tsar was to have a free hand in the East and Napoleon in the West. Russia was to maintain what Napoleon called the 'Continental System' of excluding British goods from the Continent (on the mistaken assumption that the Continent would or could do without them). Frederick William was to be reinstated in some half of his kingdom, virtually as Napoleon's vassal. Half of the rest was to provide a kingdom of Westphalia for the youngest Bonaparte, Jerome; the other half—the 'Grand Duchy of Warsaw'—went to the king (hitherto elector) of Saxony, whom Napoleon expected to be useful. Once more Britain was isolated. But while the Con-



FRENCH KING OF SWEDEN

This painting by Kinson shows Jean Baptiste Bernadotte (1763-1844), who by his eminent military abilities rose to the rank of marshal in Napoleon's armies. Chosen as successor to the king of Sweden, he became Charles XIV in 1818.

*Musée de Versailles ; photo, Neurdein*



JOSEPH BONAPARTE

After his attainment of supreme power Napoleon made his eldest brother Joseph (1768-1844) king of Naples, and, in 1808, king of Spain, where his nominal authority lasted until Wellington's victory at Vittoria in 1813.

*Engraving after Mme. Kinson*  
British Museum

tinental System did gravely increase her difficulties, it strangled Europe, to which British or British-borne goods were a necessity—and Europe began to feel that it was Napoleon who was strangling her.

Denmark's hostility to England was now a matter of course. Sweden persisted in friendliness to her, but could be left to the tender mercies of Russia. Presently she took matters into her own hands, deposed Gustavus IV, set his uncle Charles XIII on the throne, and invited his adoption of the brilliant French marshal Bernadotte as his heir; virtually Bernadotte became king of Sweden.

Spain was subservient, but Portugal still obstinately refused to enter the Continental System. A French army under Junot marched across Spain to Lisbon; the Portuguese royal family, having no other course open, escaped to a British squadron in the harbour of Lisbon, and sailed for Brazil. Junot took over the administration. Napoleon wanted a more complete control in Spain, where Carlos IV and the crown prince Ferdinand were quarrelling. He enticed them over the

## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age

border to Bayonne, where he prevailed on both to abdicate, while a complaisant gathering of nobles elected the king of Naples, Joseph Bonaparte, to the throne, and the vacated throne of Naples was passed on to Marshal Murat

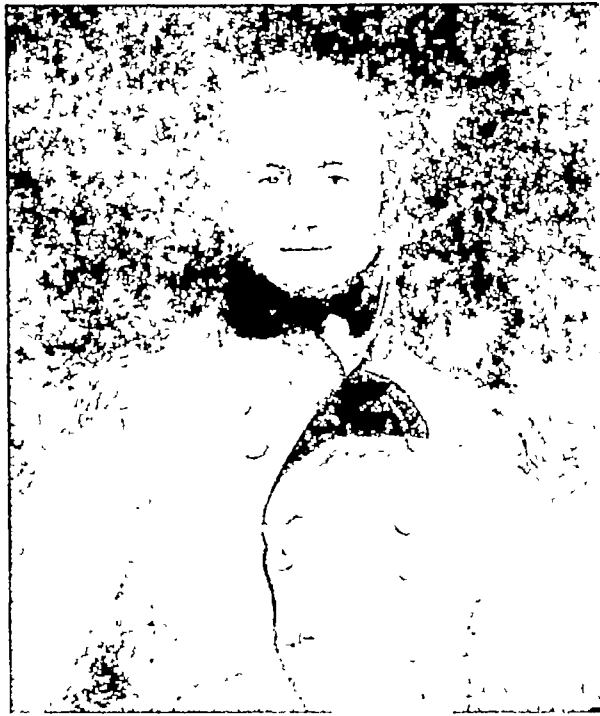
### Beginning of the Peninsular War

So matters stood in the summer of 1808, when the Spanish people, though without guidance, rose against the foreign usurper, and the British government resolved to intervene, with the result that for the next five years a quarter of a million or more of Napoleon's troops and some of his best generals were constantly locked up in Spain, vainly endeavouring to crush the insurgents and to drive the British out of the base provided by Portugal, whence year by year the British general Arthur Wellesley—presently viscount and finally duke of Wellington—delivered deadly thrusts against one or other of the French armies. The division of the French command in the Peninsula between generals whose jealousy of each other prevented them

from co-operating was doubtless invaluable to Wellington—but whether Napoleon in person would have succeeded in 'driving him into the sea' is a question not easy to answer with confidence

In Spain, then, King Joseph's forces suddenly discovered that they were masters of the ground they stood upon just as long as they were standing on it, and a British force, landing on the north of Portugal, defeated Junot and forced him to evacuate Lisbon. Napoleon himself took charge for a brief interval, swept Spain from north to south, and was retiring in triumph when Sir John Moore from Portugal fell upon his communications. Napoleon left Soult to deal with him and departed from Spain, never to return. Moore escaped, with Soult at his heels, to Corunna (January, 1809), where the troops were embarked, though he himself fell, after repulsing Soult's attack.

In April Wellesley arrived at Lisbon to take the command, in May he surprised Soult at Oporto and flung him out of Portugal, and in July he won at Talavera, in the centre of Spain, the victory which



BRITISH GENERALS WHO DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE PENINSULAR WAR

In 1808 Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore (1761–1809) was in command of the British troops in Portugal, he fell in a victorious rearguard action at Corunna in 1809. This great soldier, shown in Sir T. Lawrence's painting (right) did distinguished work in training the infantry. Left: Robert Home's portrait shows Arthur Wellesley (1769–1852) in 1806—he became duke of Wellington in 1814. His series of victories against Napoleon's armies culminated in Waterloo.

National Portrait Gallery, London



GREAT PRUSSIAN STATESMAN

Drastic reforms were effected in Prussia by the wise statesmanship of Carl Friedrich von Stein (1757-1831), shown in this lithograph by Heyne. He attained power after the Treaty of Tilsit, and initiated the reorganization of the army.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Bruckmann A.G.*

earned him his title. But two other armies were converging on him, and he had to fall back into Portugal. In the autumn an expedition, by no means ill conceived but grievously mismanaged, was sent to Walcheren for the reduction of Antwerp; it failed disastrously. Wellington had perforce contented himself with the preparation of the impregnable 'lines of Torres Vedras,' covering Lisbon, where he held Masséna up through the winter of 1810-11 till the French were in effect starved into retreat. Marmont took Masséna's place, and was decisively defeated at Salamanca in 1812; and only in 1813, when Napoleon had already suffered his Moscow disaster, the battle was fought at Vittoria which drove the French armies in retreat across the Pyrenees.

Napoleon's plans went forward, irrespective of the war in the Peninsula which was sapping his power and setting to other European peoples the example of indomitable defiance—Spain being, like Russia, a country which has no organically vital

spot. He could never, apparently, rid himself of the conviction that nothing but incompetence prevented successive generals of the highest repute from crushing the Spanish rebels and wiping out their British allies.

#### Turn of Napoleon's Fortunes

**A**FFAIRS in Europe, after Tilsit, seemed at first to go smoothly. Napoleon permitted in Prussia the appointment of Stein as a minister from whom he looked for financial reforms by which he himself would ultimately profit. Stein set about a much wider reorganization, abolishing the restrictions which conduced to multiplied class divisions, developing municipal self-government, creating a council of ministers with collective responsibility, fostering a new sense of common citizenship and unity, and, by no means least, inaugurating a new system of army organization. Napoleon awoke to the danger and Stein had to flee; but the work was carried on by Hardenberg and Scharnhorst. Still all seemed to be well when Napoleon was called from an ostentatiously friendly conference of the monarchs at Erfurt by the revolt of Spain in 1808. When he returned from Spain, all was not so well.

Austria, too, was reorganizing. Napoleon had taken Tyrol from her and presented it to his protégé the Bavarian elector. Austrian armies marched on Bavaria in April, 1809; the Tyrolese, ever loyal to the Hapsburgs, rose and flung out the Bavarians. Before the month was out Napoleon, marching on Vienna, inflicted a series of defeats, on successive days, on the archduke Charles. Before he could reach Vienna, however, he met with a serious reverse at Aspern-Essling; but in July he won at Wagram a victory which was, but need not have been, decisive. His reward was the Treaty of Vienna (October) making Austria almost a dependency, which was supplemented next year by his marriage to the Austrian emperor's sister, Marie Louise—an alliance for the sake of which he divorced Josephine.

The Corsican adventurer had forced his way into the innermost circle of the royal families, but he could not keep British goods out of Europe. Even his brother



## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age

Louis, the king of Holland, was opening the gate to them. Louis was deposed and his kingdom annexed to France; but the tsar was tiring of the deprivation of goods his people wanted, and he, too, began to admit them. Bernadotte in Sweden had no love for the emperor, and identified himself with the interests of his adoptive country; he came to an understanding with the tsar. From 1810 the rift between the autocrats grew. In 1812 it had become a gulf, and Napoleon resolved to bring the tsar to reason.

As with Spain, so with Russia. Napoleon did not see that she was vitally invulnerable. He took Moscow for her heart; he gathered the mightiest army he had yet commanded and launched it upon her. Prussia and Austria gave him their alliance but no active support. A month before Wellington's victory at Salamanca the Grand Army was over the Niemen (June). The Russian armies retreated continuously, enticing Napoleon

farther and farther from his base, to Smolensk, giving battle only in rearguard actions. In September they halted and faced him at the Bridge of Borodino, whence after an exceptionally sanguinary struggle they were able to draw off and revert to their old methods, clearing the country of supplies and harassing his communications. A week after Borodino, Napoleon reached Moscow. On the same night half the city was in flames. Moscow might burn, but it was the occupying army that suffered, and there was no foe at whom Napoleon could strike.

After another month the Grand Army began its retreat (October 19). It could only march back over the old devastated ground, with the Russians harassing it on flank and rear, for its own numbers had already been hideously depleted, and the alternative route southwards was held in force by the Russians. Dwindling always, it struggled on its desperate way; it was still on the march when the Russian winter



### SUFFERINGS OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

The impossibility of wintering in Moscow, ruined by fire and pillage, compelled Napoleon to begin the celebrated retreat in October, 1812. The troops of his Grand Army suffered terrible hardships and losses in the ensuing march, pursued by the enemy, and enduring the cold of a Russian winter. Atkinson's picture, published in 1813, conveys some idea of the appalling conditions under which the shivering, starving troops encamped for the night.

*Aquatint by M. Dubourg, British Museum*

fell and made still more complete what was already an irreparable disaster. It was only an infinitesimal remnant of the Grand Army that struggled back over the Prussian frontier in December. Napoleon had hastened ahead and was already working titanically to retrieve the catastrophe.

Prussia was an ally—but Yorck, the Prussian commander in the eastern district, threw over the government and declared for Russia. Frederick William tried to repudiate his action, but Prussia had been reborn in the last four years, and the king found himself unable to stem the tide of public opinion. He yielded to it, and in February transferred his alliance to Russia by the treaty of Kalisch. In March Prussia declared war on Napoleon.

The terrific power of the man Napoleon was never more tremendously manifested than during the next twelve months. He had lost an army of half a million men; all Europe was now gathering against him, though Austria, guided now by Metternich, was holding aloof, reckoning that she could dictate the terms of her own alliance with either side. But Napoleon raised new



PRINCE METTERNICH

A diplomat of genius, Clemens Lothar Wenzel Metternich (1773-1859) became foreign minister of Austria in 1809, and, after Napoleon's fall in 1815, dominated European politics. Sir Thomas Lawrence painted this portrait of him.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.*



LOUIS XVIII OF FRANCE

This portrait by François Gerard, first painter to the king, shows Louis XVIII, in whose person the Bourbon monarchy was restored to France in 1814. Upon Napoleon's escape from Elba he fled the country but returned after Waterloo.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.*

armies, though he had to draw heavily on the army in Spain. The princes of the Rhenish confederation were hesitating. He rejected offers of mediation from Metternich; he inflicted two defeats on the Prussians and Russians; he rejected fresh terms offered by Metternich, and Austria, followed by Sweden, joined the new coalition. Wellington shattered the main French army in Spain at Vittoria (June) and drove it through the Pyrenees. Napoleon won another great victory over the allied forces at Dresden in August, but in October his foes were swarming round him; after the 'battle of the nations' at Leipzig, the struggle became desperate. He still struck hard at his enemies in detail, but if he checked them in one quarter they were still sweeping on towards Paris in another. Metternich won over the hesitating German princes—German nationalism had left them cold, but his promises of 'unreserved sovereignty' appealed to them. Wellington was in France, though with Soult in front of him. Marmont at Paris capitulated on March 31.

## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age

In plain terms, Napoleon was overwhelmed, his marshals saw it, and when they insisted on surrender, practically deserting him, resistance was no longer possible. He abdicated, unconditionally (April 11). The allies permitted him to retain the imperial title, but nothing else, and exiled him to the 'principality' of the island of Elba in the Mediterranean.

**N**APOLÉON being out of the way, the victorious powers took charge of Europe. Between them they laid down the main lines for immediate settlement by the Treaty of Paris, postponing details to a congress, to be held at Vienna in winter. Royalist influences procured the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in France in the person of Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, who was required to accept a constitution: the French boundaries were to be as before the first hostilities broke out in 1792. The war had given many French and Dutch colonies to Great Britain; for the most part she restored them, though she retained Cape Colony, which she had occupied in 1806 with the assent of the exiled stadtholder, in return for cash. In Italy, Austria retained Venetia, while Murat—who had

first joined and then deserted Napoleon in the last campaigning—remained in Naples.

The congress met at Vienna in November. The interests to be consulted were those not of populations but of princes. Hanover went back to George III, with the title of king. Holland went back to William of Orange, with the title of king, and with the Netherlands—Belgium—annexed to his kingdom. Victor Emmanuel was restored in Sardinia, Savoy and Piedmont. This was comparatively simple, but the claims or demands of Russia, Prussia and Austria in relation to Saxony, which had held by Napoleon, and to the grand duchy of Warsaw, were so difficult to reconcile that before long it seemed that Napoleon's conquerors would be fighting each other.

### Napoleon's Return and final Defeat

**I**T was Napoleon himself who compelled them to reconciliation. Encouraged by the dissensions of the powers and the disfavour with which France viewed the Bourbon restoration, he resolved to grasp at dominion once more. He slipped from Elba as before he had slipped from Egypt, landed at Cannes on March 1, called upon

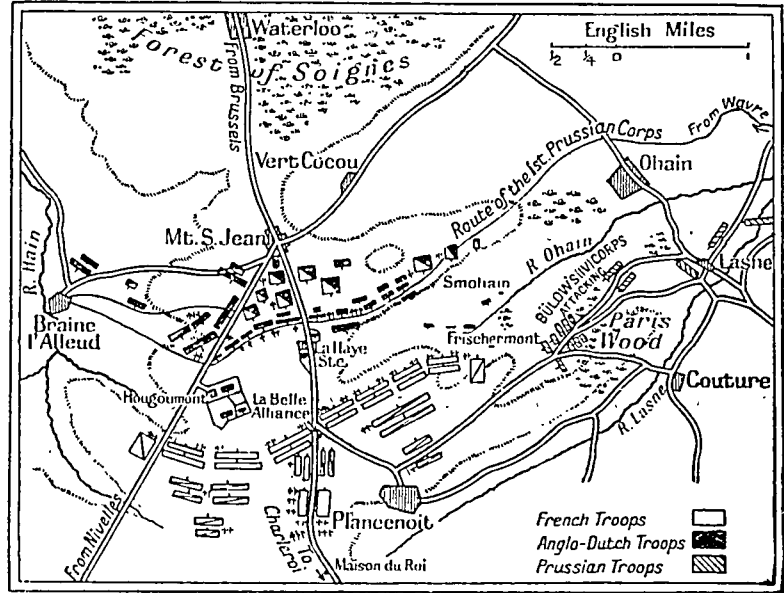


PLENIPOTENTIARIES OF THE GREAT POWERS AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The astonishing return of Napoleon from Elba interrupted the deliberations of the congress which met at Vienna in 1814 to reorganize the political system of Europe after the upheaval it had undergone during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Its agreements were signed, however, on June 9, 1815, by Austria, Prussia, Russia, Britain, France, Sweden, Spain and Portugal. This lithograph by Dorndorf after Jean Baptiste Isabey's picture shows a session of the Congress.

France to support him, appealed to the soldiers sent against him by the government, and to the marshals; of whom those who had not taken the new oath of allegiance, and Ney, who had done so, joined his standard. He marched on Paris at the head of a constantly increasing force, and Louis fled. The powers at Vienna proclaimed him the public enemy of Europe on March 13; on March 30 he proclaimed himself emperor in Paris. He made overtures for his recognition by Europe as a constitutional monarch; but that was a risk the powers would not take. The stake was to be all or nothing.

Russia and Austria were a long way off—their armies would not be ready for months; Prussia was comparatively ready to take the field, and the British army, always numerically small. Napoleon wrought again titanically to create an army which should shatter the



THE OPPOSING ARMIES AT WATERLOO

In this plan, showing the disposition of the opposing forces south of Waterloo, Wellington's army (top), with infantry in front and cavalry behind, faces the farm of La Haye Sainte and the château of Hougoumont. On the right is the road to Wavre, whence came Blücher's relieving contingent

Prussians and British first, and then advance to a new Austerlitz unless Russia and Austria should come to terms with him first. Wellington took the command, in Belgium, of a mixed force, half British, the other half North Germans, Belgians and Dutch, the two last being, at best, half-hearted in the cause. There was no half-heartedness about the Prussians who came up under Blücher. But Napoleon was swifter than his adversaries. He was ready to strike before Wellington and Blücher had completed their junction.

On June 15 he sprang on Charleroi, which the Prussians held; next day he flung himself on the Prussian position at Ligny—the blow which was to split the Prussians from the British and drive them back on Namur and Brussels respectively. He smote the Prussians but did not rout them; Blücher fell back, not on Namur, but on Wavre.

The British had held up Ney at Quatre Bras, preventing him from turning the Prussian flank at Ligny. Wellington, covering Brussels, concentrated on the Waterloo Ridge, where it was Blücher's aim to effect his junction. This he did—Grouchy, who had been dispatched in pursuit, having strayed on a false scent—in the late afternoon of June 18 when

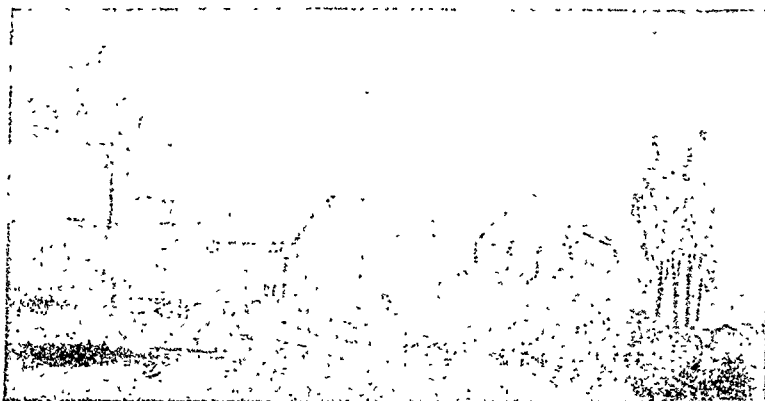


FAMOUS PRUSSIAN GENERAL

The relentless energy characteristic of Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher (1742-1819) is well brought out in Groger's painting of him. His intervention with the Prussian army at Waterloo decided the day in favour of Wellington.

From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.

## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age



THE DERELICT CHATEAU OF HOUGOUMONT

Fierce French attacks upon the château of Hougomont, protecting Wellington's right at Waterloo, reduced it to this skeleton building shown in S. Wharton's sketch made after the battle. Jerome Bonaparte's efforts to storm the château were repulsed by the valour of a detachment of the Guards.

From Wharton, 'Twelve Views of Waterloo,' 1816

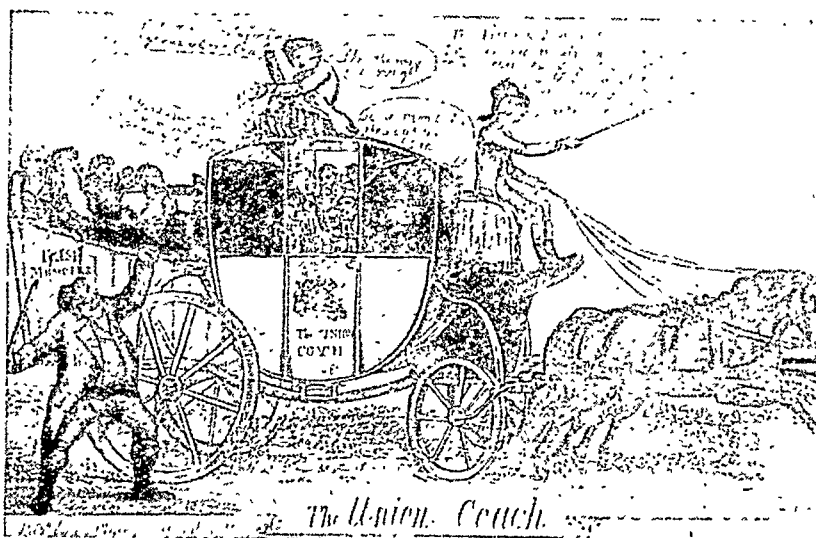
Wellington had been barely holding his ground for half a day against Napoleon's onslaught. The unexpected appearance of the Prussians on Napoleon's right flank, when he had supposed them to be in the grip of Grouchy's pursuing force, was decisive; the British hurled back the last desperate attack of the Old Guard, on the French left, while the Prussians stormed in on their right; the defeat became a rout, and the rout a headlong flight. Napoleon's army had ceased to exist. When the emperor reached Paris he found himself without supporters. For the second time he abdicated, and then, finding escape impossible, surrendered himself to the commander of the British frigate *Bellerophon*. The 'Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars' were ended.

THE era of those wars in Europe was also in England and Scotland the era which established the Industrial Revolution (Chap. 163), which, starting in the British Isles, revolutionised the economic conditions and in many respects the whole social structure of the world in the course of the nineteenth century. In its beginnings it substituted

manufacture for agriculture as the main industry of the islands, along with the commerce which led Napoleon to refer contemptuously to the English as a 'nation of shopkeepers.' It had already been inaugurated by the inventions which first developed water power and then applied steam power to the production of goods hitherto manufactured by hand. The steam-driven machinery and the enormous accompanying increase in the use of iron, of steel the product of iron, and of coal, deprived the agricultural population of

the by-industries by which the yeoman and the cottager had hitherto supplemented their livelihood; large-scale farming was proving itself infinitely more productive than small-scale farming; and the yeoman practically disappeared, while the cottagers were driven from the countryside to seek, but by no means always to find, employment in the towns which grew up round the new machinery.

The numbers of the population increased rapidly; machinery increased production tenfold with half the labour, while the market for the goods expanded,



SATIRE ON THE IRISH UNION

This print of 1799 shows Pitt driving the Union Coach with the Scottish members safely inside. On top of the coach a figure, apparently Melville, throws the shells of nuts to the Irish members seated precariously at the back. Catholic emancipation, promised as a condition of union, was not forthcoming.

British Museum

but not with equal rapidity since Europe was submerged in war; and for the time there was no employment for half the displaced labour. But the new machinery was a British monopoly; the raw materials for the new manufactures—coal, iron, cotton and wool—were available in far greater quantity than elsewhere; and Britain secured a lead in manufacturing capacity which set her out of reach of competition for three-quarters of a century. At the close of our period, however, the second stage of the revolution, the stage which applied mechanical power to locomotion and transport, was still undeveloped though the first steam-boats had been built.

A reluctant Ireland was incorporated in the United Kingdom in 1801, but without the Catholic emancipation promised and demanded as a condition. It failed, largely for that reason, to effect such a genuine union as that which had resulted from the incorporation of England and Scotland as Great Britain a century earlier. On the other hand, Great Britain, immediately before the French Revolution, had annexed in the eastern ocean the continent of Australia, where there was only a very sparse population still in a state of the most primitive culture known to Western travellers. The new lands were occupied primarily for the deportation of criminals, but were soon found to offer promise for colonisation, though as yet they attracted few adventurers.

In India the development of a British ascendancy among the country powers between whom the Mogul empire was being redistributed can only be touched upon here (see Chapter 166). Efforts were made under the French Republic to recover French influence at the courts of the greater potentates, which imposed upon British governors, the Marquess

Wellesley (Wellington's elder brother) and his successors, the necessity of military operations first against Tippu Sultan (Tippoo Sahib) of Mysore, and then against the Maratha confederacy, which in turn involved annexations of territory (failing which no native power regarded itself as having been defeated) that passed under direct British administration, and the assumption of something like sovereignty over the potentates themselves—the general control which had fallen away completely from the nominal sovereign, the Mogul at Delhi.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the Atlantic, changes had been brought about in Canada by the migration thither of the United Empire Loyalists from the former colonies which had separated themselves from the Empire. While Lower Canada remained mainly French in its institutions, this new population in Upper Canada was essentially British; and Canada was divided into two separate governments,

the Upper presently known as Ontario and the Lower as Quebec, while both were separate from the colony on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, New Brunswick, the Acadia of old times.

Central and South America (see Chapter 162) were still subject to the Spanish crown, and attempts to foster revolt from Spain during the war failed ignominiously. But the *Croles*—the American-born Spaniards—during that period when Spain was unable to govern either herself or her colonies, had acquired a control denied to them by Spanish monarchs, and were ripe for revolt when any attempt should be made to revive the old system of administration by governors and officials sent from Spain.

The thirteen states, once British colonies, which had achieved their independence



‘TIPPOO SAHIB’ OF MYSORE

When the British entered Mysore in 1790 Tippu Sultan (1753-99), retaliated by a counter-invasion. He was killed during the storm of Seringapatam. Engraving after drawing by Muraïsse.

## French Revolution & Napoleonic Age

in 1776 were faced with the problem of transforming themselves into a united state. To begin with they were thirteen separate states, 'united' but not unified. In 1789 they provided themselves with a constitution as the United States of North America, and elected George Washington, the hero of the war, as their first president. The constitution provided them with a common central government, while leaving each state under its own state government; but it took three-quarters of a century to settle finally the relations between the central and the state governments. For the

states had conflicting as well as common interests, and, as in ancient Hellas and in the Holy Roman Empire, each was very jealous of any curtailment of its individual rights. Broadly, however, it was the inevitable result of the conditions that the northern group tended to favour the strengthening of the central authority, the southern to resist it; the two groups being roughly distinguished as Federalist and anti-Federalist or Republican.

Washington would associate himself with neither party; though he was himself a Southerner, a Virginian, the two chief ministers of his selection were the Northerner Alexander Hamilton and the Southerner Thomas Jefferson. Financial reconstruction was the first necessity. The debts of the several states were taken over by the Federal government, and a national bank was established on the analogy of the Bank of England—making the maintenance of the Federal or central government's stability a matter of first-rate importance to the moneyed interests.

Washington could not resist the practically universal insistence on his retaining the presidency for a second term of four



**THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Secretary of state under Washington in 1790, and president 1801-9, Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) led the Democratic Republican party which upheld the sovereignty of the individual states.

years, at the moment when France, at war with Great Britain, was urging the new nation, whose 'liberation' she had materially assisted, to renew the offensive alliance. Neutrality was the obvious interest of the States, and Jacobinism was hateful to Hamilton, though vindictiveness towards the old enemy and sympathy with the new republic made the South urgent on the other side. Washington was firm in declining the invitation; his position was only strengthened by the injudicious attempt of the French ambassador to appeal to the people against the president,

and the States remained neutral. Washington could not be persuaded to enter on a third presidential term, and from



**FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT**

The skill of George Washington (1732-99), who became the first president of America in 1789, effected a compromise between the two antagonistic parties that divided the U.S.A. Gabriel Stuart painted this portrait in 1797.



1797 the presidential elections became a party question. John Adams, a Federalist, became president, but jealousies between him and Hamilton split the party, and the next president was the Republican Jefferson (1801). The change was accompanied by a redistribution of offices on the disastrous principle of 'the spoils to the victor.'

In 1803 Napoleon purchased American friendship by selling Louisiana, which he had acquired from Spain, to Jefferson—a transaction which implied the possession of powers by the Federal government incompatible with Republican doctrine.

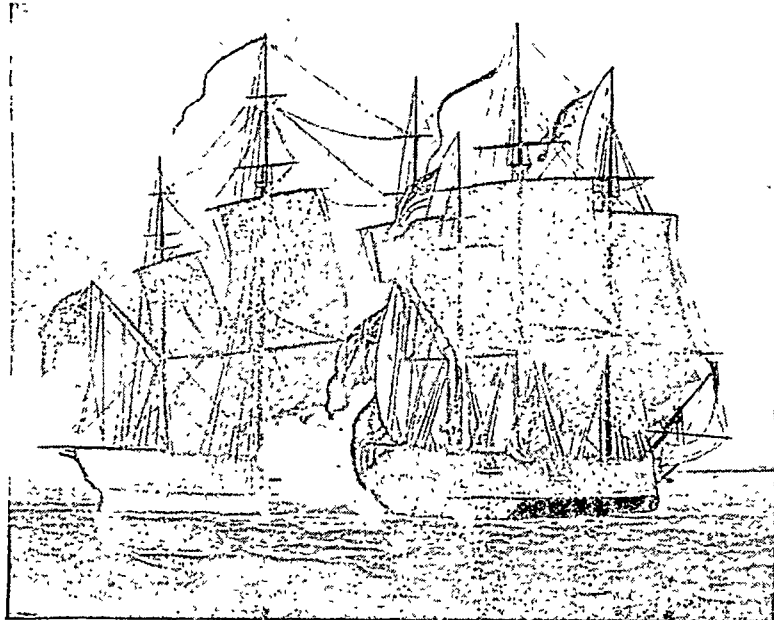
**F**RICITION arose between the United States and the British over Great Britain's claim to prevent neutral trading with her enemies—a comfortable doctrine for the mistress of the seas, and one which she could not afford to discard. Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees in effect made a similar claim for France, but Napoleon's navy could not enforce his decrees, while the British navy could enforce the orders in council which were her reply to them. The friction became acute, and the Americans were roused against the power whose action did in actual fact interfere

seriously with their commerce. The British also exercised irritating 'rights of search' on the high seas. Other causes of friction developed. At last in 1812 the British offered concessions, but it was too late. In June of that year Jefferson's successor, President Madison, declared war.

To Great Britain the affair was merely a by-issue of the huge conflict in which she was engaged. For a year American privateers and stray American frigates were more than a match for the British frigates and shipping with which they came in conflict; then the British got the upper hand; but there were no fleet actions. The States troops invaded Canada, but instead of finding a response they found an extremely vigorous loyalty to the British flag, and were very thoroughly beaten off. In 1814, on Napoleon's first abdication, British troops were released from Europe; a campaign in the north was disgraced by the destruction of Washington, and a campaign in the south was distinguished by the complete repulse of the Peninsular veterans before New Orleans by Andrew Jackson.

The war had been on both sides an affair not of reasoning but of ill temper. It was impossible that it should benefit either;

the northern states, for commercial reasons if for no other, were anxious for a renewal of amicable relations, and when the last wasteful fight took place at New Orleans the belligerents had in fact already come to terms in Europe and signed the Peace of Ghent (December 14, 1814), though the news had not reached the combatants in America. That peace did not remove the original pretexts for the quarrel; it dealt with the question of the Anglo-American boundary on lines hotly resented by the Canadians, but so ambiguously that it was a guarantee that disputes would be renewed in the future, and it left a legacy of ill will which did not finally pass away until the third generation.



**FIGHT BETWEEN SHANNON AND CHESAPEAKE**  
Friction between Britain and America over the former's commercial restrictions led to naval reprisals. On June 1, 1813, a battle took place in Boston Bay between the British frigate Shannon and the American frigate Chesapeake. This picture illustrates the British capture of the Chesapeake.

*Engraving after Whitcombe*

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# ETHICS AND ECONOMICS OF THE REVOLUTION

Inner History of the great Upheaval that ended the  
Ancien Régime in France and shook the Civilized World

By H. D. DICKINSON

Assistant Lecturer in Economics, University of Leeds

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**H**ISTORIANS usually consider the French Revolution as extending from the convening of the States-General in 1789 to Bonaparte's coup d'état in 1799. During this time took place the political events which embodied in the outward shape of laws and institutions that mighty movement of the human spirit known as the French Revolution. But a study of the ethics and economics of the Revolution must begin much earlier than this and continue for some time after.

Like all great movements, it had its roots deep in the past, and was taking its characteristic shape in the world of thought for a generation before it had such a sudden and decisive influence upon the world of action. Indeed, it would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the history of the ideas of the Revolution ends by the time that the history of the deeds of the Revolution begins. Thus particular attention must be given to the development of political, ethical and economic thought in France during the generation before the Revolution. Then comes the Revolution itself, when action is more important to society than thought, when the ideas of the previous forty years are put into action, often with unforeseen results, and when new tendencies are already to be descried. Finally comes the period after the Revolution, when, in spite of reaction and restoration (to some extent even because of them), the ideas of the Revolution still go marching on. The momentum of that great movement is not destroyed either by the fall of Robespierre or by the rise of Napoleon, or even by the return of the Bourbons.

One must know something about social and economic conditions of pre-revolutionary France (usually referred to as the 'ancien régime') in order to have a proper understanding of the thought of that time and of the events of the Revolution itself. Five things characterised the 'ancien régime' 1. Autocracy of the king and his ministers. 2. Division of the people into hereditary orders, some with legal and fiscal privileges. 3. Anomaly, lack of unity, and inefficiency in the administration. 4. Absence of civil rights and liberty of opinion. 5. The 'substitute system.'

At the head of the whole social and governmental system stood the king, first among monarchs in Europe for prestige and splendour, wielder of theoretically absolute power over nobility and people, appearing, even at the very eve of the Revolution, more politically stable and more firmly enthroned in the people's heart than any other ruler in Europe, still reflecting the splendour with which Louis XIV had invested the monarchy. Hence all that is meant by the first item may be realized from a perusal of Chapter 148, The France of Louis Quatorze.

In the second place, below the king the population was divided into three estates or orders—clergy, noblesse and the tiers état (third estate, i.e. those who were not clergy or noblesse, comprising the whole of the bourgeoisie as well as peasants and artisans). These orders were not simply social classes, such as we have to-day, but well-defined divisions of the body politic on a basis of heredity (in the case of the



COSTUME OF THE THREE ESTATES

This print, published in 1789, shows the ceremonial dress worn by deputies of the Three Estates—the clergy, nobility and third estate—when attending sessions of the States-General. From the ribbon that looped up the feathered three-cornered hat of the nobility originated the symbolic cockade of the revolutionaries.

*Bibliothèque Nationale; photo, Giraudon*

last two) or of function (in the case of the clergy and part of the noblesse), each having a definite civil and legal status with definite and different rights and responsibilities. Not only was the position of each order different, but there was a marked inequality between them. As regards liability to taxation, eligibility to public office, treatment by the authorities and even by judicial tribunals, the first two orders were privileged in comparison with the third. To a member of the tiers état it appeared that all the rights were on one side and all the duties on the other. Moreover, there were class divisions and privileged groups within the orders. It is this differentiation of civil rights and duties according to status that distinguishes the ancien régime from the modern state, in which equality before the law is established.

The system was, however, not entirely rigid. The church was recruited from the other two orders, but owing to royal and noble patronage all the positions of wealth and power were the preserve of the noblesse and the wealthier bourgeoisie, while the peasants' sons who became parish priests occupied livings worth, in many cases, little more than a labourer's wage. Many offices, carrying with them noble status, were purchasable, and by this means the wealthier bourgeois could enter the ranks of the noblesse.

The three orders, their functions and status, are described in pages 3845–52; but the third estate demands closer examination. This vast order, comprising all the people who were not clergy or noblesse, was divided into numerous classes. But they had much in common: complete exclusion from political power and responsibility; a load of taxation, made heavier by the exemption of the clergy and noblesse; an inferior civil status and the difficulty of obtaining legal redress against a member of the privileged

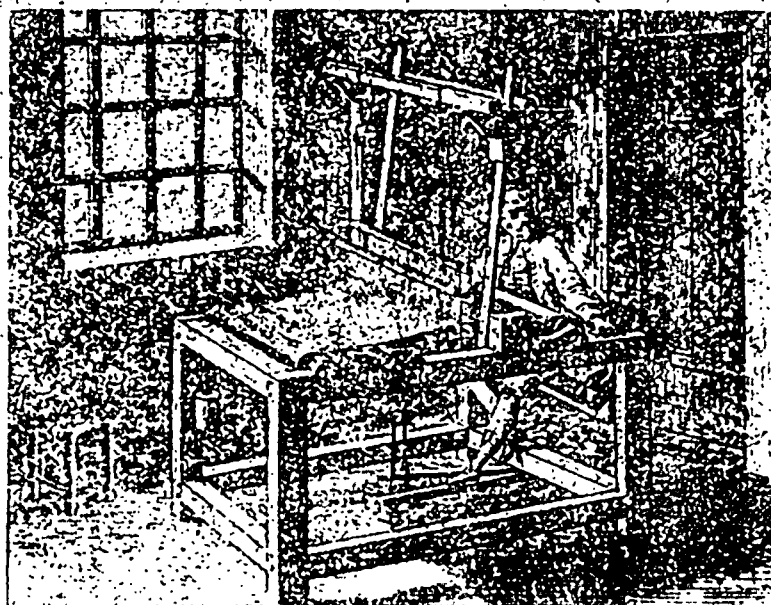
orders. Roughly they may be divided into bourgeoisie, artisan class and peasantry.

The bourgeoisie, originally, as its name implies, the inhabitants of the town, was composed of merchants, master manufacturers and professional men. It covered a great range of wealth from the small shopkeeper or master blacksmith up to the great merchant or tax farmer or the large-scale manufacturer. But all sections of this class suffered from heavy taxation, from hampering restrictions on trade and enterprise and from the arbitrariness and slowness of the administration.

The artisans in eighteenth-century France were a large class, whose products went all over the world and in the finer branches of production excelled those of all other countries. All stages of industrial organization were represented. Many workers were still independent craftsmen—small masters owning a workshop, a few tools and a small stock of materials, employing a few journeymen who had the expectation of becoming masters in their turn. Others lived under the domestic system and worked in their own cottages on materials supplied by a middleman. Sometimes the worker bought the raw material from a middleman and sold the finished product to another or the same middleman; in other instances the middleman retained

ownership of the material and merely put it out to be worked on commission. In any case he organized marketing of the product and made possible a much more extended trade, and consequently more specialisation, than could the independent craftsman. Usually the worker owned his own tools (loom, etc.), but sometimes he hired them from the middleman; the latter might even be the landlord as well, building cottage workshops and letting them out to workers. In the latter case the worker was practically in the position of an employed person on piece rates, except that he did not work in a factory and that he might own or rent a plot of land and combine handicraft with a little subsistence farming.

In the towns there was much handicraft manufacture; but here, too, capitalism had come in, even where the machine had not. The masters were divided into work-



COTTON WEAVER AT HIS LOOM

Cotton weaving was a common home industry in rural France, and in many a cottage a single loom like this could be found, the materials being provided by an employer or a middleman. The looms were operated by treadles, the warp being kept taut by a weight passing over the end roller.

*From Diderot and d'Alembert, 'L'Encyclopédie'*

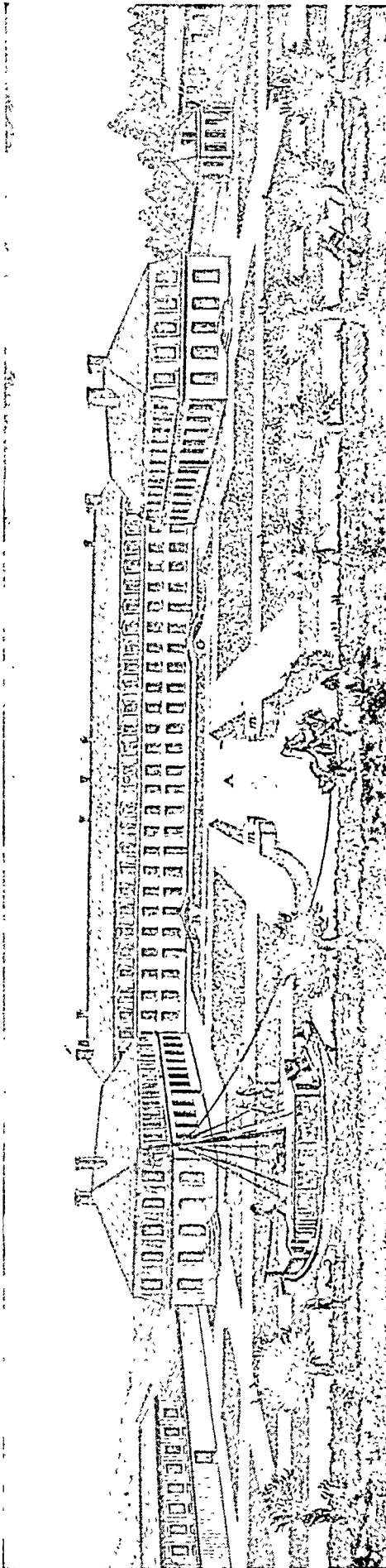
ing masters and merchant masters, the former practically employees of the latter who often had considerable capital laid out in commission.



HOME CRAFTS IN FRANCE UNDER THE MONARCHY—THE TIN-SMITH

A good example of an industry carried on at home on a somewhat larger scale is furnished in this picture of a tin-smith's workshop. On the left one man is shaping a coffee pot on his anvil. At the solid table another, solder pot at hand, is busy soldering, while his mate files an already soldered article so as to receive a lid. Women help in the business, and on the floor are pieces of tin cut into shape for making a funnel and a dish cover.

*From Diderot and d'Alembert, 'L'Encyclopédie; Recueil de Planches'*



GENERAL VIEW OF THE ROYAL PAPER MILLS AT LANGLEE, AS SEEN FROM THE MONTARGIS CANAL

The paper mills at Langlée near Montargis were one of many large manufactures in eighteenth-century France run by shareholders under a royal charter, and enjoying special privileges. The works comprised a main block and two large wings, and the hands were accommodated in the barrack-like buildings outside the containing walls. This engraving is the first of a number in the section devoted to the paper-making industry in the *Recueil de Planches* of the monumental *Encyclopédie* edited by Diderot and d'Alembert, 1751-1772.

The industrial change that was creeping over England had touched France also. The factors of mechanical invention, an expanding market and a surplus of capital seeking investment existed in both countries. To a greater extent than in England a paternal government was ready to encourage with subsidies and privileges the foundation of industries that were expected to bring prosperity to the state. All over the country manufactures had been established showing the now familiar features of production on a large scale, the use of machinery that required the services of many workers at once and was too costly for one working master to own, and, as the necessary consequence of the former, the factory. These fell into two categories: the royal manufactures, run by shareholders under a royal charter and enjoying special privileges; and the free manufactures, run by the private enterprise of individuals or of partners and enjoying no privileges except, in some cases, the negative one of exemption from corporation control.

In these factories the workmen had no stake in the plant or the product, they were hands, 'main d'oeuvre.' Those in the royal manufactures were indeed subject to their employers; they signed a four-years' contract of service; their hours, like those of the domestic worker and of the free artisan, were long (twelve, exclusive of meal pauses); they were subject to numerous fines; they lived in the factory or in cottages belonging thereto, and had to be within the factory gates by a certain time every evening, under penalty of a fine. In return for these monastic restrictions of liberty they were guaranteed against unemployment during their contract of service.

The workers in the free manufactures, on the other hand, were subject to the fluctuations of the labour market, and, while enjoying greater personal freedom, worked long hours under conditions that were often bad. Very often the master fed his men; he 'spread the table' for the workmen two or three times a day. Often, too, he owned their cottage. The fare provided and the living conditions might also be bad. Hence complaints were

Manufactures  
royal and free

frequent, strikes and lock-outs occurred, and the beginnings of combination existed under the form of the workers' 'compagnonnages' (see page 2924). When discontent was very rife, the royal administration, through the intendants of provinces or the inspectors and commissioners of industry, frequently intervened. Since they stood 'above the conflict' of middle-class manufacturers with working men, they could be impartial, and, like the Privy Council in Tudor England, sometimes tried to decide in favour of the workers.

In the towns most artisans and tradesmen were organized into corporations, similar to the English guilds of an earlier date, known as 'corporations,' 'maîtrises' or 'jurandes.' The long arm of the central government reached into these as into all local government; they were not so much associations formed for mutual help and protection as organizations imposed from above in order to enforce an elaborate state control of all processes of industry and trade. Although these corporations tended towards conservatism and the discouragement of new ways of work, the charge may be exaggerated; the corporations of Lyons encouraged the introduction of Vaucanson's mechanical improvements into the silk manufacture.

In the country districts intendants and inspectors still held sway, but there were no corporations, and hence the workshops

of the domestic system tended to be dispersed in small areas in order to escape their control.

Here also the free manufactures were chiefly found. The privileged manufactures had their own special organs of control. Towards the end of the ancien régime some relaxations were made in the rules. In 1778 Necker allowed manufacturers to use what methods they liked; but the obsolete fiscal system still pressed heavily on enterprise.

The peasantry, living directly on the produce of the soil, in 1789, as in 1889, formed the bulk of the population. But, whereas at the latter date a large proportion of the cultivators were owners of their land, subject to no restrictions on selling, leasing or mortgage, and liable to no dues except moderate and proportional

taxes paid to the state, and whereas those who were not proprietors leased their land under simple and equitable conditions that guaranteed them a return for their industry, under the ancien régime nearly all the land was held from noble overlords by complicated and vexatious feudal tenures and burdened with an inequitable system of taxation. The tenures were still of the type described in Chapter 102 on Serfdom and Feudalism, pages 2671-72, while the inequalities of the taxation system are discussed in pages 3842-43.

Even under these unfavourable conditions a large proportion of the peasants had managed to become, virtually, proprietors of their farms. Limited

as such proprietorship might be by the feudal charges with which the

**Emergence of the  
peasant farmer**

land was burdened, it nevertheless differed from mere tenancy under lease; the cultivator had some security of tenure, and though the charges on the land might be heavy they were not determined by competition as is a rack-rent. In spite of many evils the condition of the peasants had been improving for half a century. It was not hordes of naked and starving serfs that burned the châteaux and the manorial rolls in 1789, but groups of peasant farmers who had proceeded far along the road of ownership and economic independence, and who were ready to go farther, who were disgusted at the lack of correspondence between the economic realities and the legal forms that imposed upon them the obligations of a dead social system.

Thirdly, besides the arbitrary distinctions of class, there were in the ancien régime at least three other vexatious kinds of anomaly: those in the public administration, those in the law and those in affairs of industry and commerce.

Although the administration was centralised, it was not on that account simple or uniform. The provinces were unequal in size and importance and their boundaries were not drawn with any regard for local sentiment or practical convenience. They were allotted by accident of acquisition among three different departments of state, and their internal administration was far from uniform. The Convention has been



#### CRUSHING BURDENS ON THE PEASANTRY

As privileged orders the clergy and nobility were exempt from much taxation, while the third estate, including the peasantry—the most useful social class—was crushed under impositions, of which the *corvée*, or forced labour, was the most hated. An engraving of 1789 thus satirises the system in the bad old days.

*Bibliothèque Nationale ; photo, Giraudon*

reproached for dividing France into *départements* with pedantic uniformity; but the truth is that great care was taken to consult the sentiment and convenience of the inhabitants, and that the *départements* of to-day represent a more convenient and natural division of the country than the old provinces.

There was a lack of co-ordination between the different administrative and judicial authorities. There were conflicting jurisdictions; there were areas of which the proper authorities were unknown; on both accounts there was an enormous waste of time in public business. To the delay of the courts, the slowness of the administrative departments and the breakdown—due to too much elaboration of detail—of the system of economic regulation and protection, there must be added the all-pervasive effects of inefficiency, favouritism, influence and corruption.

In particular, the administration of taxes, which is the corner stone of efficient government, was anomalous and imperfect. The methods of assessment and collection, as well as the total amount levied, differed in different parts of the country. The

boundaries of fiscal areas frequently ran through parts of towns, so that householders living on one side of a street were subject to burdens from which those on the opposite side were exempt. The '*gabelle*' (see page 3850) in particular was unpopular, because in many parts of the country not only was it very high but every family was forced by law to purchase a certain stint of salt, much greater than its normal consumption, and to pay the tax thereon. The clergy and the nobility enjoyed exemption from a great deal of direct taxation, although not, of course, from indirect taxation. Since noble rank and ecclesiastical charges were purchasable by

wealth, there was a constant passage into the ranks of the privileged orders of those members of the non-privileged order who were most able to pay; thus the greater part of the burden of taxation was placed on the shoulders of the relatively least able to bear it.

With the assessment and collection of the taxes the financial muddle of the *ancien régime* had only begun. In the absence of any regular system of public accountancy much of the money disappeared before it reached the Treasury, and of the payments out of the Treasury as much as a quarter disappeared without a trace of its destination. It is not hard to understand why, in 1789, national bankruptcy was imminent.

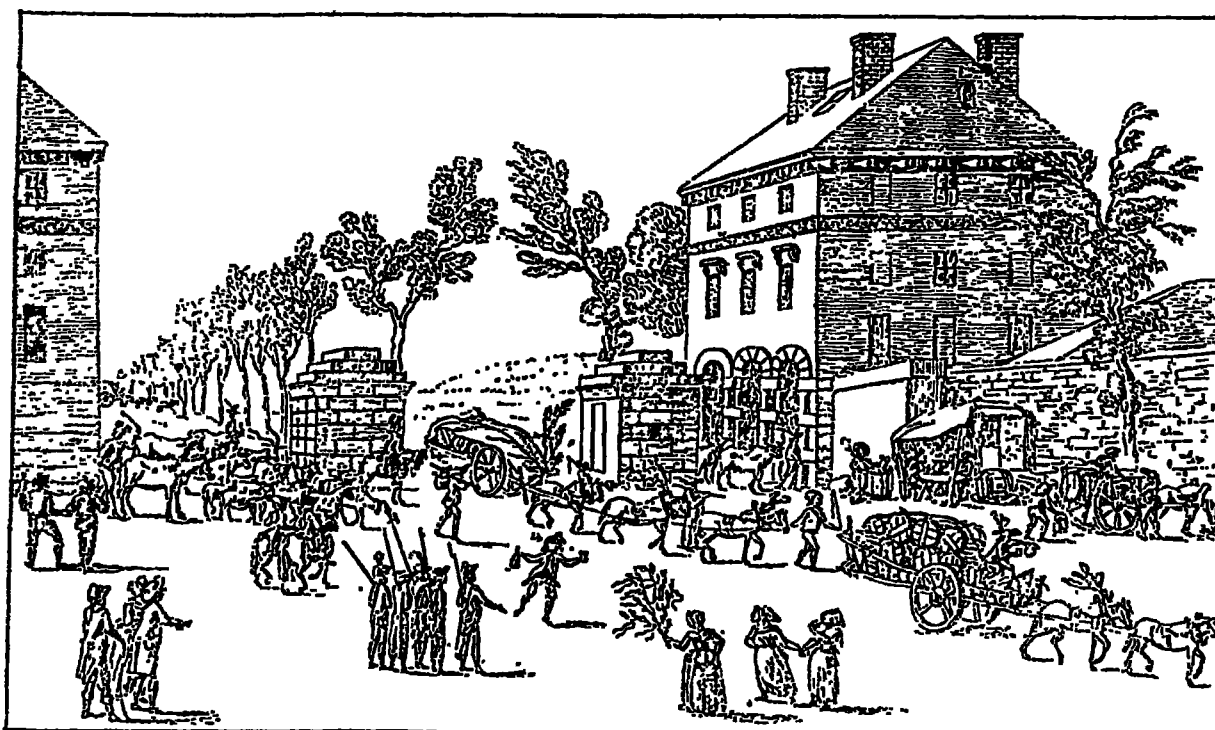
In law, as in taxation, the same anomaly and inefficiency reigned. The south of France was the territory of the written law, a code based on the Roman law but with some local variations. The rest of the land was the territory of French common law, of which there were 128 different systems. These codes were administered in a hierarchy of royal courts,



of which the highest were the thirteen 'parlements,' each a supreme tribunal in a province or group of provinces, the Parliament of Paris being the chief, both in antiquity and extent of jurisdiction, but not a court of appeal from the others. The multiplicity of codes and the number of the courts with the corresponding number of appeals made processes lengthy, costly and uncertain. Partly with the object of expediting cases and partly with the object of asserting the royal prerogatives, the government often intervened to bring a case before a special administrative court. Such administrative interference more often prolonged the case than otherwise; it might wander back to a regular law court and finally come to rest in the crowded cause list of one of the parlements. Moreover, a great deal of minor legal business was carried out in the manorial courts. The criminal jurisdiction of the seigneur had largely fallen into abeyance (it was a less fruitful source of profit than the others), but many civil suits and all cases connected with tenure, dues and services within the

manor were decided there; not, however, by the seigneur in person, but by a qualified lawyer appointed by him.

Criminal jurisprudence was fierce and bloody, even for the eighteenth century. The accused was treated as guilty until his innocence could be proved; he was denied counsel, and until 1780 he was liable to be 'questioned' on the rack. Torture of convicted persons was not abolished till 1788, a year before the assembling of the States-General. Penalties were severe, comparatively small offences being punished with the galleys, cutting off of the hands or death. Lest the very commonness of the capital sentence should rob it of its terrors, it was carried out in cruel forms. But for the privileged classes the horrors of the criminal law were mitigated; they were entitled to be judged before special tribunals, and for them, even if found guilty, the more painful or degrading accompaniments of punishment were remitted. Over every one who belonged to the tiers état hung the shadow of judicial cruelty—the possibility of



#### RIGHT OF FREE ENTRY : SUPPRESSION OF THE TOLL GATES

Under the *ancien régime* a serious impediment to industry lay in the multiplicity of customs areas, entailing the payment of duty at so many points that cost of transport of goods often extinguished profits. On May 1, 1791, these tariff walls were abolished by the Constituent Assembly, and customs were maintained only at the frontiers. The joy with which the people hailed this reform is illustrated in this contemporary print showing cattle and wagons passing free through the opened barrier.

*Bibliothèque Nationale : from A. Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

unfounded but ruinous accusation, the iniquitous 'question' during the trial, the barbarous punishments of burning, mutilation and breaking on the wheel.

Economically the country showed the same characteristics of anomalous and cumbrous machinery, anomalous divisions and particular privileges as it did administratively. The country was traversed by numerous tariff walls dividing it into so many separate customs areas. A barrel of wine might pay its original value in customs dues on its way to Paris from the south. In the towns the exercise of all

crafts and trades was managed by the corporations, which regulated methods of production and maintained a monopoly for their members. Even where industry had escaped from guild control there remained the overriding authority of the government, which still pursued the policy, associated with the name of Colbert (see Chap. 148), of regulating economic life in the supposed interest of national wealth and strength. This policy, to which the early development of French manufactures undoubtedly owes much, but which had outgrown its usefulness and become a mere incubus on enterprise, entailed the detailed regulation of every process of production, the laying down of standard sizes and qualities of innumerable kinds of goods, and the maintenance of an elaborate system of inspection and control.

These restrictions were not even efficient in their own sphere: before 1789 the government had followed a vacillating policy with regard to them, now abolishing, now modifying and then restoring them. There was a strong movement, opposed by vested interests, towards abolishing the privileges of corporations and manufacturing companies, but no pre-revolutionary minister had dared to tackle the tangle of customs areas. But worse than the restrictions themselves was the arbitrariness with which they were enforced or rescinded. Privileged companies might have their charters altered or withdrawn; a monopoly might be established, to the ruin of firms that relied on free competition, or abolished, to the ruin of firms that had flourished

under its protection. Towns might have their charters annulled and provinces their privileges modified or rescinded.

Between the control of the corporations and that of the government, enterprise was stifled and industry was forced into the grooves of routine. The monopolies of the royal manufactures and those of the urban corporations inhibited the free flow of capital into the most productive uses. The restrictions of serfdom and the privileges of the corporations inhibited the flow of labour. The free circulation of commodities was hindered by internal customs barriers. To these obstacles in the way of the maximum development of productive powers add the dilatoriness and expense of the simplest legal process, the facility with which the privileged classes could evade their obligations, and the matter of different systems of weights and measures, as numerous and as arbitrary as the customs areas, the principles of direct taxation or the legal codes, and the wonder is, not that France was on the brink of ruin in 1789, but that she had achieved in the face of so many obstacles such a degree of culture and prosperity.

The evils of the ancien régime did not end with class privilege, inequalities and administrative anomalies; they included, as our fourth item, the absence of civil rights and liberty of opinion. Even such a system as that described above might be tolerable if the subject were secure in the enjoyment of his rights, however limited, and if within the narrow framework of class and local privilege there still remained some liberty of speech and action. But of civil rights such as existed even under the narrow oligarchy of eighteenth-century Britain there was in France no trace. No person, however privileged or high in rank, no corporation, however ancient or entrenched in vested interests, had rights that could be made to prevail against the omnipotence of the crown and its ministers. Neither peasant nor noble, neither wealthy merchant nor poor artisan, had any legally guaranteed security of person or property, or any confident expectations of trade or enterprise free from costly licences, vexatious regulations or arbitrary taxes. Not even

the greatest scientific or literary minds could express their thoughts freely in speech or print.

The right of personal freedom was denied by the system of 'mainmorte' (serfdom), by the method of judicial procedure and by the arbitrary power conceded to royal officials. The king every year issued a large number of 'lettres-de-cachet' under which individuals could be imprisoned indefinitely without trial (see page 3843). Intended as a sanction for the authority of administrative officials, it was frequently abused for the purpose of gratifying private animosities or of furthering personal ambitions. The full enjoyment of property was likewise denied by the arbitrary action of the administration; cancellation of a privilege or interference in a law-suit destroyed all feeling of security; exactions of tax collectors took away the fruits of enterprise.

To the political philosopher the most important right of all, because the foundation and condition of all other rights, is the right of free discussion and the free holding of opinion. Now in the France of 1789 there was no liberty of opinion. Three separate authorities exercised a censorship of the press: the royal administration, acting through censors, intendants, the provost of Paris and the police; the Parlement, which had the power of suppressing or prohibiting the publication of books and of confiscating copies and burning them by the common hangman; and lastly the Church. The first authority alone had 156 censors, allotted to various subjects. As might be expected, jurisprudence, history and belles lettres occupied the greater number (111), but even anatomy had five and mathematics and physics nine. And apart from the books, the government could deal summarily with their authors (see further in page 3843).

Fortunately, here as elsewhere, the inefficiency of the ancien régime mitigated its tyranny. The jurisdiction of the three authorities often conflicted, and the book or author that one alone would have dealt with effectively escaped the fumbling clutches of all three. This happened sometimes when one was pursuing a private

quarrel with one of the others: the Jesuits would protect an author who scoffed at the lawyers if he attacked the Jansenists (see pages 3866-7) as well; the Parlement would interfere with the prosecution of the critic of a minister in order to administer a pinprick to the court. In practice men expressed their thoughts with great licence, but there was no ordered liberty. So, for twenty-five years laboured the editors of the great Encyclopedia, harassed, threatened and humiliated, never sure that their work would not be peremptorily stopped. Worse than the actuality of censorship was the possibility of it; under a regime so arbitrary and incalculable, men feared to publish many things lest they might be suppressed. Authors and publishers alike lost all intellectual integrity. The worst indictment of the censorship is the behaviour of Le Breton, the publisher of the Encyclopedia. For fear of possible consequences he censored its contents privately, after it had left the editors and before it went to the printers, and destroyed the original manuscripts. Thus most of the articles in the middle volumes are mangled, some of the best being reduced to a disconnected succession of fragments. Diderot's cry of despair on discovering this reckless mutilation, after it had continued for five years, is one of the most terrible things in literature.

Lastly, we come to the substitute system. A characteristic feature of the ancien régime was the separation in nearly every public function of the man who had the title, the legal privileges and the emoluments from the man, obscure and ill paid, who did the actual work. Judgeships and attorney-generalships were hereditary and vendible; although the system produced many good judges and able jurists—Montesquieu inherited judicial office—yet only too often some noble, more versed in the mysteries of the chase or the secrets of the boudoir than in the complexities of the 128 codes of common law, wore the ermine and drew the fees, while judgements were given in his name by a dusty-gowned, overworked hack of an unsuccessful barrister, paid a mere pittance by his distinguished principal.

Young nobles who had never smelt powder lounged about the court with the title of captain and colonel, while their lieutenants and lieutenant-colonels commanded their companies and regiments in the field. These had purchased commissions and could dispense with the toil and danger of arms; those, too poor for such easy success, had earned promotion by long service and had the privilege of serving their king in arduous campaigns for a yearly pay that their gallant, though absent, comrades might win or lose in a night's play. In the Church, similarly, bishoprics, abbacies and prebends were held by noble and absentee incumbents, while ill paid members of the lower clergy performed their duties.

In this atmosphere of falsity and pretence, domestic relationships became as corrupt as public functions. Side by side with the absentee judge and his unofficial substitute, we find the absentee husband and his substitute, the tolerated lover. The social toleration of all but open concubinage is the natural corollary



A CARPET KNIGHT.

His epaulettes and military wig stamp this young blood philandering with a lady of fashion as one of the amateur soldiers who flourished under the substitute system. These figures are taken from a drawing by Watteau, 1780.

Lille Museum

of the 'mariage de convenance.' Men and women are married in defiance of their natural inclinations, for reasons of family prestige or family property. What wonder that each should seek outside the marriage bond a more congenial partner and should tolerate the other's doing likewise? Such unofficial unions, even in a corrupt society, might exhibit the domestic virtues and were frequently both faithful and lasting. Moreover, where each party to such a union is economically secure and independent of the other and has no legal claim to the other's company and services, each must rely on his or her own qualities and powers of pleasing for the preservation of the union. Hence, love in such a regime, though illicit, need be neither meretricious nor feigned; contrary to what many moralists assert, love when 'free' does not necessarily degenerate into the merely physical. In the liaisons of the cultivated and corrupt upper class of the ancien régime, wit, charm and good manners were more important than passion; while jealousy and possessiveness were considered bad form. Each sex maintained a high aesthetic and intellectual standard for the other, and love became as refined and subtle (and one might add as artificial) at that time as it has ever been in human history.

We have given a brief sketch of the social, economic and political structure of France under the ancien régime. We have now to consider the intellectual and moral life that it supported. It is astonishing that under such a despotism thought was so free. That literature and the arts should have flourished is not surprising; aesthetic activities are a harmless safety valve for creative energy, and despotisms frequently promote all the activities of the human mind except the free play of thought around social and political institutions. Nor is it surprising that morals should have been lax; democracies are usually puritanical, because the middle classes are jealous of the pleasures of the rich, while despotisms tolerate laxity in practice provided traditional standards are upheld in principle. But the striking thing about France at the end of the

eighteenth century is the great liberty of speculation on the principles of government and morals under a tyrannical government and a persecuting church.

The intellectual society of the ancien régime was composed largely of the noblesse and of the higher bourgeoisie.

Among the former were many who lacked either the taste or the means for the gallan-

tries and intrigues of the court and who turned for diversion to philosophical speculation and to literary dilettantism; among the latter were many who had the wealth and leisure requisite for a public career, but who were excluded by their status from playing any considerable part. To neither noble nor bourgeois was possible a public career of the sort that existed already in Britain; there was not in France that mixture of office and independence, of freedom and responsibility. A man might hold office—in which case he became a mere cog in the machine of administration—or he might become a pamphleteer, usually anonymous and always irresponsible, or he might devote himself to literature and art, and leave public affairs alone.

It must not be supposed, however, that intellectual circles were entirely composed of members of the upper classes. In one sense they formed a completely democratic society, to which intellect, wit, ability and freedom from prejudices were the sole passports. To a peer of France who was dull or narrow-minded it was firmly closed; to a self-educated poor man who had the right qualities the door flew open. Diderot (see page 4063) was the son of a working master cutler of Langres, who managed to send the boy to the University of Paris. Rousseau (page 4065) was the son of a Geneva watchmaker and acquired his higher education from various disreputable acquaintances during a youth of vagabondage. Nevertheless, it was a society whose characteristic tone was determined by the upper classes.

The eighteenth century was the age of the salon (see Chap. 151). The influence of women was thus strong and pervasive, although women were not what we would call emancipated. They did not exercise

or even demand careers in literature, business or administration, yet they had great influence on the men who did. Just because they had no independent source of power in society, their influence waned when the Revolution came. Napoleon frankly despised women. Only a few rare souls, like Condorcet, demanded equal political rights for women, either before or during the Revolution.

Philosophy did not have, in those days, the specialised meaning that it has now. It meant not merely metaphysics, logic and ethics, but rather a systematic study of all knowledge, in which mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural history, economics and political science could all find a part. The Newtonian physics, by linking into one orderly cosmos the most distant star in the sky and the smallest pebble on the beach, had made men familiar with the idea of natural law, and what the Scottish universities still call natural philosophy formed the kernel of the philosophy of eighteenth-century France.

The age of the 'philosophes' anticipated the mechanistic synthesis of the nineteenth century. The data had yet to be supplied in chemistry and in most branches of The Age of the physics; Darwin's great 'Philosophes' hypothesis had yet to replace Holbach's and Lamarck's less plausible attempts at a materialistic conception of biology; Marx had yet to erect a system where Montesquieu (see page 4059) and the physiocrats had merely indicated a way of thought; but the assumptions and implications on which they built were already there.

The territory of natural knowledge was not then so intensely cultivated that all its divisions had to be rigidly enclosed and cultivated by experts. One man could still take all learning for his province; the gifted amateur could still meet the savant on terms of equality. While philosophers were keenly interested in the science that was opening up such new vistas to them, scientists could still afford the time to study philosophy. This philosophy, moreover, was characterised by a great sense of the practical. Scientists turned themselves to the processes of industry, hitherto left to the

artisan's rule of thumb; economists improved methods of cultivation and condemned the systems of taxation and land tenure; the comparative study of political institutions was undertaken not only for speculative reasons, but for the discovery of remedies for the evils of government. Provincial academies were revived; the more enlightened and the wealthier of noblesse and bourgeoisie joined in founding societies for the encouragement of industry and agriculture.

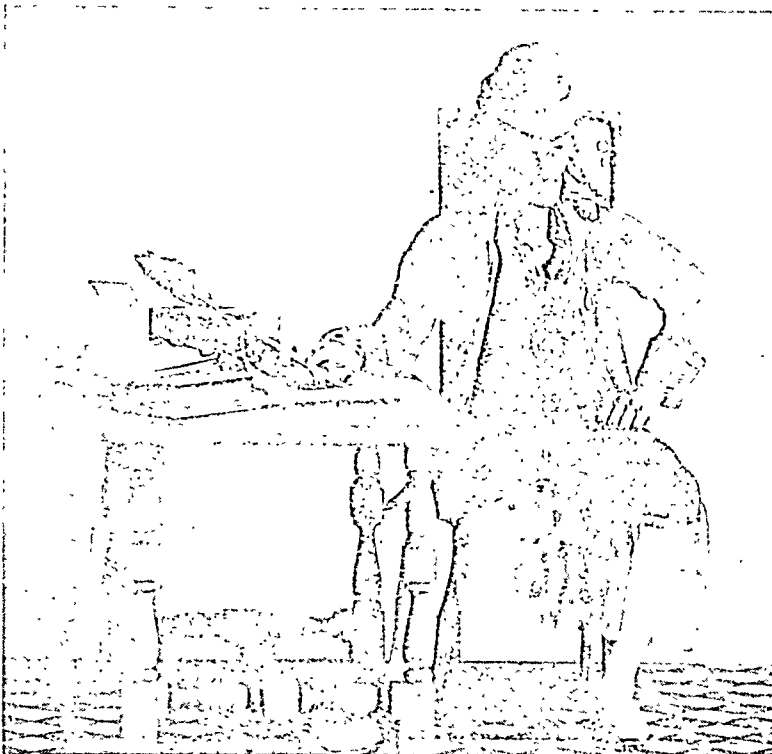
The essence of this philosophy was what the nineteenth century called rationalism. It was a critical examination of the whole field of human knowledge in the light of the new concepts of natural science. All old beliefs and practices were tried remorselessly by the touchstone of this criticism, and little stood the test. The scholastic philosophy was treated with a contempt born partly of ignorance and partly of the intolerance and corruption of the institution that fostered it. The idealistic philosophy of Descartes and Leibniz, which was the new prop of the supernatural position, was attacked—by

Diderot with the club of argument, by Voltaire with the rapier of mockery. Social and political ideals underwent an examination in the light of common sense and emerged much changed. All phases, alike of nature and of human life, were claimed as subjects for the unfettered exercise of the human intellect. This assertion of the intellect free from all restraint of a book or an institution, this claim for uncensored discussion of all subjects, is the most characteristic feature of the movement of the 'philosophes'.

It was perhaps in the human studies that the movement brought forth its characteristic fruits. The 'philosophes' treated human nature as one with non-human nature; man is essentially a part of the natural order and subject to natural laws. Hence an inevitable tendency towards materialism, which becomes overt in Holbach and La Mettrie (see page 406r). Individually this attitude expresses itself in an emphasis on intelligence and a depreciation of passion noticeable in the social life and literature of the time. Taste and good sense rather than intensity of

feeling are the guides to life. Socially this attitude becomes a remorseless and fruitful criticism of all existing institutions and all social, political and economic standards. In religion, morals, politics, history and economics it produces characteristic work.

In religion the new spirit worked both constructively and destructively, its outstanding exponent in both aspects being Voltaire (see also page 4064). Destructively, the 'philosophes' undermined the authority and teaching of the Church by emphasising whatever in history and the recent advances of physical science appeared in conflict with tradition and miracle. While preserving, as a rule, the outward forms of deference to the established faith, they sneered covertly at its mysteries. Voltaire's *Dictionnaire Philosophique* expresses



**VOLTAIRE : ICONOCLAST AND REFORMER**

Among the 'philosophes' Voltaire takes high place. His services to the cause of revolution are recognized in this rather malicious terra-cotta statuette showing him as an old man, pen in hand, and with his mocking visage crowned with the Phrygian cap of Liberty. A more serious bust appears in page 4046.

*Musée Carnavalet; photo, Bulloz*

this admirably ; in a few short sentences the prophets and patriarchs of the Old Testament are made to appear doddering simpletons or blood-thirsty ruffians, nor do the saints of Christian times fare any better. Of all English writers Gibbon most nearly represents the attitude to religion of cultivated eighteenth-century France.

Constructively the 'philosophes' brought to the consideration of religious matters two things that had been sadly lacking :

toleration and common sense. If in the nineteenth century religious bodies with widely ranging views were able to live together on a basis of common charity, it was because, in John Morley's words, they had borrowed the principles of humanity and toleration from atheists. If some of them were able to face with unshut eyes the new light thrown on nature by geology and biology, and on Scripture by textual criticism and comparative religion, it was because they had remained to learn where they had come to denounce. The Christian churches to-day owe more than they care to admit to their old adversaries the philosophes.'

In morals, the philosophic tendency showed itself as common sense and humanity. Caring little about metaphysical ethics, it concerned itself with practical morals, rejecting supernatural and authoritarian sanctions and putting in their place the system of mingled sympathy and self-interest, on a purely empirical basis, that subsequently became known as utilitarianism. Helvetius formulated it most explicitly, but it was implicit in all the works of Voltaire, Diderot and the lesser writers of the group. But the chief service that the new outlook rendered to mankind was to teach the lesson of humanity. The 'philosophes' had a hatred of cruelty. From the Italian Beccaria and his followers, strongly under the influence of French philosophy, sprang the beginnings of a criminal jurisprudence based not on the 'lex talionis', but on the ideas of reforming the criminal and of protecting society with as little violence as possible. To them we owe, very largely, the abolition of thumb-screw and



#### A HUMANE PENOLOGIST

Cesare Bonesano, marchese de Beccaria (1735-94) was professor of law and economy at Milan. To his treatise *On Crime and Punishments*, published in 1764, many humanitarian reforms in the European penal codes are directly due. Engraving after G. Benaglia ; from Seidlitz, *Porträtwerk*.'

rack, wheel and stake, disembowelment and mutilation.

With the rejection of authority and supernatural sanctions went a reaction from the puritanism—whether Catholic or Protestant—of the previous century. Enjoyment came to be considered a legitimate end of human endeavour, and good taste rather than the precepts of an immutable Christian morality was set up as the regulator of actions. Such an attitude harmonised well with the desires of classes to whom increasing wealth brought great opportunity for luxury but little opportunity for social service.

Two characteristic and influential books should be mentioned here : *De l'Esprit* of Helvetius (1758) and Holbach's *System of Nature* (1778). The former, starting from the sensationalism of Locke and Condillac, develops a thorough-going, if somewhat crude, utilitarianism. For the individual, self-interest and pleasure were made the sole springs of action and touchstones of ethical value. For society, education and institutions were to mould the character of the individual into harmony





#### A LEADER OF THE ILLUMINATI

Claude Adrien Helvetius (1715-71) was a hedonist and utilitarian. His treatise *De l'Esprit*, published in 1758, though officially banned, received wide publicity all over Europe. Van Loo painted this portrait in 1755.

From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.

with his fellows' good. Helvetius thought of human nature as essentially plastic and almost infinitely modifiable by environment. We hear this doctrine later from William Godwin and Robert Owen. If *De l'Esprit* was daring, the *System of Nature* (published anonymously in Holland) was wildly audacious. It put in uncompromising words what men were feeling but not daring to express. It systematised the vague mass of new ideas about nature and man. In philosophy it taught a frank materialism: all was ruled by the same sort of laws as held of the material universe; life and thought were generated by one kind of matter just as the phosphorescence of decaying fish was by another kind of matter. In ethics it taught a rigid determinism.

In politics, the work of the 'philosophes' is at first sight disappointingly unrevolutionary. Particular abuses are satirised; small reforms are advocated; but no general principles of political organization are laid down, still less is it suggested that the existing fabric should be 'destroyed and rebuilt on new and philosophical principles. Pope's aphorism that 'whate'er is best adminis-

tered is best seems to sum up the attitude of the 'philosophes' to politics. Nevertheless, their superficially desultory and almost frivolous treatment rests upon a framework of political thought that, even if implicit, is quite systematic. Montesquieu, the great political thinker of the period, gives in his *Esprit des Lois* much more than a political theory; he is the pioneer of the investigations of social, economic and political institutions by the methods of natural science. But Montesquieu's deeper implications went unheeded; what greatly influenced his contemporaries was his account of the laws and political institutions of other countries, especially of England. Voltaire followed his example, praising, in his *Lettres Philosophiques*, the British constitution. To us, the governance of England under a Whig oligarchy seems a poor thing to admire: jobbery, a restricted franchise, enclosures and parish settlement have an ill savour; but in contrast with the ancien regime it seemed freedom and the reign of law.

Like all men brought up on a classical education, the 'philosophes' were affected by the republican institutions of the great states of antiquity and by Aristotle's advocacy of a constitutional but not too democratic government (very like that of England). From this comes the tendency, so rife at the time of the Revolution, to ape the glories of Republican Rome—the references to Brutus and Cincinnatus, the paintings of David, and the names given to the sections of Paris under its popular constitution. Later came the influence of the American Revolution and the constitution of the United States. Men who, like Lafayette, had actually fought side by side with the colonists for independence brought home to cultured French society the great adventure of deliberately constructing a new instrument of government on first principles.

Underlying this admiration of special models was a general theory of government which may be called the Whig theory. It is that the individual is anterior, both historically and logically, to the state, and that the latter exists as an instrument to guarantee him certain

rights. Limits should therefore be set to the action of the individual only in so far as it infringes the equal and similar rights of other individuals; limits should be set to the action of the state restraining it to what is absolutely necessary to secure the rights of the individual. These rights are twofold: those relating to security of life and limb and freedom from personal constraint; and those relating to the free exercise of gainful activity, the secure use of material property, and the maintenance of claims over other persons' activities acquired through free contract.

The 'philosophes' also advocated reforms in specific departments of government and social life: judicial organization, land tenure, taxation and finances. Serious but cautious articles in the great *Encyclopédie* (see, for instance, *Corvée*, *Gabelle*, *Privilège*, *Taille*) made clear the abuses and suggested reforms; the lighter writings of Montesquieu (the *Persian Letters*) and of Voltaire gayed decadent institutions with witty and pungent satire. Rarely, however, in the writings of this period do we find any hint of revolution, of a drastic remodelling of institutions, of the desirability of full democracy. Nevertheless, the germ of revolution is there; the idea that social and political institutions are not eternal and immutable facts, but that they exist for man's needs and convenience, are to be judged by the degrees to which they serve these ends and can be consciously adapted to serve these ends better, is bound, when fully worked out, to produce great revolutions.

In the domain of economics the ideas of the 'philosophes' were no less far-reaching in their consequences. Beginning with a reaction from earlier views, and a critical survey of existing institutions, they gradually developed an economic theory, in conformity with the general philosophic notions already sketched out. This was the first systematic and coherent body of economic theory and still remains the foundation of modern economics. The views against which the physiocrats (as the philosophic economists were called) reacted are now usually called mercantilism (see page 3846); these views never

formed a consistent and complete system, but they derive a certain unity from the underlying influence of the strong national state, the royal officialdom and the privileged landed class that had grown up everywhere in western Europe.

Against mercantilism the physiocrats contended that the true wealth of nations is the abundance of necessities and luxuries among the people, that numbers are only desirable in so far as they promote well-being, that high wages are a sign of prosperity, and that the advantage of foreign trade is in the greater quantity

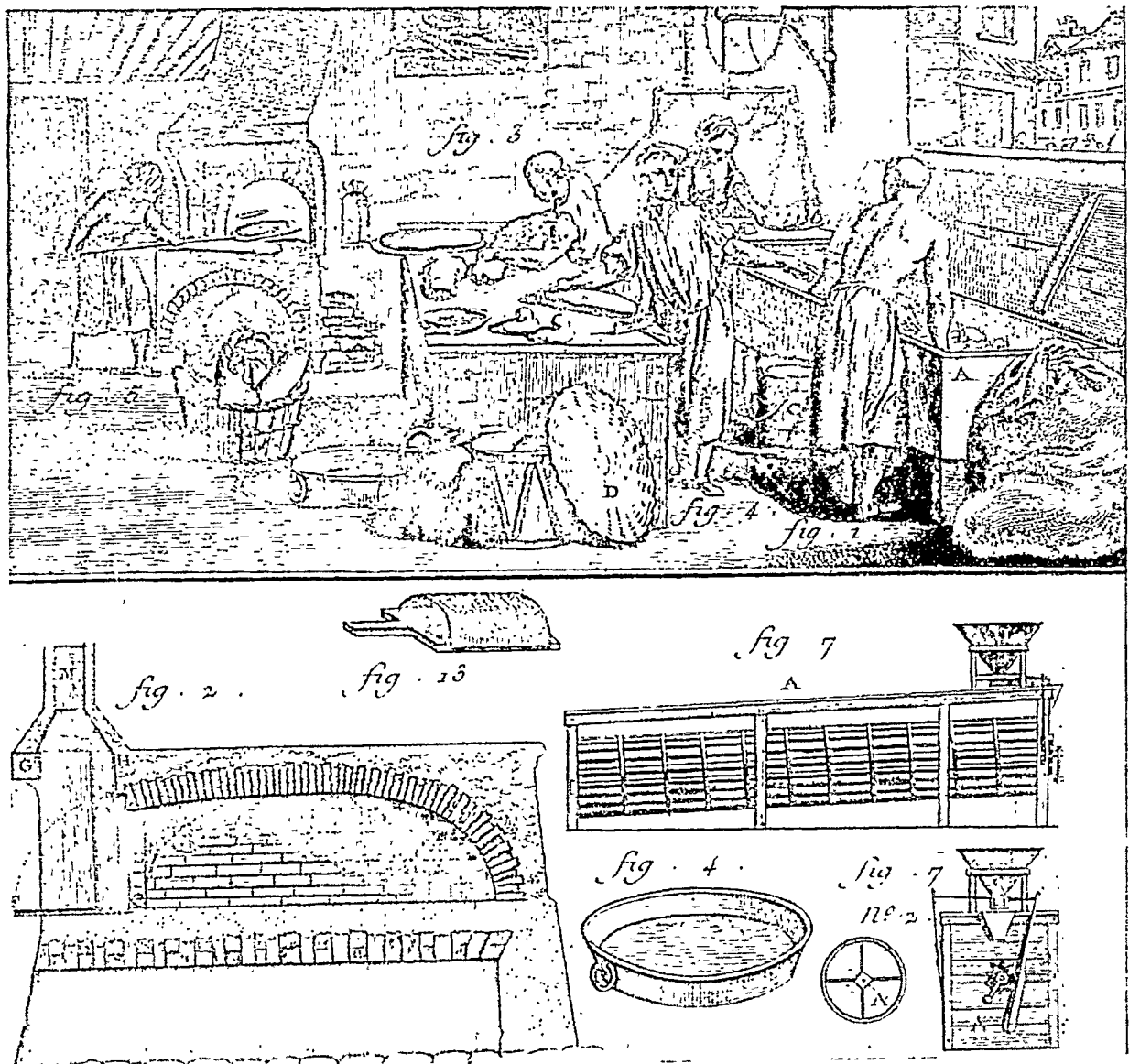
The theories of Quesnay and Turgot and variety of commodities 'obtained thereby'. Instead of vaunting manufacture, some fled to the opposite extreme of asserting that land alone was the source of wealth and that agricultural labour was the only productive labour. Thus all artisans, traders and professional men were unproductive, in the sense that they merely transformed the produce of the soil into other goods or services and added nothing to the net product of society. Quesnay was the founder of the school (*Tableau Economique*, 1758). Turgot (see page 4060), a great administrator and practical reformer, wrote in 1766 '*Réflexions sur la formation et la répartition de la richesse*,' which still remains an admirable introduction to economics. It was the first systematic exposition of the subject, and laid down the main lines that are followed to-day. Adam Smith owes much to Quesnay, Turgot and the other physiocrats.

The physiocratic system contains the germs both of modern collectivist socialism and of modern individualist liberalism. On the one hand, they regarded society as a community of economic effort and economics as a social process, not as a concern of the state (mercantilism) or of the individual alone (nineteenth-century individualism). On the other hand, they condemned the efforts of the state to force enterprise into particular channels, and thought that a regime of equal freedom would provide the greatest opportunity for the production of the things that were really most wanted. They coined the phrase '*laissez faire, laissez passer*,' that later was to do so much to

sterilise the social conscience; but they meant thereby not the negation of social control and the assertion of an individualistic atomism, but simply that economic welfare would be best served by letting people make goods free from arbitrary and clumsy regulations and by letting goods pass from district to district free from local tolls and prohibitions. It was a protest against the ancien régime; not a formula for a new social order.

The greatest monument of the 'philosophes' is the Encyclopedia. Conceived by Diderot and begun in 1751 under the editorship of him and of the astronomer

d'Alembert, finished after herculean labours and sisyphian disappointments in 1772, it was an epitome of its age. Its contributors numbered nearly all the 'philosophes' and most of the scientific and literary talent of the time. Its contents were intended to include the whole scope of human knowledge. A novel feature, and a sign of the new social forces at work, was the attention devoted to the useful arts. The crafts of the potter, weaver, brewer, baker, carpenter, smith and many others became the subject of scientific interest. Diderot meant to give so accurate an account of the process of



#### ATTENTION TO TECHNICAL DETAIL IN THE GREAT ENCYCLOPEDIA

Details of a small bakery are illustrated in the plate from the Encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert, of which this is part—kneading and weighing dough, making up and baking loaves, as well as pans, measures and wattled stands required in the work. The picture, accompanied as it is in the Encyclopedia by detail drawings of all the implements used by bakers, serves to illustrate the minute attention paid by the philosophes to the processes employed in the mechanical arts.

From Diderot and d'Alembert, 'L'Encyclopédie: Recueil de Planches'

manufacture that, if all European civilizations were wiped out by a flood or an earthquake and only one set of the Encyclopedia were saved, its arts and sciences could be re-established in the New World. To this end Diderot himself travelled about to watch craftsmen at work and studied the details of manufacture. In the volumes of plates which supplemented the text of the Encyclopedia, diagrams of industrial and agricultural processes are specially prominent. This regard for the mechanic arts, hitherto despised by scholars and gentlemen, must be put beside the growing interest in natural science as a characteristic of the new age in civilization that was dawning. In this as in so many other things the 'philosophes' were the progenitors of the nineteenth century.

But, above all, the Encyclopedia focussed the social discontent of the day. Harassed by the threefold censorship of

Church, State and Law, threatened, confiscated, interdicted, betrayed by the craven fear of their own printers, the writers of the great Encyclopedia had to conceal their meaning under an easily penetrated disguise. Formal expressions of respect for old institutions, a semblance of disavowing radical opinions, a scrupulous impartiality that exposed the evils of the time more than any denunciation could have done; comparison of the institutions of the ancien régime with those of England, Geneva, Holland, ancient Rome or Greece, and even China—these were the forms under which the cultivated classes of the day absorbed the new humanism.

It must not be assumed that the 'philosophes' all agreed with one another, still less that they in any way formed a party. They had less unison than even the Fabians of to-day, whom in many respects they resembled. Voltaire jeered at the physiocrats almost as much as Swift jeered at the Royal Society; Diderot submitted Helvetius's writings to a careful and destructive criticism. But there was a fundamental unity that enframed their often divergent conclusions.

Before leaving the philosophic movement we must note a new current in the thought of the time—that of Rousseau

(see also page 4065). Often confused with the 'philosophes,' he is really the forerunner of the reaction against them, a reaction that did not come with its full force till after the Revolution, with the romantic movement.

Against reason he set Rousseau herald nature; in the progress of reaction in science and the useful

arts to which the encyclopedists trusted for the regeneration of humanity Rousseau saw only corruption and error. He distrusted intellectual enlightenment and relied on instinct. Against the critical philosophy of the encyclopedists he set an intuitive philosophy. He was a deist while they tended to be materialists. He advocated political reform, but on the ground of natural rights, not of social utility. His *Social Contract* (1762) had an enormous effect—during the Revolution it became the gospel of the extreme democratic party (Jacobins), although their general outlook owed more to the philosophes.

During the Revolution, the influence of Rousseau strengthened the reaction against the complexities and artificiality of the old regime and contributed to the craze for simplicity and naturalness, to the cults of reason and of the Supreme Being, to the alfresco meals of fraternity, and even to the new fashions in furniture and dress.

Corrupt and inefficient as French society seemed to be at the close of the eighteenth century, there were, however, elements destined to regenerate and restore to health the body politic. These were the 'philosophes.' Their ideas, permeating first the cultivated classes, but spreading later among wider circles, gave a direction to the Revolution and largely determined its outcome. That France emerged from the Revolution with renewed vitality and excellent institutions is in great measure the work of the philosophical movement of the eighteenth century.

We have now indicated two important factors that led to the Revolution: the shortcomings of the social system and the intellectual ferment of criticism that was working in it. The reader of this study will expect an answer to the question: how far was the French Revolution due to economic causes? No simple answer can

be given. Much depends on the interpretation given to the word 'economic.' If we use it in the extended sense of the school that believes in the economic interpretation of history, we must ascribe a large share to economic factors.

The Revolution was the outcome of a conflict between the social development of the country and the rigid legal forms into which that development was forced. **Factors making for Revolution** Mainly under the direction of a wealthy and enterprising middle class, trade and enterprise were expanding in all directions, outgrowing the framework of Colbertism (see page 3845) that had undoubtedly done much to foster it a century before. The peasants were becoming, in fact, owners of their land, while the outworn rights of feudalism hindered their full utilisation of it. Thus the legal forms did not correspond to the realities of social and economic life. Rights of classes no longer corresponded to social functions. Moreover, the system was rigid. There was no constitutional means whereby the forms could be brought into closer relation with realities. The vested rights and interests of the functionless classes stood immovably in the way of reform.

During the generation before 1789 there was therefore growing up a strong sentiment in favour of reform. There was a class vitally interested in reform, numerous and wealthy but lacking any means of making its needs felt by those in power. Here again a naïve view of economic determinism must be rejected. Although radical views of government, economics and morality were in accordance with the needs of the middle classes of the time, it would be wrong to say that they were held for that reason. Still more wrong would it be to assume that, because the Revolution did in the end make for the freedom and prosperity of the middle and working classes, all the violence and the heroism, all the endurance and the savagery of the Revolution were inspired by a calculation of enlightened self-interest. Conscious realization of material advantages and deliberate working towards material ends are rarely found in a large group of men, but deep unconscious motives usually

lead classes and nations to the realization of their economic needs.

In the narrower sense of the word 'economic' we cannot say that the Revolution was caused by economic factors. Nevertheless there were certain economic factors which, without causing the French Revolution, helped to determine when and how it came. We will mention three of them: the food shortage, the depression of manufactures and the financial chaos.

During the years 1787-88 there were failures of crops in many parts of France, great scarcity of food and high prices. Owing to the badness of the roads (other than the few main roads, which were the finest in Europe) and to the internal customs dues, this shortage was converted in many places into a famine. The large towns, in particular, suffered severely.

As we have seen, French industry had been developing steadily before the Revolution; but, in the years immediately before it a distinct depression was evident. This has **Renewed period of depression** been attributed to various causes, of which the general social and legal restrictions already mentioned constituted an important group. British industry was advancing to the point at which it challenged French industry on its own ground. In this it was undoubtedly helped by a commercial treaty of 1786 between the two countries, which lowered tariffs on manufactures and facilitated the exchange of goods. Although its provisions were mutual, its benefits were one-sided: products of British manufacture entered France in greater quantity than those of French manufacture entered Great Britain, many French manufactures were badly hit and unemployment increased.

Thus on the eve of the Revolution all sections of the people were suffering. One must not, however, assume that the Revolution was caused by misery and despair. In spite of the social evils described earlier, the condition of the bulk of people, peasants as well as artisans, had been steadily improving. In spite of famine and unemployment it is doubtful whether they were worse off in 1789 than in 1759. What happened was rather a check to increasing prosperity than an

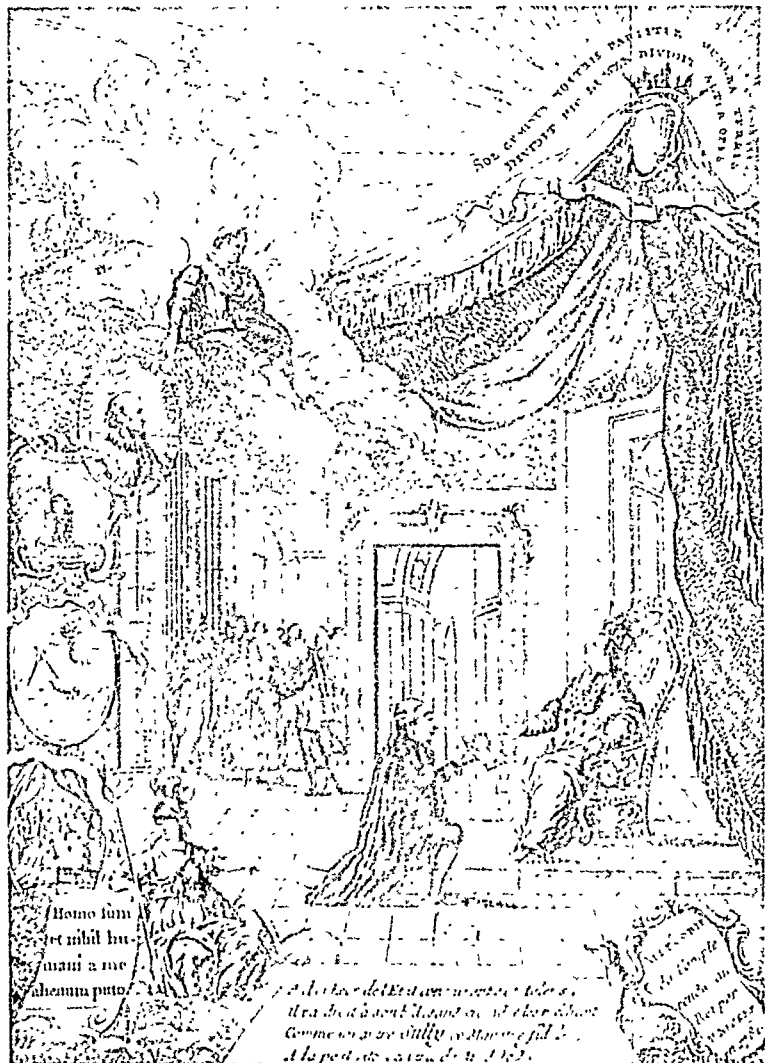
actual worsening of conditions. But this is precisely what is most likely to make men ripe for revolution. Misery does not make rebels; it makes hunger-slaves. There is no one so revolutionary as the man who has caught a glimpse of better things. Even so the bulk of the French people were not rebels. They were full of loyalty to the throne; it was only slowly and under the influence of disillusionment that this loyalty wavered and crumbled.

On top of the economic distress of the nation came the economic distress of the state. With a gross expenditure of 633 million livres (a livre was nearly equal to a pre-War franc) there was a gross ordinary revenue of only 472 million; the accounts showed an extraordinary revenue of 168 million livres, but this was almost all due to loans, which for a long time had been treated as revenue. The 472 million livres of gross revenue cost 260 million to collect (counted in the gross expenditure). One-sixth of the expenditure entirely escaped audit. The services of the debt amounted to 236 millions, or more than the whole net revenue. The national finances were in a state of insolvency.

The administrative machine had broken down. A creeping paralysis seemed to have attacked the state. Able ministers like Turgot and Necker had been driven from office by the jealousy and intriguing of the privileged classes. Pliable ministers had left confusion worse than they had found it. At length Necker (see page 4081) was recalled and made minister of finances. He proposed new taxes on privileged and non-privileged alike. At last the king consented; then the Parlement of Paris refused to register the decrees imposing them, on the grounds that only the States-General could impose new permanent taxation on the kingdom. Thus

the calling of this ancient and nearly obsolete assembly became inevitable and the long train of the Revolution was fired.

The Revolution may be said to have begun when the deputies of the third estate (the commons) to the States-General, joined by a few of the deputies of the noblesse and the clergy, declared themselves the National Assembly. The third estate, which had been nothing, now became something, and soon became everything. The National Assembly, instead of patching together the shreds of the old regime, began the task of radical reconstruction and reform. It was followed by two more elected bodies, the Legislative Assembly and the Convention, which carried on the



#### NECKER PRESENTS HIS BALANCE SHEET

Jacques Necker (1732-1804) was first made minister of finance in 1776. In 1781 he published and, as recorded in this contemporary print, presented to the king his *Compte Rendu*, a statement of the country's balance sheet, but was dismissed from office. Reappointed in 1788, he finally resigned in 1790.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Hénin Collection*

work in the midst of famine, treachery, civil war and external war. The result of their labour is modern France.

Two tasks faced the legislators of the Revolution. One was the destruction of the ancien régime, the other was the building of the new social fabric. The first was done very thoroughly, mostly by the National Assembly. That body abolished feudal dues and class privileges, reduced the king to the level of the chief functionary of the nation, abolished the parlements and suppressed the old local administration, abolished judicial torture and cruel punishments, suppressed guilds, exclusive trades associations and privileged companies, abolished internal customs barriers and the vexatious and arbitrary tax system. The Convention completed the process by abolishing monarchy and declaring France a republic, began the preparation of a new and uniform code of civil law, and laid the foundations of a new educational system.

When all this had been cleared away, what was put in its place? The constructive work of the Revolution consisted partly in the erection of a new framework of law and government and partly in the reform of particular abuses. The first took place according to general principles, the second was effected by common sense. In both the influence of the philosophic movement was evident.



FORGING THE CONSTITUTION

In 1789 the National Assembly, consisting of the deputies of the third estate with a few of the nobles and clergy, set about drafting a new constitution which came into operation in September, 1791. This contemporary colour print shows the three enthusiasts striking while the iron was hot.

*Bibliothèque Nationale; photo, W. F. Mansell*

As the corner stone of the new political order the National Assembly drew up, in 1789, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, a Whiggish document, breathing great respect for authority and property, but marking the end of arbitrary despotism and the beginning of the reign of law. The Assembly then proceeded to give France a constitution.

In place of the irresponsible monarchy there was set up the sovereignty of the people, exercised, according to Montesquieu's idea (derived through Blackstone) of the British constitution, by three separate and co-ordinate powers: the legislative, executive and judicial. The legislative power was to be exercised by a single assembly elected by the people. The people, however, was still conceived of as the propertied element: the elections were to be in two stages with a property qualification for both primary and secondary electors. To women's rights only a few even gave a thought. The king was to be the nominal executive, but the ministers were to be nominated by and to be responsible to the assembly. The judges were to be elected by the people; the hierarchy of the courts was simplified. The Legislative Assembly was elected under this constitution, but the attitude of the king made it unworkable and a National Convention was called to frame a new one.

The constitution that was devised by the Convention in 1793 was the most democratic that has ever been enacted in France. It provided for a single chamber, annually elected by direct universal (male) suffrage, the submission of laws to a referendum, the exercise of the executive power by an administrative committee under the control of the assembly, and a very large measure of autonomy to local authorities. It never came into operation; suspended until the end of the war that had broken out between France and the rest



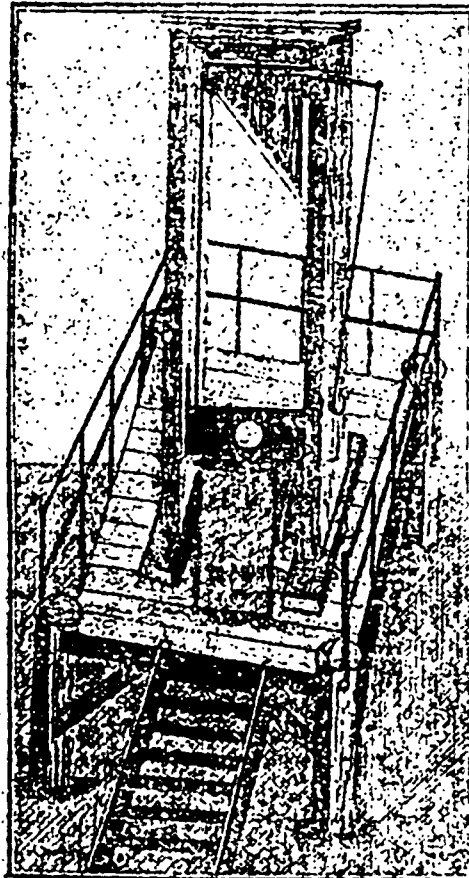
of Europe, it was replaced long before then, first by the constitution of the Directory and then by those of the Consulate and of the Empire. Under the name of the 'Constitution of the Year I,' it has ever since been demanded by the ultra-democratic and socialist parties of France. Under the Directory property qualifications were reintroduced, and the legislative power entrusted to two chambers. The executive also was strengthened by being made irremovable by the legislature. After 1799 no kind of popular government existed at all.

Local government was remodelled. To wipe out all traces of local privilege and separatism a new division of the country into departments and districts (later, 'arrondissements') was made, with elective councils and administrative officials. Every commune had its 'maire' and municipal council, whether it was a large town like Lyons or a small rural parish.

In criminal cases trial by jury was instituted; the criminal code was simplified and humanised. The death penalty was restricted to a much smaller number of crimes and the privilege of decapitation, formerly restricted to the nobility, was extended to all classes. The guillotine is the symbol not of the cruelty but of the mercy of the Revolution. No longer was the family of a condemned man to suffer infamy and confiscation. Civil law was found in a much greater muddle. Procedure was simplified, conflicting jurisdictions adjusted, personal privilege and complications of feudal tenure abolished; but there still remained the numerous local

codes, which could not be unified at one stroke. The Convention appointed a commission to draw up a code of civil law and their labours ultimately fructified in the 'code civil,' the great and simple body of law which survived the restoration and subsequent revolutions and is to-day the law of France.

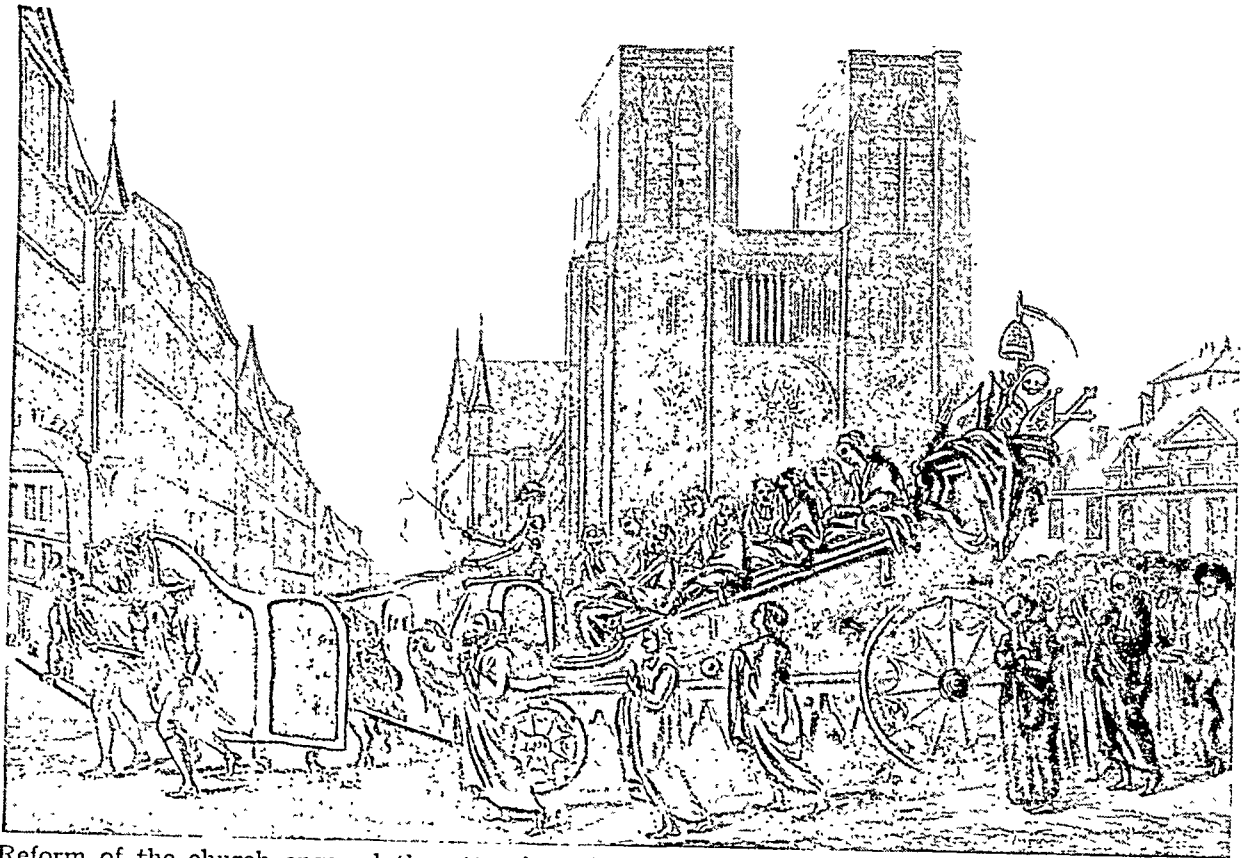
The doctrine of the sovereignty of the people meant two apparently contradictory things. It meant the supremacy of the state; it meant the liberation of the individual. All power emanated from the nation, but it must be exercised through legally instituted authorities. The state could dispose of a man's livelihood, his property, even his life, but it could not do so arbitrarily; therein lay the guarantee of the individual. Moreover, since all authority emanated from the nation, no authority could be exercised save in its name. No local or occupational or ecclesiastical community could exist except by leave of the state. The community was resolved into the state and a number of individuals;



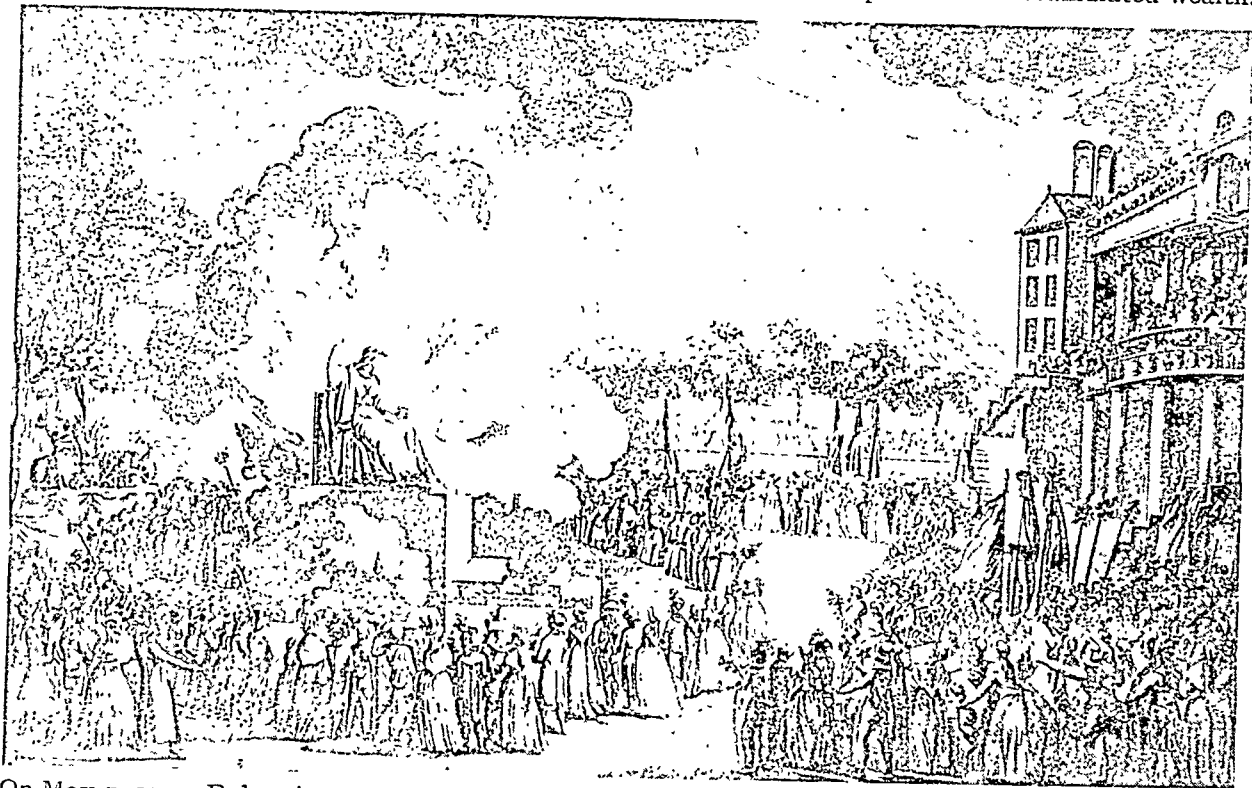
THE GUILLOTINE OF THE TERROR  
Mechanical decapitation was advocated by Dr. Guillotin in 1789, but the instrument itself was adapted from much earlier models. It was first used in France on April 25, 1792.

From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'

there was nothing between. The sovereignty of the people did not mean however, complete democracy; the nation might be divided into active and passive citizens, the former, composed of males above a certain age possessed of property above a certain amount, alone exercising the rights of electing and being elected to public office and to the councils of the nation. It was in the name of the sovereignty of the people that trade unions were proscribed. By the law Le Chapelier, passed in 1791 and aimed chiefly at political clubs, all combinations of workmen were held illegal. This continued until 1884, when the Waldeck-Rousseau



Reform of the church engaged the attention of the National Assembly early in its career and in 1789 the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was established, entailing definite rupture with Rome. The church was dispossessed of all its property, tithes were abolished and the religious orders suppressed. This contemporary aquatint satirically shows prelates and high dignitaries of the Church being driven by Death to the national treasury, there to deposit their accumulated wealth.



On May 7, 1794, Robespierre secured a decree recognizing the existence of the Supreme Being, and on June 8 the Fête here commemorated by Monet was held in the grounds of the Tuileries. Robespierre delivered a harangue and set fire to figures representing Atheism, Ambition, Egoism and False Simplicity, which were ranged round the pedestal on which a statue of Reason was enthroned.

#### SUPPRESSION OF THE CHURCH AND WORSHIP OF REASON

*British Museum (top) and from Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

ministers gave restricted rights of combination to the workers.

The least successful labour of reconstruction undertaken by the National Assembly was the reform of the Church. The separation of Church and State was scarcely conceivable to the men of 1789, so, although they decreed complete religious toleration and abolished all tests for office, they reorganized the Church on the lines of civil administration (the Civil Constitution of the Clergy). The Roman curia refused to recognize the new arrangements and forbade priests to take the oath. A conflict between national and religious loyalties arose which split the French church and made adherence to Rome incompatible with the principles of the Revolution.

Finally, the Christian Church was suppressed altogether. The fantastic mummeries of the cults of Reason and of the Supreme Being had a brief official vogue during the Terror. Under the Directory there was an official cult: a kind of civic religion consisting of a vague theism. In practice, there was no public profession of religion in France until under the Napoleonic reaction the Catholic Church was once more established in France by the Concordat of 1801. But the damage had been done. The religious schism and persecution had distracted the national effort and weakened the democratic impulse. An enduring tradition of hatred was left, and for over a hundred years Republicanism and the Catholic Church were deadly enemies (see further in page 3872).

The Convention undertook the radical reform of many other muddles. The unification of weights and measures was badly needed, but instead of taking some one customary standard and making it national, as other countries had done, an entirely new system was proposed, based on philosophic rational principles. A commission of the Convention was appointed and the fruits of its labours were the metric system, now universally used by scientists and in popular use by half the civilized world.

Similarly the calendar was taken in hand. Here the need for reform was less

urgent, since, although the ordinary calendar has certain irregularities, it has the great merit of uniformity throughout the civilized world; its fault in the eyes of the revolutionaries was not so much its slight anomalies as its traditional, and especially its religious, associations. The new calendar, *Reform of the Calendar* for which the astronomer Romme and the poet Fabre d'Eglantine were largely responsible, was simple, regular and convenient for civil purposes. Other nations did not adopt it, however, and, after being in use for a dozen years, it was abolished under the Empire.

The Convention encouraged art and science and laboured to restore industry. It offered prizes for useful inventions and protected intellectual property (i.e. patents and copyright). It planned to re-establish schools and colleges and the learned societies, which had been suppressed along with other corporations by the National Assembly. It laid the foundations of the present academic system of France, although the actual organization of the Université and of the Institut was left to the Directory.

During all this time the Convention was carrying on the government of the country, in a time of unparalleled strife and confusion. Ministers were merely servants of the Convention, which controlled them through committees. Representatives on mission followed the armies. The Committee of Public Safety was its creature and agent, but under the Terror became its master. Never has the world seen an elected assembly that showed such vigour, ability, resolution and single-mindedness.

When the work of these three assemblies was done, what was left? Politically there was a new framework of the state, simple, regular and not ultra-democratic. Socially there was a country in which the middle class was dominant. The upper classes had been swept away, the lower class was not yet conscious either of its needs or of its strength, all obstacles to the self-realization of the class of business and professional people had been removed. Economically, there was a nation of individuals with equal social rights and

duties, equal status before the law, equal opportunities of engaging in trade and acquiring property. The regulations and restrictions of the ancien régime being removed (except as regards external trade), economic relations were free to adjust themselves according to the laws of demand and supply through contracts, enforced it is true by the state, but entered into voluntarily by individuals. The physiocrats' ideal was achieved. Within the frontiers of France trade was governed by the maxim 'laissez faire, laissez passer.'

The French Revolution and the wars of the Revolution and of the Empire were not, on the whole, favourable to the development of industry. The heavy taxation laid upon the country to pay for the wars checked enterprise; many of France's best markets were cut off by the blockade and the continental system; in many parts of the country the roads fell into disrepair and transport costs were enhanced; conscription drained the country of the best blood of its productive classes. On the other hand, the demand for munitions of war stimulated certain industries, especially the metallurgical ones, and the cutting off of supplies from England and overseas called into existence various substitutes and new methods of manufacture.

An outstanding example of this is the soda industry. In 1793 France found herself cut off from her main sources of alkali, which had previously been derived from the burning of plants, and was imported from the British Isles, Russia and America. It was known that common salt contained the principle of one alkali—soda; the problem was to make it commercially available. The Convention with characteristic energy took the matter in hand; a commission of inquiry was appointed to survey existing sources of supply, to investigate processes of manufacture and to promote research. The commission reported on thirteen different processes and gave the preference to one invented by an apothecary, Leblanc. This process, unchanged in its essential features, spread all over the world and was for nearly a hundred years the only

large-scale means of producing soda and the parent of a numerous brood of chemical industries.

In general the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety gave what help they could to industry: direct subventions, free gifts of land from the national domain, the establishment of national manufactories and the offer of prizes to successful inventors. The Encouragement of Industry work was carried on under the Directory, with greater success, since the general situation was less desperate. Private societies for the encouragement of inventions and manufactures, the successors of the pre-Revolutionary ones, grew up and flourished. Under Napoleon came the further organization of these societies, the establishment of the Ecole des Arts et Métiers, and the award of prizes for inventions. Pensions were granted to inventors, among them to Jacquard, the inventor of the loom for fancy weaving that bears his name.

An important part of the pre-Revolutionary industry of France consisted in the manufacture of luxury goods and of fine qualities of goods. The disappearance of the aristocracy and the republican manners of the early days of the Revolution gave a sharp check to these trades, from which, however, they began to recover under the Directory, when the nouveaux riches' paraded their wealth without shame, and under the Empire, when Napoleon established a parvenu imitation of the glories of Versailles.

Agriculture, the chief livelihood of the French people, suffered less than industry from social disturbance, while the removal of feudal restrictions promoted good husbandry. Moreover, the fall in the value of money, due to inflation, freed the peasant from a burden as grievous as that of the seigneur—that of the mortgage holder. The peasant bought land at the sale of 'biens nationaux,' he repudiated feudal dues and commuted other charges for trifling sums; he paid off in assignats debts contracted in golden louis. Some of the earlier decrees of the National Assembly permitted the enclosure of land formerly cultivated on the open-field system and the division of common lands. Under the

stimulus of individual enterprise and security of ownership cultivation improved steadily. In short the peasant emerged from the Revolution much more prosperous than he had been when he was first engulfed in it. Taine gives the following comparison between 1789 and 1800: out of every 100 francs of net income, Better times for a peasant paid at the the Peasantry former date 14 francs to the seigneur, 14 to the church in tithes, 53 to the king in taxes, keeping only 19 francs for himself. At the latter date he paid nothing to the seigneur or to the church, paid 21 francs in state, departmental and communal taxes (these having taken the place of the king's taxes) and kept 79 francs for himself.

On the whole, it may be said that the harm done by the Revolution to French economic life was transient, while the good done by it was permanent. The social changes of the Revolution made clear the way for a great development of economic powers. The wars delayed but did not inhibit this development. After 1815, thanks to the work of the Revolution, the evolution of industry in France was rapid and steady, and her agricultural prosperity became a model to Europe.

Besides the general task of building a new economic framework of society, the men of the Revolution were faced with particular economic problems, due to war and to political disturbance. Three of these may be singled out for discussion: the financial situation, the problem of food supplies, and the blockade.

The breakdown of the finances had been the immediate cause of the calling of the States-General. The restoration of them was the first task of the National Assembly. A land tax was voted in 1790, a property tax in 1791. Both were to be assessed uniformly throughout the country and on all classes. However, the immediate effect of the Revolution was to make the situation worse. In vain was the tax system made simpler and more equitable, in vain was a stricter accountancy introduced: the taxpayer stopped paying his taxes since the old officials that had compelled him to do so no longer existed, and the new ones, being elective, lacked both the means and the will to compel him. Loans

could not be floated since the credit of the nation, already exhausted, was not revived by the hint of political instability. It was resolved to sell the public domains (the former crown lands, and the land of the Church, made national property under the Civil Constitution of the Clergy).

Since immediate sale would have seriously depressed their value, the expedient was devised (1789) of issuing paper money, equal in nominal value to the value of the lands to be sold, and receivable by the Treasury at its face value in payment for the lands when and as they were sold. It was thought that, since the paper represented assets of a perfectly fixed and tangible kind, depreciation could not occur. Two points, however, had been overlooked. One was that the value of money varies inversely as its quantity, whatever it may be based upon, and the other was that unless convertibility on demand is immediate and certain its chief object—the establishment of public confidence—is not attained.

Assignats were issued by the government and speedily passed into circulation. Soon the increased quantity of means of payment in circulation caused prices



INVENTOR OF THE JACQUARD LOOM

Joseph Marie Jacquard, 1752-1834, first exhibited his apparatus for fancy weaving in 1801. It was acquired by the French government in 1806 and revolutionised the weaving industry. This portrait was woven on his own loom.

Science Museum, South Kensington



#### REVOLUTION PAPER MONEY

When first issued, only assignats for 1,000 and for 500 livres were put into circulation; but in 1791 the National Assembly sanctioned the issue of assignats of much smaller denomination. Above is an assignat for fifty sols (sous).

British Museum

(already high) to rise. Gold began to circulate at a premium, the first sign of inflation. The value to a baker in Paris of a tillful of assignats was simply what he could buy with them in Paris; that they would be of full value at a sale of public lands in the department of the Isère or of the Eastern Pyrenees was of little interest to him. After 1791 the pretence of basing the issue on the value of public lands was abandoned and the governments of the Legislative and the Convention printed notes simply in order to finance their operations. Like so many unstable and needy governments since then, they found inflation the easiest form of taxation.

In January, 1793, the assignats were worth only half their nominal value in gold, and by March, 1796, they had fallen to one three-hundredth of their face value. The fall was not steady; the value of assignats rose and fell in sympathy with military events and the prospects of the revolutionary governments. Commodity prices tended to move proportionately to the premium in gold. Business was reduced to gambling; many manufactures, already suffering from depression, closed down. Speculation was rife. Creditors were ruined; debtors had their debts almost extinguished, but owing to the failure of markets they were benefited little. The

only people who derived any solid gain from the confusion were the farmers and the war contractors. The situation that existed in central Europe after 1918 was only a reproduction of what existed in France during the stormy days of the Revolution. Even the same jokes were made. In 1793 there was the man who went to market with his assignats in a basket and returned with his bread in his waistcoat pocket.

The Directory abandoned the effort to force paper money on the country and to control prices. A free market for specie was allowed and coin emerged from its hoarding places and circulated; assignats passed current at their depreciated value. The Convention, in reforming the weights and measures, had introduced a new monetary unit, the franc, equivalent to 5 grammes of silver 90 per cent. fine (very nearly the same as the old livre), but during the paper-money orgy it remained a purely theoretical unit. In 1796, however, gold and silver were once more coined. Assignats were redeemed at a fraction of their face value, and in 1797 they were repudiated. Those who had lost through the depreciation received no compensation, but the country had once more a stable currency. All through the wars of the Empire the franc stood at par, which was more than could be said of the pound sterling. Under Napoleon the currency system of France received the form it retained until 1914. The Bank of France was founded in 1800, and the bimetallic system, with a ratio between gold and silver of 1 to 15½, was established in 1803.

The Republic had taken over the old public debt of France and had added to it by desperate borrowings. In September, 1797, the Directory took the drastic step of repudiating two-thirds of it. All the creditors of the nation had been inscribed in a big book; now they were credited with only one-third of the sum due to them. Other measures were taken, more taxes were imposed and an administration built up to collect them and to audit the accounts, so that at last the finances were put in order. The present fiscal system of France dates from the Directory. By this



time victory in the field had brought relief to the Treasury in the form of contributions from conquered provinces and had, moreover, improved the credit of France in the international loan market.

The financial débâcle and the subsequent restoration had each an important effect. During the depreciation of the currency the peasants had been buying up their land wholesale, paying off mortgages and redeeming what the National Assembly had left in the way of feudal dues. When sound money was restored their new position of independence was consolidated and stabilised. Moreover, in spite of the bankruptcy of the two-thirds, there was now a large body of smallholders in the national debt. Even the Restoration dared not reopen these questions after eighteen years. So France assumed the character, which it retains to-day, of a land where the interests of the peasant and the small 'rentier' are dominant in public life.

Another problem before the men of the Revolution was that of food supply, especially in the towns, where the extreme revolutionary party was strongest. Men-

tion has been made of the shortage that preceded the Revolution. The harvests of the following years were not very good; sowing and reaping were interfered with by 'jacquerie,' insurrection and invasion; the roads were still more neglected. No wonder food was scarce and prices high. It was declared the duty of each commune to provision its members. The communes of the larger towns introduced a rationing system, with food cards such as the Great War has made familiar to us.

But rationing, even if efficient, is of little use to those who have not enough money to buy the amount to which they are entitled. A demand arose among the working classes and lower middle classes of the towns for the fixing of a maximum price for foodstuffs. The law of the 'maximum' was passed in 1793, but it produced the usual effects of such ordinances: farmers no longer sent to market, middlemen held up what supplies there were, and extensive illicit trade at famine prices sprang up. The communes lacked

the administrative machinery and experience to carry out effectively the law of the maximum. After the Thermidorian reaction opposition to it hardened and it was repealed at the end of 1794. Under the Convention the state requisitioned food and sold it at low prices. This made the farmer even less ready to sow and reap and so in the long run added to the evil it was designed to cure. The Directory stopped this practice.

Since the declaration of war against England in February, 1793, the coasts of France and all territories controlled by her through conquest or alliance had been blockaded by the British

navy. As a result France was cut off from many important goods and lost the market for many of her own products. Coffee, tea, cocoa, sugar, spices and tobacco rose to fantastic prices; the silk, lace and wine industries were depressed. As in Germany during the Great War, under similar conditions, substitutes were devised for many of the prohibited goods and new uses found for unexportable home products. In this way there developed many new industries which have maintained a permanent importance. We have already mentioned the Leblanc soda process; another child of the blockade was the beet-sugar industry which was successfully established in northern France, Belgium and western Germany.

One must not exaggerate the rigidity of the mutual blockade. It served to hinder the normal course of trade but not to stop completely the flow of goods. Smuggling flourished, not without the connivance, in some cases, of the governments. Thus Napoleon's legions were clad, largely, in British cloth, and Britain's spies and allies were paid with gold smuggled into the Continent by the Rothschilds under the very eyes of Napoleon, whose mercantilist prejudices led him to think that the drain of gold was weakening his enemy.

A very difficult task remains: to give an idea of the tone of public feeling at the different stages of the Revolution.

The first stage, up to the end of the Legislative, began with optimistic liberalism. There was a spontaneous welling

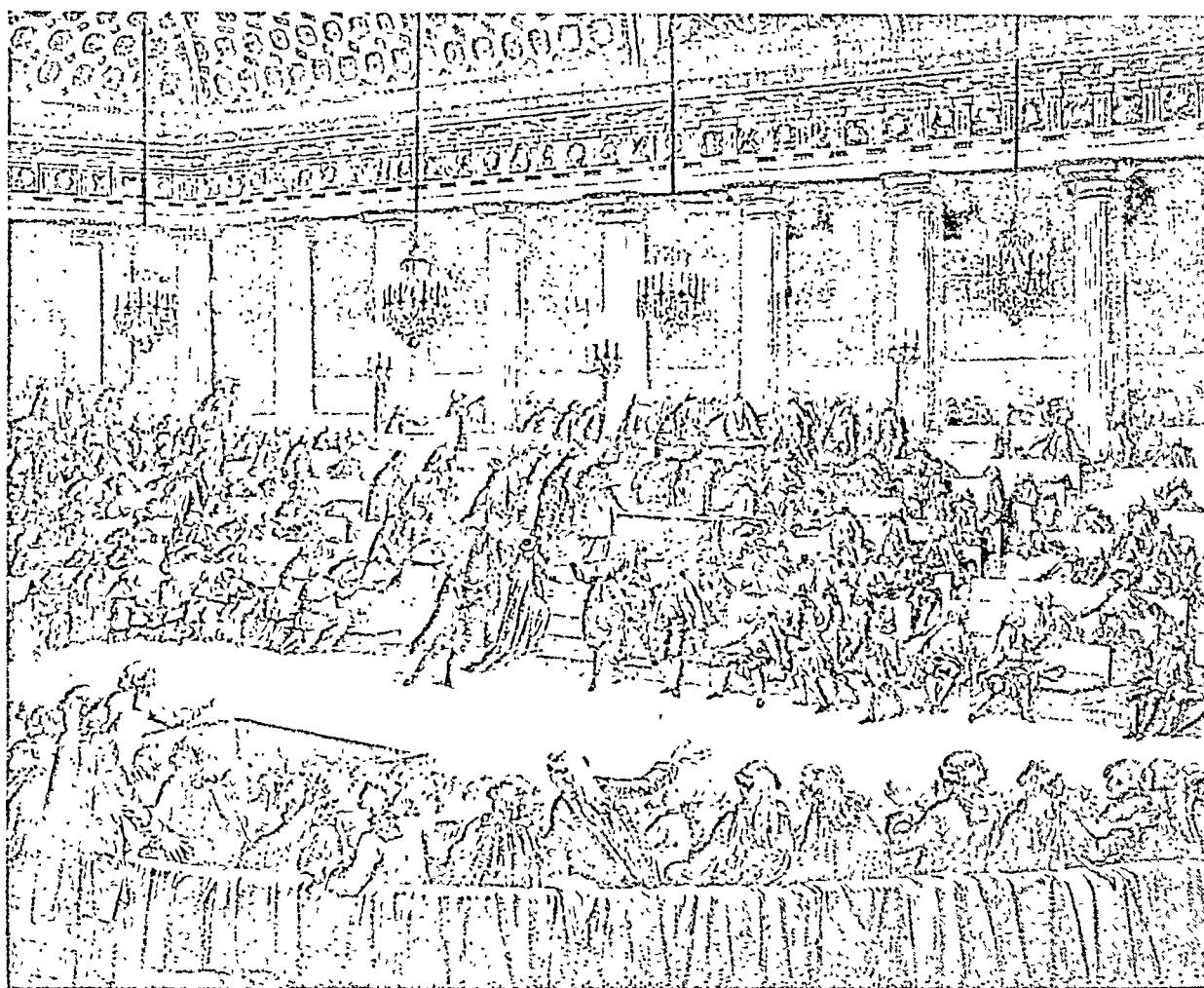


up of enlightened opinion; all classes showed enthusiasm for the cause of reform. It was the epoch of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The deputies of the nobility took the initiative on the night of August 4, 1789, when the National Assembly voted the wholesale abolition of feudal rights and privileges in an orgy of public spirit and benevolence. For a time it seemed that good men of all classes were united in loyalty to the throne and in devotion to constitutional reform. It was a period not without violence; the turbulent population of Paris broke out into several riots, of which the most noteworthy were the taking of the Bastille by the mob (see page 4081) on July 14, 1789, and the march of the women to Versailles (see page 384) in the following

October. But it was a loyal mob; as in the middle ages it aimed at redressing particular grievances and not at a general revolution.

Vested interests, however, were still strong and intrigued powerfully at court in favour of the old order. Hence frequent clashes occurred between the king and his ministers, in the course of which the devotion to the cause of monarchy gradually waned. The attempted flight of the king and queen to the frontier on June 20, 1791, increased the popular dissatisfaction; although the king took the oath to the new constitution, no one really trusted him afterwards.

In the National Assembly the aristocracy and the upper middle class predominated; its tone was Whiggish. The



ABOLITION OF FEUDAL RIGHTS BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

August 4, 1789, is a notable date in the history of the French Revolution, for on that night the National Assembly in session at Versailles liberated land and labour by suppressing personal servitude; abolished all the privileges hitherto enjoyed by the nobility and clergy, and proclaimed equality amongst all Frenchmen—decrees presently ratified by the king with a very ill grace. The scene at this memorable session is the subject of this picture by Charles Monet, engraved by Helman.

*Bibliothèque Nationale*



#### EMANCIPATION OF THE PRESS UNDER THE REVOLUTION

Article eleven of the Constitution of 1791 declared the free interchange of thoughts and opinions to be one of the most precious rights of man and gave every citizen liberty to say, write and print what he pleased, subject only to legal responsibility for specified abuses. A host of newspapers immediately appeared, some of them obtaining a large circulation. This amusing coloured engraving shows the enthusiasm with which people rushed to shout the praises of their favourite journal.

*From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

Legislative Assembly was more middle class and its tone was more liberal, verging on radicalism. During its continuance the difficulties multiplied; party conflict became more acute; the emigration of the nobility began; the conflict with the Church gave a handle to the reactionaries; at the same time the lower classes demanded a greater share in the government and also immediate remedies for their economic sufferings.

Among the first decrees of the National Assembly were those abolishing the censorship and permitting full association. Immediately a flood of newspapers and periodicals appeared, advocating all kinds of views, both revolutionary and reactionary, and indulging at times in scandalous personalities. Journalism, thus released

from bondage, united the irresponsibility of the old times with the impunity of the new, and, until the muzzling of the press under Napoleon, exerted a great influence on the passage of events.

A still greater influence was exercised by the clubs and societies that sprang up at the same time, at first for discussion of political and social principles, but developing later into political organizations. Under the Legislative Assembly and the Convention every party in the assembly had its meeting place outside where public opinion was largely made. The orators of the party harangued their supporters among the general public; the latter discussed measures and events with the deputies and frequently brought strong pressure to bear on them. The clubs

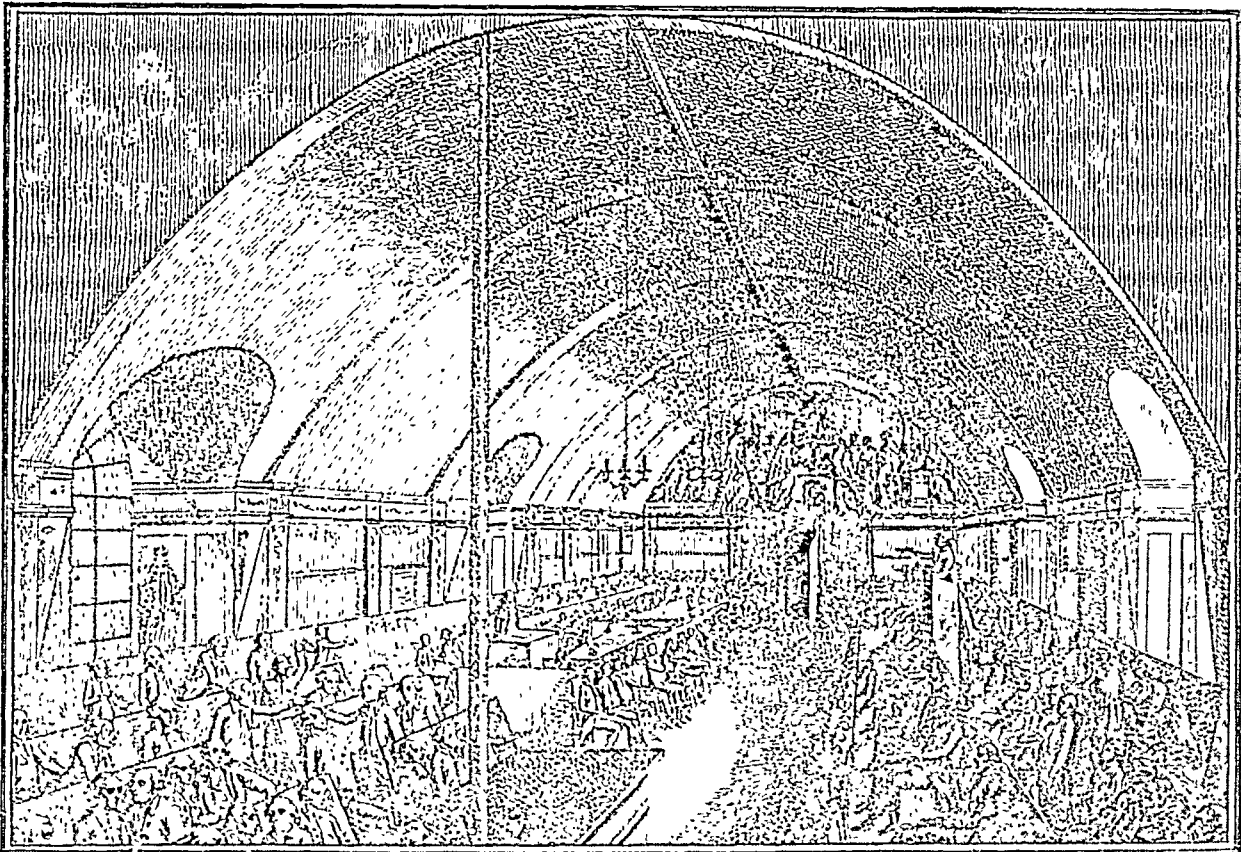
played an important part in the riots and insurrections that marked the course of the Revolution. Most famous of the clubs was that of the Jacobins, the party of the ultra democrats, among whose leaders were Danton and Robespierre, and which was in power during the Terror.

In the Convention two parties faced each other: the Jacobins and the Girondins. The former, although it counted among its adherents successful lawyers like Danton and soldiers of the old regime like Lazare Carnot, was mainly the party of



the urban working class and the 'petits gens'; the latter was mainly the party of the well-to-do and of the peasants, drawing its chief strength from the provinces and enjoying the support of the bulk of professional and business men. Between them were the deputies of the Plain, the inert, unorganized majority of the house, swayed now to the right, now to the left.

The Girondins were as good republicans as the Jacobins, but they hated the Commune and distrusted Paris; also they lacked cohesion and were not ruthless enough. The Jacobins believed



MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION

Jacobin was an old name for the Dominican Order and was adopted by a political society that met at the Dominican Convent in the Rue St. Honoré. At first the Jacobins were constitutional monarchists and styled themselves 'Friends of the Constitution,' but by 1791 they had become extreme republicans. This engraving by Aubry after Van Gorp shows the club in session. Above, a Jacobin with the club regalia—a vigilant eye embroidered on his cap and a bell to sound the alarm.

*Bibliothèque Nationale and (top) from Oncken, 'Zeitalter der Revolution'*

that without the Commune the Republic could not survive; and that to save the fruits of Revolution a temporary dictatorship was necessary; they therefore sent the Girondins to the guillotine and shortly afterwards set up the government of the Terror.

It is impossible to understand fully the events of the French Revolution without taking into account the influence exerted by the populace of Paris. In Paris there was a large working-class population, especially in the 'faubourgs' (suburbs), employed in a number of small industries that were attracted to the capital; transport also gave employment to a considerable number of persons as porters, carters, etc. Although industries existed elsewhere in the country, nowhere else was there a working-class population so concentrated and so capable of exerting a definite influence, as a class, on affairs. This class—not only wage-earners but small masters as well—tended to be extremely democratic. They were called, from their ragged trousers, 'sansculottes'. This term, originally given in derision, they adopted themselves and gloried in.

The elected municipality ('commune'), which Paris acquired as one of the earliest fruits of the Revolution, was a rallying point for the democratic faction. Nearly always more extreme than the various assemblies, in which peasant and middle-class influence predominated, the Commune of Paris exerted a continual leftward pressure upon the government and was closely associated with the popular risings that marked the course of the Revolution. Eventually, after the reaction of Thermidor, it was suppressed, and Bonaparte with a few field-guns taught the insurrectionists of the faubourgs that they



TYPE OF THE SANSCULOTTES

Sansculottes, meaning 'without breeches,' was the scornful name given to the proletariat, who adopted it and gave it a sinister significance. The painting by Boilly after which this is an engraving is entitled 'Le Porte-drapeau de la Fête Civique.'

British Museum



A COMMUNIST CONSPIRATOR

The policy of practical socialism advocated by the French revolutionary Gracchus Babeuf, born in 1760, was exceptional at this time. He was executed for conspiracy in 1797.

From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'

could no longer make and unmake governments. It must not be thought, however, that the influence of the working class was socialistic. Ultra-democratic it was, and, as shown by its support of the law of the maximum and of the decree against profiteers, not particularly tender to property rights; but their demands were rather political than economic—the wage-earner was too near the small master, both socially and historically, for him to organize as a wage-earner or to adopt a collectivist view of property. The conspiracy of Babeuf (May, 1796) appears to be an exception to this; the inner circle of the

conspirators was called the Society of the Equals,' and Babeuf advocated co-operation, community of goods and equality of wealth; but it is doubtful whether more than a handful of persons shared his views at the time.

Under the stress of war, foreign and internecine, the ruthlessness and lack of constitutional scruple of the Jacobins proved more effective than the high constitutional and republican ideals of the Girondins. Thus the Jacobin party in the

Under the Convention the pacific internationalism and cosmopolitanism of the first period gave way to a militant internationalism that sought to force the principles of the Revolution on the peoples of the world at the point of the bayonet: 'War on tyrants, peace to peoples.'

Liberty, Equality and Fraternity was the slogan of 1793. These words, which to-day are inscribed on every public building in France, require some explanation. To some they seem mere hypocritical rhetoric, to others—especially when written over a prison or a barracks—a piece of savage irony, to others the epitaph of a noble hope. The fact is that they embody a definite political theory and one that has been largely realized in practice. Liberty means the free exercise of certain definite but limited rights: rights of holding property, of trade, of change of domicile, of voting and of eligibility to public office—all subject to certain conditions, but based generally on the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Equality means that the exercise of these rights is the same, the conditions being fulfilled, for all Frenchmen; it does not



#### AUTOGRAPHS OF NOTABLE REPUBLICANS

To meet the menace of the first European Coalition and the Vendéan insurrection, the Committee of Public Safety was formed, April 6, 1793. Above are the signatures on a decree of April 21, 1794, with the official stamp: Collot-d'Herbois, Carnot, R. Lindet, Billaud-Varennes, C. A. Prieur and Barère.

*From Oncken, 'Zeitalter der Revolution'*

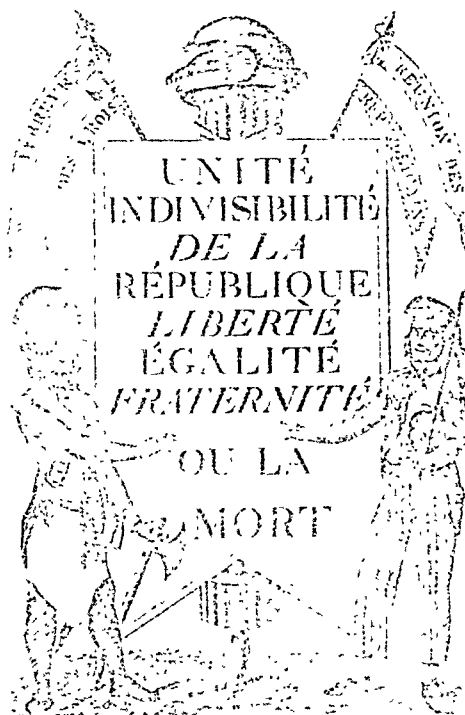
Convention, assisted by pressure from the Commune of Paris and the clubs throughout the country, were suffered to dominate the Convention and to set up the emergency government known as the Terror. The Committee of Public Safety was entrusted with the executive government and given dictatorial powers. Under it were the Committee of General Security and the Revolutionary Tribunal, for the searching out and trial of political offences. In every district revolutionary committees were organized, under the local Jacobins. The Convention sent representatives on mission' to the armies and into the provinces—trusted members of the dominant party who kept a watchful eye on generals of suspected loyalty—or organized local committees and tribunals to stamp out counter-revolution.

mean the equality of wealth, but it does mean the equality of status and of opportunity, so far as this is compatible with the institutions of private property and of capitalistic enterprise; it means the abolition of privileged classes. Fraternity is not a mere sentimental phrase; it is an expression of the national unity, the abolition of local privileges, of internal tariff boundaries, of diverse codes of law.

It is of this time that most people think when the Revolution is mentioned. It is the heroic period of the Revolution, in which events seem more sublime and the actors in them of greater stature than in common times. This is largely an illusion—in the midst of the Terror men and women went about their ordinary affairs, adjusting themselves to hunger and danger as they do every day in face

of unemployment or of a colliery explosion. Men worked at their trade, when work was to be had. Women kept house and cooked, grumbling at the shortage of food and at standing in queues for bad bread and oil. Men and women married, children were born and brought up. But against the background of common events there stood out a number of great characters (see the following chapter) and heroic deeds such as we seek in vain during the days of self-satisfied progress and reform that went before, or during the period of greed and baseness that came after this period.

Mean intrigues, profiteering and profligacy

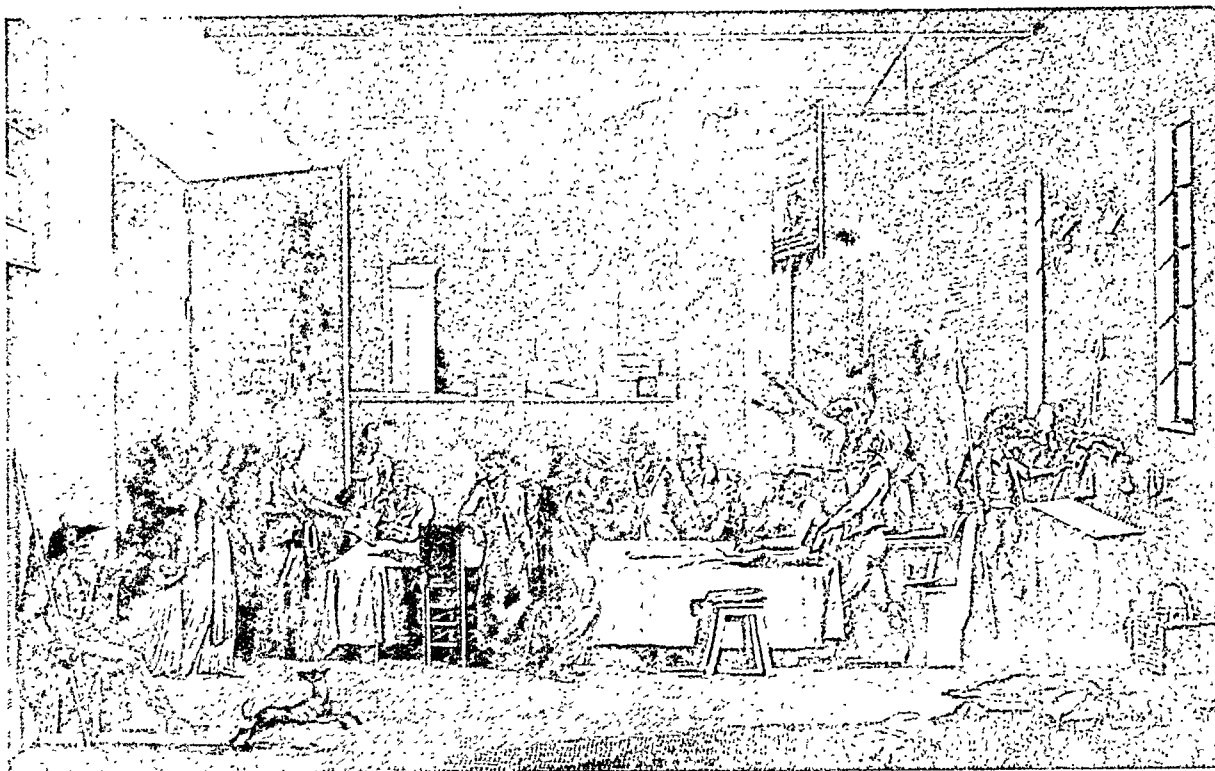


REVOLUTION POSTER

Officially issued placards like this were pasted on the walls of many houses during the Revolution to proclaim the loyalty of the inmates to the cause of the Republic One and Indivisible.

*From Oncken 'Zeitalter der Revolution'*

went on, as before and after. Some men were cowards or time-servers, then as always. But these things were crowded into the background by the epic struggle of the Revolution at grips with her enemies. Between the insurrection of August, 1792, and the fall of Robespierre in July, 1794, the state passed through a series of crises that were reflected in the life of the people. Continual effort was required for mere self-preservation; levies of volunteers, requisitions of goods, rationing of food, constant sessions of the revolutionary committees were required everywhere to administer a broken-down state



SESSION OF A REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE UNDER THE TERROR

In July, 1793 the first Committee of Public Safety assumed central authority with dictatorial powers. Its organization included the Committee of General Security and the arbitrary Revolutionary Tribunal, and in the departments its orders were executed by representatives 'on mission' and by revolutionary committees under local Jacobins. This engraving after the younger Fragonard shows one of these committees in session, about to interrogate a citizen whose loyalty to the Revolution is suspect.





#### CIVIL UNIFORMS OF OFFICIALS OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

No less than the monarchy did the Republic prescribe official costume for its civil functionaries. At the top (left) Barras is presented in full dress as president of the Directory; beside him is a representative of the people, drawn by David, his cloak embroidered with that designation and with the motto of the Republic. The figures below show the working attire of a municipal official, by David, and (right) his full dress—grey overcoat, yellow waistcoat and breeches, and tricoloured hat and scarves.

*Musée Carnavalet and (top left) from Barras, 'Memoirs'*



machinery and make it go by sheer hard work and determination. Whatever the smaller men may have done, few of the leaders made any personal profit out of it; the difficulties and dangers of office were too great for a man to seek them for the sake of feathering his nest.

But the bulk of the people showed the same devotion. The self-constituted executioners who carried out the September massacres did not rob the prisoners they killed. The army of

Devotion to the  
Common Cause  
Sambre-et-Meuse, com-  
posed two-thirds of new  
volunteers, bare-foot and  
in rags in the winter of 1792-3, hungry  
and without proper stores, was encamped  
in the midst of the fairest and richest  
cities of the Belgic Netherlands without  
looting or molesting the civil population.  
Fanaticism and cruelty there were, but  
even the cruelty of the Terror was less  
than that of the ancien régime. The  
drownings at Nantes and the shootings  
at Lyons were quicker and less agonising  
than breaking on the wheel. Nowhere  
was torture used for the examination of  
suspects, although the king's government  
had given it up only thirteen years before.

Profiteering, speculation and bribetaking were rife and furnished much of the wealth that blossomed forth under the Directory, but under the Convention the influence of the sansculottes was so strong that there was little occasion to spend it. Ostentation in dress brought suspicion of being an 'aristocrat'—a term soon applied to anyone of wealth or position. People dared not be seen in a private carriage. Entertainment, even of the simplest sort, almost ceased, because gatherings of people might conceal a plot. Republican simplicity and equality required the use of 'tu' instead of the polite 'vous' of the upper classes. 'Monsieur' and 'madame' were banned in favour of 'citoyen' and 'citoyenne.'

The cessation of the causes that had produced the Terror brought it to an end. The arms of the Republic victorious, her territory free from invasion, the revolted towns and departments crushed, the country felt relieved from the immediate dangers that had needed such extraordinary measures to combat them. As

soon as the dictatorship became unnecessary it became unpopular. The well-to-do and middle classes, whose influence had given way, at the fall of the Gironde, to that of the 'bas peuple,' began to reassert themselves. Although the Jacobins had shown as much respect, on paper, for the rights of property as their opponents, they had in practice requisitioned goods and manufacturing undertakings for war purposes, passed the law of the maximum, and guillotined speculators; the propertied classes could not feel safe under a government that had the support of the poorest sections of the people. As soon, therefore, as the main work of the Revolution was accomplished and made secure—that is to say, when the middle classes had civil and political rights and freedom of trade, when the peasants had the land and when the restoration of the old regime by foreign armies had been made impossible—the reaction set in. The moderate republicans, representative of the wealthier middle classes and the newly enriched (these formed the upper classes, since the virtual extinction of the noblesse), took the helm. Men were republican still, but distrusted the democracy, especially the sansculottes of Paris.

From the end of the Terror the tone of public life changed. The men of the Revolution—Girondins, Jacobins, followers of Danton, of Robespierre and of other and fiercer apostles of violence—had wiped each other out; the Revolution had devoured her children. There followed a generation of lesser men who had known how to save their skins while the Titans battled. To the dictatorship of the Jacobins and the violence of the mob succeeded the plutocratic oligarchy of the Directors and the violence of the 'jeunesse dorée.' The latter term was applied to young men of the wealthy classes who, clad in the height of fashion and armed with cudgels or muskets, amused themselves with the pursuit and beating of suspected Jacobins, or organized themselves into bands to resist the insurrectionists from the working-class faubourgs.

Republican simplicity of dress and manners gave way to every kind of

Reaction from  
extremism

extravagance and ostentation. Once more people dared to ride in their carriages and give entertainments in style. Never were theatres more popular or cafés more frequented. Fashions of dress, for both sexes, were exaggerated and fantastic. The admiration of classical models brought the simple flowing dress for women that is known as 'Directoire' style; as if to emphasise their break with the traditions of the old system they abandoned stays and petticoats and appeared in clinging, sheath-like garments, that vied with one another in revealing their wearers' persons, with low-cut bosoms and infinitesimal sleeves. It was a favourite amusement to weigh a woman's clothes—shoes and all could be ex-

pressed in ounces. A really fashionable woman wore a single semi-transparent garment with flesh-coloured drawers beneath it. This was the time at which it was said that the rule of the 'sans-chemises' had replaced that of the 'sans-culottes.' For women, in spite of their lack of political rights, played a great part in politics. Nearly all the politicians of the time were greatly influenced by their wives or mistresses. Barras, the man who dominated this period, acted like a sultan; he had a continual succession of women, but he simply used them for his pleasure, without letting them meddle with his affairs. Even when he had tired of them he would still make use of them by giving them as a reward



#### FREED FROM THE TERROR, FRENCH LIFE RESUMES ITS LOST GAIETY

By 1797, when Desrais painted this picture, engraved by Voysard, fashionable men and women in France had resumed their pre-revolution pleasures. This scene is an outdoor café in the Boulevard des Italiens where gallant young men, affecting broad-brimmed hats worn at an angle, exchange pleasantries with ladies who can dare once more to wear fashionable gowns without fear of arrest as 'aristocrats.' Top: an elaborate Revolutionary coiffure of about 1793, typical of fashion's exaggeration.

*Bibliothèque Nationale*

to his faithful lieutenants. One of these pages of the sultan's favour was Josephine Beauharnais, wife of General Bonaparte. Divorce, which had been permitted by the National Assembly, now became extremely easy; it makes one almost dizzy to try to follow the changes of partners among the prominent people of the period. If the distinction between wife and mistress became practically obliterated among the plutocracy, so did that between the girl of assured social position and the *fille-de-joie*. Theatres and restaurants provided discreet retiring rooms of which both men and women of the new fashionable world availed themselves with equal shamelessness. There was a general relaxation of morals—or perhaps it would be more correct to say that people became for a time unashamed of their actions and did openly what they had done before and were to do again under a cloak of conventional correctitude.

In public life corruption ceased to hide its head. Officials of all kinds took bribes openly. Since the repeal of the maximum

and the substitution of  
Corruption under the Directory contracting for requisitioning of war supplies, mercantile activity revived, but business and politics were intimately commingled. No government of France has been more corrupt than that of the Directory. Speculators, contractors and members of the government alike flaunted their newly acquired wealth in the theatre, at the gambling table or on the backs of their wives and mistresses.

Equally corrupt was the change in public opinion on international affairs. After the political reaction a blatant imperialism became dominant; victories were welcomed at home not because of the liberation of peoples from the yoke of tyrants, but because of the relief to taxation afforded by military requisitions.

The Consulate and the Empire, although they completed the destruction of democracy, did restore order into the various departments of public life. The administration was purified and made more efficient; taxes were collected with regularity; economic life, in spite of the continual state of war, became steadier and healthier; manufactures developed,



#### DANDYISM IN DIRECTORY DAYS

Under the more tolerant regime of the Directory, young men of aristocratic tendencies blossomed forth into an eccentricity of foppish attire. They became known as the *Incroyables* and their feminine counterparts as the *Merveilleuses*.

*From a drawing by Carl Vernet; Musée Carnavalet*

and with a stable currency trade flowed in regular channels. Military glory and the prospects of lucrative war contracts reconciled the upper classes to the total loss of political rights. The external seemliness of family life was better preserved, especially after the Concordat with the Catholic Church; facilities for divorce were lessened and women were put into the subordinate place that is theirs in a military despotism. Napoleon's court, although vulgar and full of intrigue, was less marked by open scandal than that of Barras and Mme. Tallien. Under an efficient police the theatres and places of public resort in Paris became more orderly and decent.

We are now in a position to ask ourselves what the French Revolution did for France and for the world.

In France much of the work of the Revolution survived the Restoration—in particular the suppression of the inequality of the orders and the new distribution of property consequent on the sale of the national domain. Under Louis XVIII 'all Frenchmen are equal before the law.' The price at which the country, tired after years of toil and tumult, accepted the return of the Bourbons was that the



acquisitions of the peasants and the middle class should be left untouched.

The revolutionary idea, first of the Revolution's legacy to France, is an intangible but nevertheless very real thing that has had a profound influence on French life and thought ever since 1789. It may be divided into two parts, the idea of democracy and the idea of revolutionary action, the idea for which the Revolution existed and the idea by means of which it strove to realize itself. The idea of democracy has two components, that of freedom and that of equality, both of which can be expressed as an assertion of certain rights—the rights of man. In the possession of rights which he can assert as against all others, even against the state, a citizen is free; in the possession of the same rights as every other citizen he is equal to every other citizen. This sense of the importance and of the equal importance of every member of the community is very strong in France.



#### FANTASTIC SIMPLICITY OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The influence of classical models is revealed in the fashions in France towards the end of the eighteenth century. Jacques-Louis David's portraits, exhibited in 1795, of Madame Seriziat (left) and her husband, show the trend towards simplicity of line, while yet preserving elegance. The portrait of Lucien Bonaparte's first wife (top), painted by Jean Antoine Gros, about 1800, gives an example of the extreme produced by the classical cult when women reduced their garments to a minimum.

*The Louvre; photos, Giraudon and Archives photographiques*

The Revolution certainly failed to establish democracy in France immediately. From the establishment of the Committee of Public Safety the government ceased to be democratic in form, and from the fall of Robespierre it ceased to be democratic in substance. After the Restoration of the Bourbons political power remained in the hands of a small propertied class, although it was extended in 1830. Under the Second Empire democracy again disappeared, but the Third Republic established universal suffrage and such liberty of speech and of the press as was necessary to make it effective. It is quite fair to say that the Third Republic owes its existence to the Revolutionary idea, which, since 1789, has never been extinguished in France and has striven steadily towards fulfilment; 1871 saw the realization of the hopes of 1789, although not those of 1793. Since 1871 the French people have lived under a stable government and have shown themselves resolved to conserve the political rights they have won. Hence we can say that, with certain qualifications in view of centralised administration and the predominance of the propertied interests, the Revolution has succeeded in establishing democracy in France.

With a few exceptions, civil rights are as well secured in France as they are in any other country in the world. Freedom of printing and discussion is permitted to an extent that surprises the Englishman, and of the Press whose expression of opinion is moderated by laws of libel, blasphemy and sedition. This is especially true of matters involving the social and ethical prejudices of the majority of people. On these topics there is far greater liberty of the press than in England. Many serious literary works have to be printed in France and smuggled into Great Britain because some prurient official considers them obscene. It is true that police regulations do not permit anyone who likes to address the public from a soap-box in the Champs Elysées, but 'affiches' are striking and outspoken, and the citizen in search of disputation may go to a 'réunion contradictoire' and say the most appalling things about members of the government.

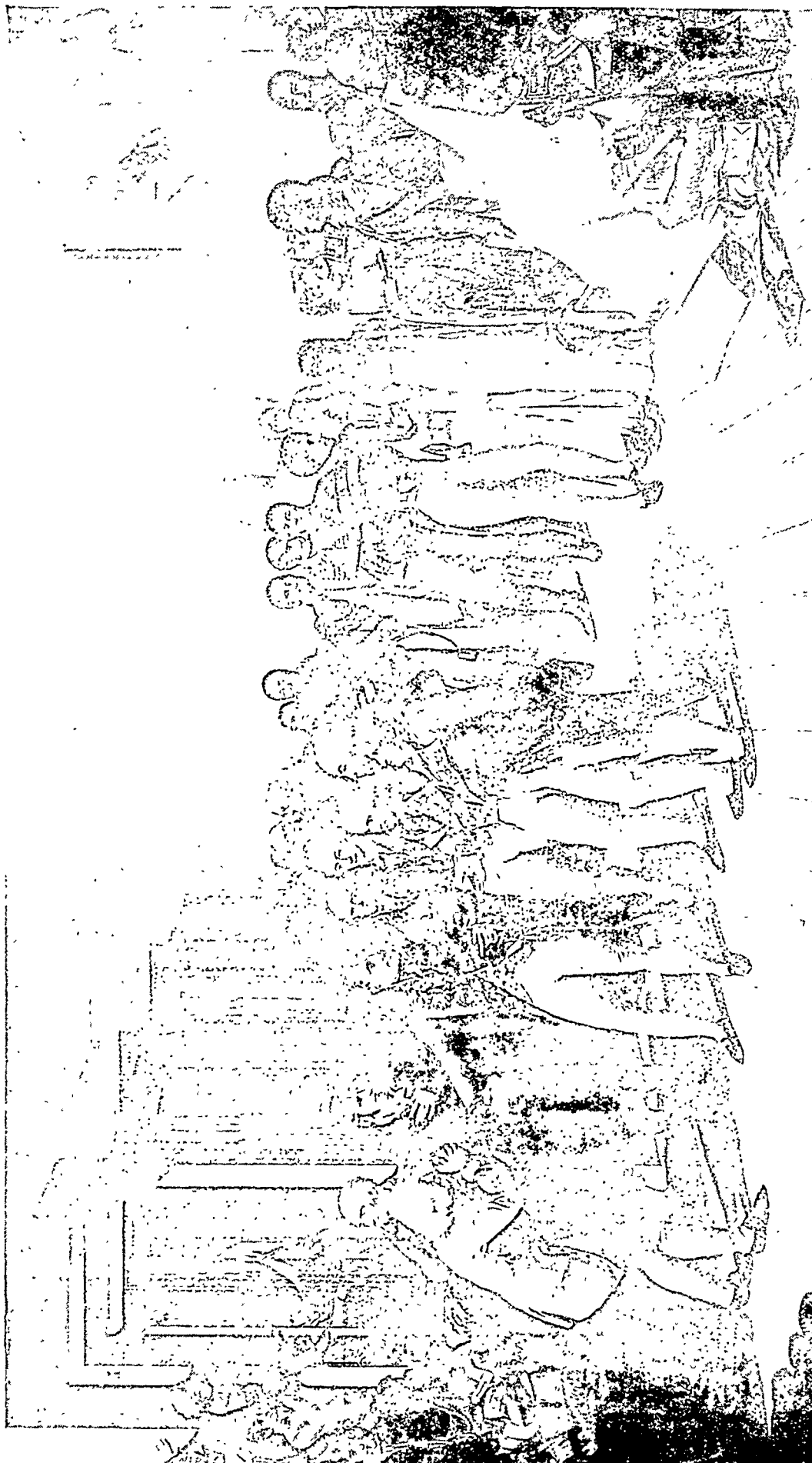
Miscarriages of justice occasionally occur, such as the Dreyfus case; but in what other country, except perhaps Great Britain, would Dreyfus ever have been rehabilitated?

Liberty of association was for long the only important right withheld from the citizen. This was a relic of Jacobin extreme state sovereignty, which would tolerate no social organism that did not owe its being to the state or that made a claim to the citizen's loyalty in competition with the state, a relic kept alive by the bourgeoisie's fear of another Commune or another Conspiracy of the Equals. Trade unions are permitted, but they are still far from enjoying the freedom they have in Great Britain even since the Trade Union Act of 1927. Organizations of state employees and railwaymen particularly are under legal restrictions.

The second part of the revolutionary idea is the idea of revolutionary action. The glamour of the epic period 1792-4 has been strong in

French democratic circles; in every Revolutionary Action crisis, internal and external, men's thoughts have reverted to the examples of the Convention, the Committee of Public Safety and the Paris Commune. This has spread from the democratic to the socialist movement; the ideal of French socialism has been the constitution of 1793 followed by a socialist Convention and Committee of Public Safety that would bring about the new social order by a series of laws backed by vigorous but constitutional action: a political revolution followed and completed by a social revolution (La sociale).

Another legacy is national unity. The Revolution broke down barriers of province and class and fused all Frenchmen into one nation and one order. The work of making a nation out of a congeries of provinces had been begun by the monarchy but could never be completed by it since, in order to maintain the basis of its own power, it had to preserve local differences and privileges. So thoroughly was the nation made one in the years 1789-1795 that Alsace, latest of acquisitions of the French crown, German in speech and fundamentally German in sentiment,



THE FIRST CONSUL ENCOURAGES INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT: VISIT OF INSPECTION TO A FACTORY

Under the patronage of Napoleon, the French artist Jean Baptiste Isabey (1767-1855) produced many splendid paintings of his patron's activities, both as First Consul and as Emperor. This picture, painted by Isabey during the First Consulate, represents the visit of Napoleon and Josephine to a factory and the rapturous reception accorded them as they examine and express interest in the exhibits and the processes of production. A prominent feature of Napoleon's domestic policy was his eagerness to promote manufactures, which developed steadily under his fostering care.



because predominantly French and Republican in political sympathy.

Thirdly, the Revolution bequeathed to France a new social system. It suppressed the distinctions between orders and established equality before the law. The fact that the former privileged orders had set themselves against the nation had a still deeper effect. Many lost their lives, still more their property; many returned to their estates demoralised and disorganised by long years of exile; above all, they lost the prestige that in other lands accrues to noble and gentle birth. When they came back in 1814 they were no more the natural leaders of the people; they lived apart from the nation, aliens in the land of their fathers. Thus a large measure of social equality was established. Economic equality, without which social equality is hard put to maintain itself, was favoured by the break-up of the great estates and the consequent establishment of peasant proprietorship and by the new law of inheritance, which promoted the equal division of property between all the children of a family.

The France that emerged from the Revolution was a France in which the bourgeoisie was the predominant class. There was a new upper class of wealthy men: bankers, merchants, contractors

**Predominance of the Middle Class** and manufacturers, forming the haute bourgeoisie; and a large middle class, the bourgeoisie proper, composed of business and professional men, all owning a more or less considerable amount of property in land or in the funds. These two classes have formed the backbone of modern France; they have produced the writers, artists and scientists; from them have been drawn practically all deputies and government officials; they have for over a century exerted the chief influence in the intellectual, economic and political life of the country.

Below them was a peasantry, laborious and parsimonious, having little education, but for the most part owning their own land. Although they formed the numerical majority of the country they were intellectually and politically inarticulate. Then there was the urban working class, a small proportion of the people in 1814,

but growing with the growth of industry. In 1814 they had not recovered from their suppression in 1795-7; they were active in politics again in 1830, 1848 and 1871, but not till later in the history of the Third Republic, with universal suffrage and a restricted right of association, did they become a political power.

This new social structure has given to post-revolutionary France a peculiar stability, in spite of repeated political revolutions. The bourgeoisie and the peasantry have been a conservative force in everything affecting property and social, as distinct from political, institutions. In spite of the distinct cleavage between the working class and the rest, there is more of the sentiment of social equality, as evinced by the people's manners and modes of intercourse, in modern France than in any other large European country.

Fourthly, there is the reformed legal and administrative system. The Revolution gave France a new and simple code **Administrative and of law, a system of Legal Reform** administration and a system of national education, all of them for the time cheap and efficient. That this is not the aspect which strikes even French observers to-day is due to the fact that other countries have since improved their systems still further and also to the fact that France has developed into a great industrialised and specialised nation, to whose needs the legal and administrative system of a homogeneous agricultural and small-scale trading economy is hardly adequate. But in 1830, for instance, the judicial and administrative machinery of Great Britain was chaotic, slow, dear and inefficient in comparison with that of France.

It is interesting to note that in spite of great reforms much of the old system was carried over into the new. This is especially true of the worst aspects of the new system. Extreme centralisation is one of the vices of present-day France, as it was of the ancien régime. The immediate effect of the Revolution was the complete decentralisation of local government—the commune and the department became practically self-governing bodies, but with the reaction came the appointment of préfets



and sous-préfets, each with full executive power in his department or arrondissement.

The makers of the French Revolution envisaged a community of citizens to whom the state would guarantee the enjoyment of equal rights; they supposed, without having a definite theory on the subject, an approximate equality of economic status. The community would contain peasants, artisans, merchants and professional men; but they would all, having equal rights, have equal bargaining powers. With the disappearance of privileged orders and corporations competition would tend to prevent the emergence of great inequalities of wealth. They did not foresee the development of transport due to the steamship and the railway, the growth in the scale of manufacturing due to machinery, the use of large capital both in manufacture and in commerce and the consequent growth in the scale of business. They did not realize the possibility that businesses, without any aid from the state, might become monopolies and be in a position to control the life of the community. Nor could they know that the growth of large capital would turn the artisan manufacturer into a mere proletarian—a worker for wages without any chance of becoming a master—and a large industrial proletariat would create associations of labourers that also would come in time to wield power over the community.

The fact that the social order of present-day France, although based on the institutions created by the Revolution, is very

different from what the makers of it thought they were creating, and the fact that since the Revolution new institutions have been evolved to meet problems and conditions then unknown, should not obscure for us the importance of the work of the French Revolution.

Lastly, there is the legacy of an enduring quarrel with the Church. We have already mentioned how the Revolution came into conflict with the Church. The effects of this conflict have lasted for over a hundred years and are not yet effaced, although to-day the old enmity is not so bitter. The Church has taken up an attitude of hostility

to the Republic and to everything it stands for; the Republicans have become anti-clericalists. Two traditions, each deeply enwoven into the national life, have been at variance, and therefore each has contributed less than its best to that life. Especially has the quarrel left its trace on education, which, as elsewhere, has been the cockpit of denominational strife. The Church has struggled to control elementary education the Republicans have striven for the 'école laïque,' that is to say, the secular school. In the struggle education has suffered. Whichever party was in the ascendant, education has been cramped by routine, regulation and centralisation.

The last and most difficult task remains: to say what the French Revolution did for the world.

Two great traditions and several lesser traditions have been handed down to the world by the French Revolution. The two great traditions are democracy and nationalism. Democracy This is not to say that & Nationalism these ideas were originated by the Revolution—there was democracy before 1789 and nationality before 1793—but the form in which they were to be important during the nineteenth century was given them by the French Revolution.

Democracy we have already discussed. Clustering round the central idea of equal political rights are several other ideas: that of the sovereignty of the people; that of economic freedom, child of the physiocrats; the international idea; and others. Historically rather than logically connected with democracy are the anti-clerical idea and the idea of terrorism, that is to say, of an extraordinary government wielding dictatorial powers in the sole interest of one class, party or ideal.

Nationalism was a less conscious product of the Revolution than democracy. A vague internationalist sentiment coloured the thoughts of the 'philosophes' and of the men of the first two assemblies, as it has those of most democrats and radicals since. But under the stress of common dangers and common tasks the French people acquired a heightened sense of their existence as a nation, which the glamour of the Napoleonic era did much to enhance.

The idea, which might well have been expected to remain a by-product of the Revolution peculiar to the French people, was disseminated with the other ideas of the Revolution. In two ways it spread abroad, both by direct inoculation of the peoples among whom the soldiers of the Revolution campaigned (as the democratic idea was spread), and by a process of opposition by which the peoples who fought the armies of the Revolution gained, in fighting, a sense of their national unity.

All subsequent political thought has been affected by these two great traditions.

Broadly, Liberalism has adopted the first, with most of its concomitants, and Conservatism has adopted the second. Thus Liberalism embodies the democratic idea and that of economic freedom, to a less extent the international idea and in many countries the anti-clerical idea. Only, in becoming established, it has shed the idea of terrorism. Conservatism, on the other hand, has adopted the national idea, and has also made selections of parts of the other idea. Thus it emphasises the sovereignty of the state, often divorcing it from the full participation of the citizen in the state, which is its complement. Fascism is a curious blend of the national with the terroristic idea.

Socialism, together with its derivatives Syndicalism and Communism, alone introduces new ideas, although the germs of them can be found among the 'philosophes.' But even Socialism has borrowed largely from the traditions of the French Revolution. Socialism (though not Syndicalism and Communism) has taken over the democratic idea in its entirety. In all its forms it gives strong allegiance to the international idea, and in certain moods leans strongly to those methods of dictatorship that characterised the Terror. The spirit of wholesale innova-

tion, of replanning the whole world and all social institutions on lines of pure reason, has gone over from the Liberal camp to that of the Socialists.

Although the French Revolution did not apparently have much success in its mission of spreading democracy throughout the peoples of the world, its essential ideas won a speedier and a completer victory than most people realize. It is true that after the Congress of Vienna had finished, in 1815, its task of putting back the clock of Europe there remained scarcely a single political democracy in Europe; yet in many countries the basic principle of equality of civil rights had been recognized. In the Netherlands, western Germany and northern Italy the armies of the Revolution swept away the feudal system; it did not return with the kings and the grand-dukes. In Prussia, after 1807, the great ministers Stein and Hardenberg abolished serfdom and the privileges of the towns and corporations, and granted local self-government; other reforms followed which established the reign of law, though



#### THE TRIUMPH OF THE REPUBLIC

The masterpiece of Jules Dalou (1838-1902), a foremost exponent of the spirit of democracy, is *The Triumph of the Republic* in the Place de la Nation, Paris. A symbolical figure of the Republic stands on a car drawn by lions, led by Liberty, attended by Labour and Justice, and followed by Peace

*Photo, Neurdein*

not popular sovereignty. Similar judicial reforms were introduced into most other German states, into the Scandinavian countries, Holland, most Italian states, Spain and Portugal. The 'code civil' was the law of Germany west of the Rhine until the new code of the whole German Empire was introduced in 1910.

Later in the century came the slow development of political democracy: the struggle for constitutions, freedom of speech and of the press, manhood suffrage and local self-government; but the essentials of the liberal state—civil rights of the subject and the rule of law—had already been secured. In 1830 France and Belgium won constitutional government. In 1848 the leaven of revolution wrought mightily in all western European countries: republics were declared everywhere, and it seemed that 1793 had returned. But governments were more efficient and better armed than they had been; everywhere the wave of revolt was broken, but most of the countries of western Europe emerged with some kind of constitution containing a popular element. Between 1866 and 1876 came another wave of radicalism; Italy achieved unity under the comparatively liberal constitution of Sardinia, and in other countries constitutions were amended in the direction of greater liberalism. Only Germany and Austria-Hungary remained without any real guarantees of popular control over the government.

The French Revolution has meant less to the English and Scottish people than to any people in Europe. The chief reason for this is that they had already accomplished the essential task that the French Revolution achieved for France and that still lay before other countries. Hence neither the ideals nor the achievements of the Revolution, which for France were of such supreme importance and which for other countries acted as ringing calls to action, had any significance to the most part of Englishmen and Scotsmen. A few radicals organized 'corresponding societies' in London and the provinces; there was talk about the rights of man. But the propertied classes feared the subversion

of law and order, and the execution of Louis XVI and of Marie Antoinette aroused the loyalty and chivalry of the bulk of the people against revolutionary doctrines. Then England was at war with France, and French doctrines became treason. A generation later the middle classes won the franchise without having to destroy the monarchy.

Poor law, local government, police, civil service, education—all were remodelled to suit the needs of the new era. The driving force behind all this was not the revolutionary idea, but the utilitarian idea, not Rousseau but Bentham, not the rights of man but the greatest good of the greatest number.

Things were different in Ireland. Here the effect of the French Revolution was strong, although the agitations which it begot failed in the face of British military superiority. Both the United Irishmen of 1798 and the Young Ireland movement of 1848 drew their inspiration from the French Revolution.

North America shared the indifference of Great Britain. British America was working out her own destiny on lines similar to those of the mother country. The United States had solved her problems, and although the influence of the 'philosophes' had been strong in 1776, yet by 1789 the new government was so well established that men thought they had nothing more to learn. Like Great Britain, the United States of America followed an independent course of political development during the nineteenth century.

In modern times, however, the study of history has been growing more popular with the English-speaking peoples, and for them the French Revolution has acquired a new interest. Thanks to the researches of modern scholars, mostly French, we can now see it more nearly as it really was, stripped of accidental and unessential happenings; we can trace its origins, discover reasons for its development and survey its effects. It then appears that it is intimately connected with most of the ideas and happenings of the last hundred years, and that no survey of the modern world is complete which ignores the French Revolution.

# THE MEN WHO MADE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Biographical Studies of the mighty Figures that  
tower out of the Welter of France's darkest Days

By EMILE BOURGEOIS D.-ès-L.

Professor of History in the University of Paris; Member of the French Institute;  
Author of *History of Modern France*, etc.

IN his history of the French Revolution, Jules Michelet at one point expresses regret that most of its previous historians—Thiers, Mignet, Lamartine, Louis Blanc, Buchez—had reduced it to a study of dominant and celebrated personalities, instead of representing it as the expression of popular demands and the development and the product of the collective forces of the nation. The destiny of France, in this great crisis which transformed her politically, seemed to him socially to have been wrought only by the people themselves for their own happiness, according to their own aspirations and needs, the great men of the Revolution being the people's servants rather than guides.

Nevertheless, the parts played by the principal actors in the Revolution throw light on its history. They indicate the main currents; they have set their stamp upon its essential stages.

At the outset, Sieyès, Lafayette and Mirabeau were the thought, the action and the eloquence of the French nation, which, having become conscious of its rights and of its self-interest in self-government, entered upon the struggle against the arbitrary power of the crown, which was exercised in the interests of the privileged classes. All three, moreover, were men of action, with different methods and different types of genius.

The abbé Sieyès, who was prevented by bad health from joining the army and making a career for himself in the artillery as Bonaparte did, was forty when Louis XVI decided to hold an assembly of the States-General at Versailles. At the seminaries, at that of St. Sulpice, where his

education was begun, Sieyès had neglected theological studies in order to make a philosophic and political study of social communities and governments in theory and in practice. Early administrative employment in Brittany and at Chartres for the Church, with which the nobility shared the sinecures, bishoprics and rich abbeys, opened his eyes to all the abuses which he denounced on the eve of the summoning of the States-General, in his *Essay on Privileges* (1788). Proceeding from Sieyès' theories effects to their cause, this of government 'Newton in politics,' as Madame de Staël called him, set about demonstrating the fundamental evil of the ancien régime—the absolute sovereignty of a monarchy which, while it claimed to be the personification of the whole people, its rights, its interests and its will, allowed itself and the people to be bound by the 'law' of privilege and of the privileged classes.

When Louis XVI was compelled to grant that people the right to make itself heard in the minutes of its bailiwicks and parishes, all who were not of the privileged classes—the third estate, representing forty million Frenchmen as opposed to two hundred thousand—made known their desire to see the nation constitutionally established, and their right to be the nation. At this point, the unquestionable value of Sieyès lay in his having given to the expression of this desire, to the triumph of this right, a famous formula, a compelling motto: 'What is the third estate? Everything. What has it been? Nothing.' His essay, which appeared in 1789 under that title, was an announcement of the work



#### INFLUENTIAL REVOLUTIONARY THEORIST

Politics interested the abbé Sieyès (1748-1836) more than theology, and his pamphlet on the third estate attracted wide attention. In 1789 he produced his plan for a new constitution. This engraving shows him 'en grand costume' as a member of the Directory, but he did not excel as a practical politician.

*Bibliothèque Nationale ; photo, Giraudon*

that was to be done in the States-General from May 5, 1789; in an assembly that was not to be, as the king supposed, a mere conference of his subjects to deal with the deficit, but an extraordinary assembly, an assembly of the nation: the French democracy organizing itself in order to govern itself.

From announcement Sieyès proceeded to action; a deputy of Paris to the third estate, although an abbé, it was he who called upon the nobility and the clergy, on May 13, to join with the third estate and deliberate as one body. Again, it was he who, after a month of fruitless waiting, induced the deputies of the

popular majority, during the week from June 10 to 17, to proceed to further measures, persuading them that they represented nearly the whole nation, that their assembly ought to call itself national, and that this title gave it the right to act and speak as sovereign, even when dealing with the king. While half the clergy were lending a favourable ear to this appeal, however, Louis XVI found a pretext to close the Assembly Hall, and it was Sieyès who encouraged resistance and proposed that the Assembly should repair to Paris.

In the Hall of the Tennis Courts on June 20, he was one of the first, with the president, Bailly, to take the famous oath drawn up by Mounier and himself, declaring the unanimous intention of the deputies not to dissolve until they had given to the nation the constitution, and the essential, fundamental laws of the system which he had succeeded in substituting for that of despotism and privilege. His work had overcome the resistance of the monarchy and of the court, when, after July 14, the Parisians, his electors, became masters of the Bastille; and especially when, from August 4

onward, the National Assembly voted the abolition of all servitudes and all inequalities between citizens, provinces and towns of France. 'Then,' said André Chenier, 'all men were one in their respect, honour and admiration of the man who ten years later replied to Bonaparte: In 1789 we made the nation.'

The popularity that had been his at the beginning was not maintained during these ten years. He was outstripped by the advance of the Revolution, and disquieted by the popular demands and by the violence of the press, by means of which Marat was already attracting attention to himself, as much as by the

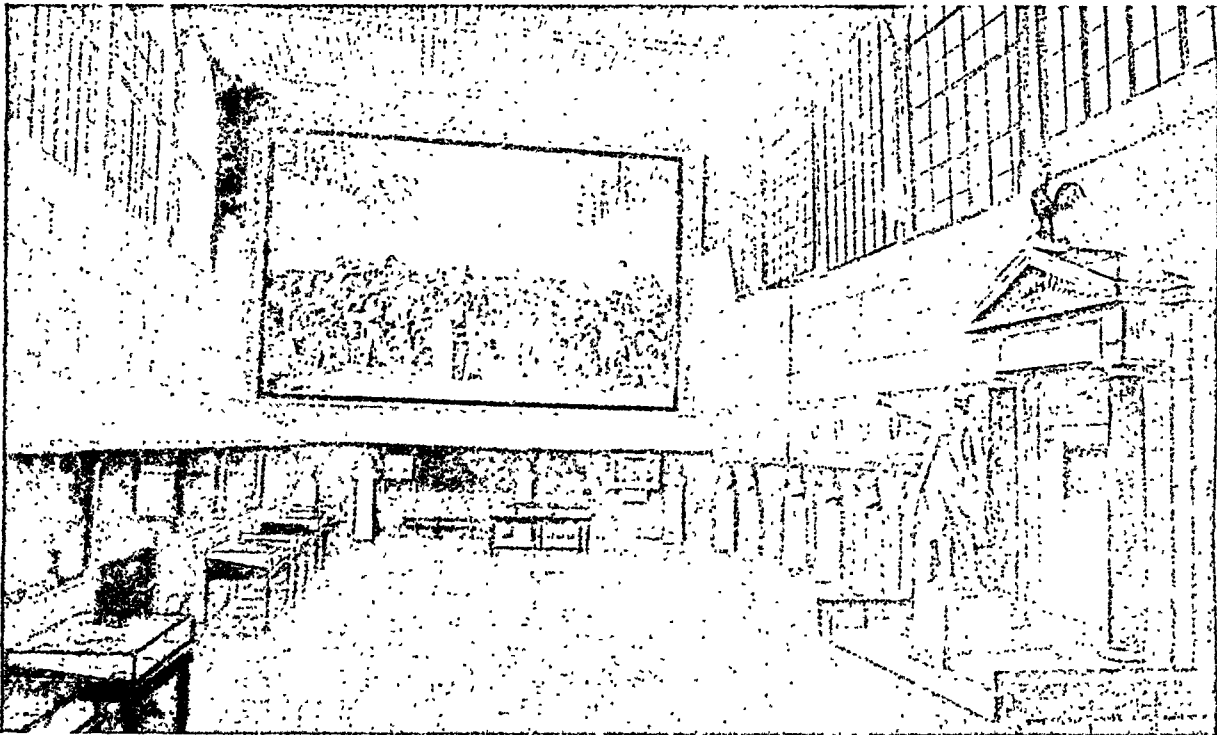
resistance of the privileged classes and the court. Discussion of ideas, except in the committees of the Assembly, to which he submitted many reports, was replaced by a fierce struggle between parties. His purely logical eloquence, his haughty bearing, his annoyance at his failure to make reason triumph over passion, gradually lost him his influence over the public and the Assembly. He criticised the new regime, as he had combated the old. 'They want to be free,' he said in 1700, 'and they do not know how to be just.' Condemning himself to dismissal from 1791 to 1792, he was, however, recalled to the Convention by the electors of three departments; but there was nothing for him to do there until the downfall of Robespierre on the 9th of Thermidor (July 28). The period during the Terror, when he merely 'existed,' paralysed by the violence and crimes that he witnessed, was like a three years' sleep.

But France remembered him. Under the Directory nineteen departments chose him as deputy to the Assembly of the Five Hundred, which, had it not been for his refusal, would have elected him president.

They run after me,' he remarked, with the scorn of a misanthrope for all the welter of ambitions and intrigues in that period of civil discord, laborious reconstruction and unbridled indulgence. Sieyès turned his back upon them until 1799, going on a mission to Berlin to develop vast designs for propaganda and the greatness of France.

Then he 'sought a sword'—Joubert, Augereau and finally Bonaparte—to establish by force, without saying so, a presidentship, a Consulate of which he should be the head, with a general as the arm, victorious at home as abroad. His plan fell to pieces before the master whom he gave himself and France. He definitely retired from affairs, a gilded retirement as senator and Count of the Empire, and then an obscure retirement under the Bourbons, in which he wrapped himself more than ever in silence until he died, in 1836, at the age of eighty-seven.

Thus, having contributed as much as anybody towards giving the French nation the means and the right to govern itself, Sieyès was the principal instigator of the military dictatorship which took



WHERE THE THIRD ESTATE SWORE TO ESTABLISH A CONSTITUTION

Here, in the Hall of the Tennis Court at Versailles, the members of the third estate assembled under the presidency of Bailly and took the oath of June 20, 1789. This oath, drawn up by Sieyès and Mounier, declared that the deputies would not separate until they had given France a constitution. At the far end of the hall is the picture by Jacques Louis David which represents the taking of the famous oath. The court, which was built in 1686, is now a museum.

both away again. At the end of the Revolution he was precisely what he had been at the beginning—the man of the nation, passionately engaged, even at the price of liberty, in compassing that civil equality and national unity which he had achieved for it.

At about the same time, two years earlier, died his slightly younger contemporary, General Lafayette, at the full height of the popularity that he enjoyed throughout the whole of Europe, and outside Europe. The Marquis de Lafayette Noble and rich, allied by marriage at the age of sixteen to the great family of the de Noailles, he had turned his back on the fortune that smiled on him to go (when nineteen years old) to place his sword at the service of the American rebels. He was, before all else, a soldier, dreaming, like all men of his class, of glorious adventures; but his generous nature delighted in the service of liberty against oppression. On two

occasions, in 1779 and again in 1782, when he came back from America, his return was that of a hero, acclaimed at court, in Paris, in the streets and at the theatre. If, as Jefferson said of him, he had a canine hunger for renown and for reputation, 'at twenty-two he had been successful beyond all expectation. His name says everything,' wrote the marquis de Ségur, the minister for war. The name was on every lip.

Henceforward Lafayette was canonised in America and Europe as the hero of liberty triumphant, invested with a 'nobility that obliged' him even more than that to which he had been born; pledged to a career of glory to which his life thereafter was entirely devoted, with the object of bringing to the peoples the benefits which, under the command of Washington, he was able to procure for the Americans. 'My place,' he wrote, 'is on the political bench,' in the provincial assemblies of Auvergne in 1787 or 1788, where he demanded constitutional liberties from the king and from the ministers; in the preliminary meetings of the States-General when the electors chose him as a deputy to the Estate of the Nobles; and in the States-General itself. Prevented at first, by his mandate as deputy of the nobility of Auvergne, from associating himself fully with the third estate in the voting, he was able, after the first defeat of the privileged orders on June 27, to take his place in the first rank of the founders of the new regime.

The nation idolised him. He brought to the Old World from America the inspiration of democracy. On July 11 he proposed to the Assembly a European 'declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen.' On July 13 he became its vice-president. The prospect of being a Washington, for the benefit not of France alone but of the whole of Europe, took shape in his



HEROIC SOLDIER AND STATESMAN

The marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834), popular hero of the American War, was appointed commander of the Parisian National Guard in 1789, when this portrait was engraved. Although a believer in reformist doctrines, his humanity prevented him from supporting the Jacobin policy against Louis XVI in 1792, and the Assembly declared him a traitor.

From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'





#### A BLOODTHIRSTY REVOLUTIONIST

Constant persecution was the lot of Jean Paul Marat (1743-93), whose denunciations of the government appeared in his paper, 'L'Ami du Peuple,' first published in 1789. Attached to no party, he suspected all in authority and was fiercely insistent on the death penalty. Boze painted this portrait.

*Musée Carnavalet, Paris; photo, Bulloz*

imagination. The Belgians fighting against Joseph II, the Irish in rebellion against England, looked to him.

The resistance of the court at this time to reform, which was shown by the dismissal of Necker, gave Lafayette a still more important part to play, in which he achieved greater fame. To break down this resistance, to guarantee that reforms would be carried out and to protect the Assembly, the people of Paris had taken up arms, had constituted itself a Commune and, on July 14, had seized the Bastille with the help of the French Guards. The popular coup d'état inevitably decided the issue between revolutionary and monarchical force, between the nation and the king. In opposition to the King's Guards, to the household soldiery, Paris organized, on July 15, a guard for the nation and its representatives. On July 16, Lafayette, who had come from Versailles with a deputation of the Assembly, was given command of the Parisian National Guard amidst acclamation. Dis-

trustful both of the court and of the ministers, the people placed themselves in his hands with all confidence. In Paris, where he restored order with the assistance of Bailly, whose election as mayor had coincided with his own appointment to command, during three months Lafayette was greater than the king.

He was not the man to be a ringleader of the mob. After July 23 he wished to resign because of its excesses. But it was mortifying to him to abandon his ideals which, on resuming his duties, he formulated on July 31, the occasion being the creation of a tri-coloured cockade, 'that will go round the world, a civic and military institution that will triumph over the tactics of Europe, and will reduce arbitrary governments to choosing



#### FIRST MAYOR OF PARIS

The outbreak of the Revolution interrupted the scientific studies of Jean Sylvain Bailly (1736-93), shown in this portrait attributed to J. F. Garneray. In 1789 he became president of the National Assembly and in 1791 mayor of Paris.

*Musée Carnavalet, Paris*

between being beaten if they do not copy it and overthrown if they dare to do so.' To the people of Paris who had acclaimed him and put him at their head he proceeded to confide the mission that he had given himself on his return from America. This aristocrat, this citizen-general, was a crusader; he preached war against arbitrary monarchies; he prophesied their downfall—in his opinion as certain as that of the English tyranny on the other side of the Atlantic. His faith at the beginning of the French Revolution summed up those sentiments which were to make the nation the champion of a new regime for Europe. But this faith early exposed him to hard contact with the brutal reality of mob fury and individual and collective egoisms.

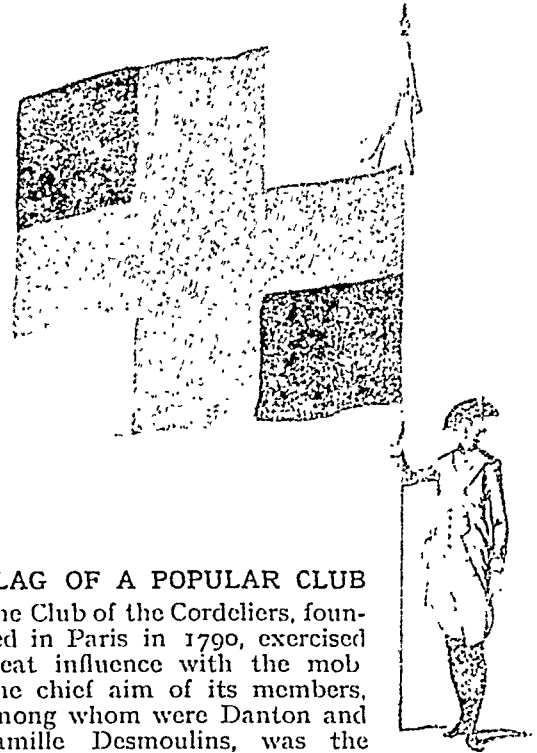


*Je vien des Jacobins,  
tout va bien.*

#### AN UNLIKELY INCIDENT

I come from the Jacobins; all goes well.' This sketch of a triumphant Lafayette saying these words is a satire indeed, for his moderation and loyalty to the royal family precluded all hope of a compromise with the violent Jacobin party.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Hennin Collection*



#### FLAG OF A POPULAR CLUB

The Club of the Cordeliers, founded in Paris in 1790, exercised great influence with the mob. The chief aim of its members, among whom were Danton and Camille Desmoulins, was the establishment of a republic.

On October 5-6, 1789, Lafayette was unable to prevent the populace of Paris, under the malign influence of hunger and dubious leaders, and irritated by the provocations offered by the courtiers of Louis XVI and by his resistance to the new laws, from rushing upon the château of Versailles. All that he could do was to save the king and queen, who were brought back to the Tuileries by the crowd, and he was hereafter shorn of the authority that he considered necessary for the maintenance of order and for the success of the reforms. Thus it was to no purpose that he offered his assistance to Marie Antoinette, and considered making an arrangement with Mirabeau to effect a reconciliation with the Assembly and the nation. The court rebuffed him; Mirabeau frightened him. The Assembly suspended him, by the decree of November 7, from the office in which, with Mirabeau, he might have saved the Commonwealth.

Soon, too, the turbulence of the people, set loose by the press of Marat, Loustalot and Camille Desmoulins, and by the violent appeals of Danton in the Section and at the Club of the Cordeliers, was to affect his influence over the Parisians. This influence was to endure for scarcely

a year—until the fête at the Champ de Mars on July 14, 1790, the fête of the federation of the National Guards of France, whose major-general he was. At this celebration he appeared, veritably deified as the protector of the law, the king and the nation, 'a man without a peer,' wrote Mirabeau, 'not only in Paris, but in the provinces, in the whole of France.' But the term of his popularity was drawing near, coinciding, fortunately for him, with the end of the labours of the Constituent Assembly, which had forbidden its members to appear again in the Assembly that was to succeed it. The flight of the king to Varennes, in which he was a responsible agent, and the massacre at the Champ de Mars on July 17 of citizens who were protesting against the refusal of the Assembly to proclaim the deposition of the king, completely lost the general the affection of the Parisians. He withdrew to Auvergne. His part in politics was ended. That of Danton began.

But from his place of retirement Lafayette became aware of a counter-stroke that fate seemed to be preparing for him. If the people of Paris were no longer for him, the people of France, responding to the appeal of Brissot and the new deputies of the Gironde, at the end of 1791 developed a passionate enthusiasm for war against the tyrants of Europe who were showing favour to the émigrés. Isnard became the preacher to the French of this crusade that was destined to change the face of the Old World by glory, the pen and reason, and Brissot organized it. Was not Lafayette, the 'hero of the Two Worlds' who had predicted it and prayed for it and who had served in it in America, the divinely appointed and glorious leader for it?

On December 14, 1791, Narbonne, minister for war,

forced him upon Louis XVI as the commander of one of the armies of the frontier at Metz. Then, when war had been declared against Austria, whose Belgian subjects he tried in vain to incite to insurrection, the Parisian press and clubs, Marat, Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, in turn declared war against him—war without quarter. Popular with his army, but totally unable, in spite of all his efforts, to give it either the necessary equipment or discipline, Lafayette accepted the challenge of 'the factionists,' as he called them, who belonged to the sect of the clubs and the Jacobins. He came to Paris in the month of June to combat them in the Assembly; and was once again successful, just at the time when the Commune of Paris was preparing the victorious insurrection of August 10 against the monarchy. On hearing of this, anybody but



THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE IN PRISON

After his failure to stem the violence of the Jacobins in 1792, Lafayette rode into the neutral territory of Liège. He was there seized and imprisoned by the Austrians. This contemporary engraving shows him with his captors riveting his shackles upon him. In 1797 he was released by Bonaparte.

*British Museum*

Lafayette would have marched on Paris without delay. The constitution, however, forbade him to use his troops if they were not legally required. He refused to break the law, although it was broken by his enemies, who deprived him of his command and issued a decree of accusation against him. On August 19, 1792, he crossed the frontier. He became the prisoner of the allies, who dragged him from prison to prison in Germany, and finally kept him at Olmutz until 1797, closely guarded and all but maltreated. When his wife, who had been arrested after his flight and destined throughout the Terror for the scaffold, was saved by the Thermidorian reaction, she joined him there, to share his exile bravely. After having been the hero of liberty, Lafayette became its martyr. His prison at Olmutz added a new palm to his glory, and it was awarded to him by Madame de Stael.

In exile, though expelled from the republic, he applauded the success of the republican arms. They realized his dream. In 1798 he wrote to friends in Paris: 'The military glory of our country and her foreign policy are won-

Lafayette's dream of world liberty of the Rhine" delights me, the establishment and the expectations of liberty among the Dutch, the Italians, the Greeks and the Germans are extremely desirable. I think, with Bonaparte, that for Europe to become free it is sufficient that France shall govern herself according to good laws.' Lafayette was not thinking, however, of those which Napoleon gave France two years later. Till 1803 he hoped that this 'restoring' dictatorship would end itself by restoring liberty. He admired Bonaparte as the soldier of the Revolution, which was victorious with him in the struggle against the monarchies of the ancien régime. But, in order not to be a 'renegade,' he would have nothing to do with Napoleon. 'The whole world is reformed,' wrote Napoleon in 1812. 'Lafayette alone is not. He has not yielded an inch. He is ready to begin all over again.'

And he did indeed begin all over again, fighting not against Napoleon but against the Bourbons, and especially, after 1815, against the reactionary policies of the

absolute monarchies, which he believed they abetted and profited by. It was as much on behalf of the oppressed nations of Europe as on behalf of his own country, menaced by the restoration of the ancien régime, that he pleaded in the Chambers of Louis XVIII, and it was their cause that he served to the extent of conspiring with the republicans and the carbonari. The measures employed by Villèle against the liberal opposition, however, estranged him from the Chambers. He took advantage of the occasion to go to America in order to revisit his friends, on the urgent invitation of President Monroe, who had just compelled the European powers to recognize the right of the South American republics to their freedom.

Lafayette's steadfast faith in the emancipation of peoples was renewed and reinvigorated by the enthusiastic welcome that he received, accompanied by a magnificent gift. 'Hero of President Quincey Adams, Both Worlds' bidding him farewell on his departure on September 7, 1829, said to him: 'If in days to come a Frenchman is asked to illustrate the character of his nation by indicating that of an individual of the era in which we are living, he will pronounce the name of Lafayette.' Since 1789 he had indeed personified, even in his faults, his triumphs and his reverses, the France which had pursued, and which was again to pursue, the hope of changing the old Europe in accordance with the ideal that had been realized in America.

On his return, while he was passing across France, which was bitterly opposed to the arbitrary rule of Charles X and his ministers, Lafayette, now seventy years old, did not hesitate to appear again. Acclaimed in all the towns as 'the hero of Both Worlds,' he completely regained his former popularity. During the eventful days of July, 1830, he found himself, as he had been fifty years before, invested with what was virtually a moral and political dictatorship, although there was no official warrant for the existence of any such thing. Memories of the Terror, which still haunted the minds of the French, made him averse from re-establishing the Republic, of which he would certainly

have been president. He founded a new monarchy by embracing Louis Philippe on the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville. But he forthwith turned his back on it as soon as he perceived that the new king refused to expedite the consequences of the Revolution in Belgium, in Italy and in Poland. Faithful to his proud dream of disseminating democratic teaching throughout the Old World, Lafayette never forgave Louis Philippe his policy of maintaining discreet relations with the monarchies, for in it he saw the undoubted failure of France's mission. He resigned the command of the National Guards, to remain a 'national guard of Warsaw,' a citizen of the United States and deputy of Auvergne until the day of his death. At the age of seventy-seven he died peacefully in the arms of his son.

If Lafayette loved popularity and glory before all else, he was probably satisfied, for they came to him early, and, in spite of periods of eclipse, remained with him for more than half a century. No sovereign ever received more homage in his lifetime, and the tributes that were showered upon him from both sides of the Atlantic gave him a foretaste of the judgement of posterity. He personified, even in his illusions and his hesitations, his enthusiasms and his recoils, the generous tendencies of the French people, its outbursts of sympathy for and faith in sister nations, and all that was spiritual in the Revolution. In that great age Lafayette figures as a knight of liberty and a herald. Seeds and sowers are judged by the harvests.

It is curious that the most distinguished of the men who declared war on privilege and the privileged orders in 1789 should have belonged to the nobility or the clergy—the abbé Sieyès, the marquis de

Lafayette and the comte de Mirabeau. Of these three men, the one who played the shortest but the most brilliant part was, to quote Goethe's words, 'that miracle Mirabeau'—he took the lead in the third estate to ensure its victory, and was one of the greatest orators in the whole world. It was indeed a miracle that the tribune of France, which had been silent for centuries, should see the rise of so many orators of talent and, at the beginning, in the earliest political assemblies one orator of genius.

When the comte de Mirabeau appeared in the Chamber of the Estates on May 5,



LEADER OF THE THIRD ESTATE

Couderc's painting shows the comte de Mirabeau, aristocratic leader of the third estate in 1789. His ideal was a strong constitutional government, but the suspicious attitude of the court estranged him. Elected president of the National Assembly in February, 1791, he died in April of that year.

Musée de Versailles; photo. Neurdein



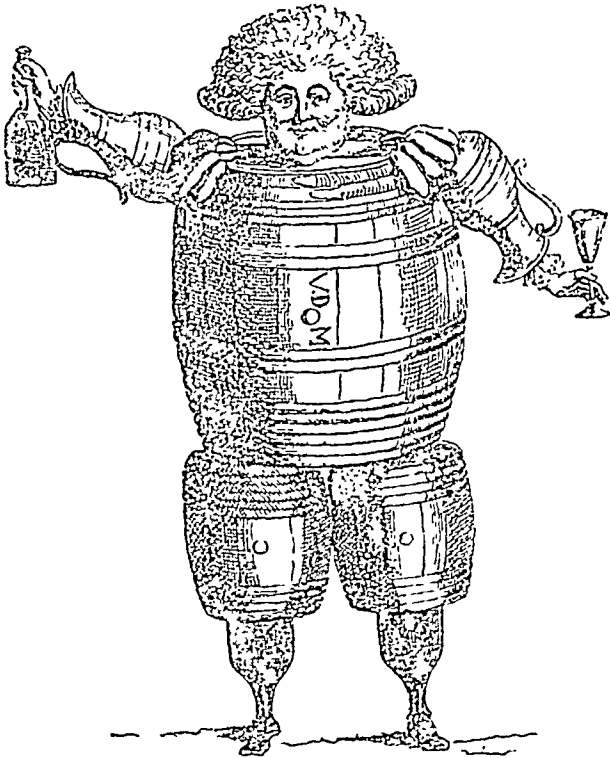
1789, a representative of the third estate whom the nobility of Provence, his native province, had refused to admit, he had been well known for more than ten years, but more because of the scandals of his youth, his debts, his licentious love affairs, his duels and his law suits, his imprisonments and his squabbles with his family than because of his success as a writer and pamphleteer. His reputation, although it was already great, was of the wrong kind; it was disquieting. Although the age had shown itself indulgent towards libertinism and dissipation, towards mental and literary excesses, Mirabeau's life sufficiently explained the coldness of the reception that awaited him at Versailles, where he was hissed on his first appearance.

Scion of an old Provençal noble family with a brilliant military record, a vigorous and ebullient race that even in its transgressions was proud of its rank and titles; Mirabeau, in order to gratify his passions or provide for his needs, had lowered

himself to the position of those literary and political adventurers who were employed in those days by governments and great men but who were despised by the general public, even while it licked its lips over the wit and the scandals retailed in their pamphlets. Mirabeau was not solely to blame; heredity, example and education were partly responsible. Passion was in his blood, driving him to action and self-gratification, and an insatiable appetite for rebellion, pleasures, fortune and glory. He was a Hercules of a man, with an enormous head and a broad, bloated face, scarred and pitted by accidents and small-pox, and a heavy and powerful frame. His father, at one time an officer, perhaps saw a repetition of his own youth in the instincts of his son, and had a strange method of saving him from vexatious experiences—imprisoning him, first in a house of correction, then at the Château d'If, in the fortress of Joux and, for three years, at Vincennes. He had put fetters on his son early, by making him marry; but the younger Mirabeau soon made his escape. To break his will, his father allowed him to go without resources and without a career. Mirabeau junior considered everything justifiable that enabled him to live, and sometimes to live extravagantly when he had not the necessary money—debts, fraud, ingratitude, appeals to the purses of the powerful, dubious relations with the booksellers, the use of the property of others. Although he had so many weaknesses, however, he was strong in one respect: he had the power that is the result of hard work and genius.

In his prisons, on his compulsory travels in Holland, in Switzerland, in England, or, in obedience to Monsieur de Montmorin, in Prussia with Frederick II, Mirabeau utilised every means of self-education. He read the whole literature of his day—a literature in which criticism, science, schemes of social and political reform were treated with feverish vehemence. He questioned men, compared and studied governments and constitutions with rare discrimination and with an all-comprehending eye on the present condition and the future of France and Europe. In

Character of  
Mirabeau



AVEC AUTANT DE MATIÈRE  
ON PEUT FAIRE DES DÉJEUNERS  
CARICATURE OF MIRABEAU

Mirabeau's proverbial intemperance, which hampered his political activities and sometimes marred his brilliant oratory, did not escape contemporary censure. This contemporary sketch represents him with barrels for body and legs.

From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'

April, 1789, he wrote to a young man whose career, like that of many others, he linked with his own: 'All the kings on earth cannot make the fortune of him who has one, and the moment which will make mine is inevitable. The time is at hand when the power of talent will become greater and less precarious. A new order of things is beginning.'

Mirabeau's genius made him confident of the great part that he was destined to play in this new order. As an orator, to begin with. His father, who can scarcely be suspected of too much partiality, early perceived that Mirabeau had the gift of beguiling and convincing audiences. He noted in his son's writings, as in his pleading before the tribunal at Pontarlier, that the young man 'had indeed become practised in the use of the implement, speech.' And when Mirabeau presented himself before the electors of Provence, his talent wrung from the marquis the admiring exclamation, 'A marvellous orator!' Already a great

A forceful and persuasive orator which persuades, the power of the word, impetuosity and irony. When he so desired he could be graceful and emotional in a manner that bewitched and captivated. 'For he was the most fascinating man in the world, the most capable of making others think, believe and say what he wanted,' Major Mauvillon said of him; and this, too, was the opinion of all the men and women who were attached to him; he was the most terrible, too, crushing his opponents with menace, lashing them with apostrophe, to reduce them to silence. And besides all this, he was always completely self-possessed, master of himself, knowing where he was going and where he wished to lead the assemblies and crowds that he addressed. For if 'the implement speech,' in the use of which he had acquired complete facility, was powerful and strong, the matter that he fashioned was still better. This matter was the statesmanlike knowledge of affairs that is clearly shown in the plans that Mirabeau made just before the outbreak of the Revolution.

Like Sieyès, whose disciple he was about to declare himself, and whose silence

after such a ringing prelude he was to deplore, Mirabeau took for his motto: 'War against privilege and the privileged orders,' sustained by the monarch's arbitrary power, abuses of which Mirabeau had had personal experience, in the form of lettres de cachet, injustice and imprisonment. On the other hand, he did not intend that the destruction of privilege should involve that of the royal authority—compromised, indeed, but necessary at the moment of a great political and social transformation. Even before the Revolution Necessity for law he foresaw the excesses and strong rule of democracy, the disastrous enthusiasms of assemblies and mobs, while he was denouncing the conspiracies of the aristocrats and the intrigues of the court. As early as December, 1788, he was demanding of the ministers, of Montmorin: 'Have you a plan? I have a plan for saving us from the complete anarchy into which authority, because it has aspired to be absolute, is sinking, together with ourselves.'

This aristocrat had, to a surprising degree, a sense of the equal rights of all citizens, the sense of equity and legality. This loose-living pamphleteer, who apparently was an active rebel against every obligation and all discipline, had a passion for civic order and a horror of violence and anarchy. He considered it essential that there should be a law, and a constitution, to curb arbitrary power; and also a government, a monarchy armed and respected and able to resist popular disorder and caprice. It is said that to foresee is to govern. Certainly nobody foresaw more clearly than Mirabeau the crises, the risks and the mistakes of the Revolution, of which he was one of the most illustrious promoters. He was essentially a true governor, capable of founding the new regime upon the basis of justice and liberty which his brain had already elaborated—if he had ever been in the position to govern.

During the early months of the Revolution, from June to October, 1789, he opposed with great force and eloquence the privileged classes and the court, those evil counsellors of Louis XVI whose advice and intrigues could not be allowed to prevail over a nation that had become



conscious of its rights, over an assembly determined to procure them for it, and over a Paris armed against the tyrant of Versailles. Mirabeau's name and performance are inseparably associated with the great occasions on which the resistance of the aristocracy was broken: at the Tennis Courts on June 20; on June 23, in the Assembly that refused to dissolve itself at the command of the king, whose messenger, Monsieur de Dreux-Brézé, received the celebrated reply

**Mirabeau defies** of the tribune of the people,  
**the King** 'Go and tell the king

that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will not be driven out except by bayonets.' And in the Assembly, on July 15, in face of those very bayonets, he uttered his eloquent menace, which on the day after the taking of the Bastille rang out like an indignant appeal: 'Tell the king that the foreign hordes by which we are surrounded were visited yesterday by princes and princesses, by favourites of both sexes, and received their exhortations and their presents. Tell him that all night long these foreign satellites, gorged with gold and wine, sang blasphemous songs prophesying the enslavement of France and the destruction of the National Assembly: thus was spent the day before S. Bartholomew's Eve.'

It was not only the Assembly that heard these burning invectives; they were heard by the people who crowded to the meetings; their echo reverberated in the courtyards of Versailles and the public squares of Paris, in the Palais Royal and almost immediately afterwards in the provinces. The image of the people's tribune who had precipitated the ruin of the ancien régime was stamped for ever upon the imaginations of the public of his own time and of posterity.

One would have to be in a position to follow the entire proceedings of the Constituent Assembly in order to appreciate all the wise advice that Mirabeau gave, the practical and carefully elaborated plans he submitted, and all the eloquence he exerted in committees and at the tribune, to bring about the political, social and financial re-establishment of the new France. He had long since

learnt to reinforce his talent with facts, and to secure and retain the necessary co-operation of others. He became the head of an intelligence department concerned with matters of every conceivable kind involved in the complex task of regeneration. That word 'regeneration' was on everybody's lips, even the king's. Thus it was that Mirabeau, being always in the centre of the stage, was able to cope with the crushing burden of work that circumstances and his own passionate zeal for the public welfare imposed upon him.

In financial matters he consulted, in what he called his 'workshop,' memoranda prepared by the Genevese, Reybaz and Clavière; in legal matters he referred to other Genevese, Dumont and Duroveray; in religious matters to the abbé Lamourette; to Pellenc, his principal secretary, in mining matters; and to Peyssonel, a former consular official, in diplomatic matters. From some of them, Reybaz and Dumont, for instance, he even required **Mirabeau** not simply the substance but **at work** the text of his speeches; he recast these impersonal productions, stamping his own mark and sign manual upon them in images, epigrams, apostrophes scathing or ringing, that his own genius suggested to him, sometimes in the course of debate even converting them into wonderful improvisations. Over against the royal ministry that oscillated like the will of the king himself between popular clamour and court intrigues, Mirabeau organized and by sheer personality secured acceptance for what was really a ministry, although it had neither the legal authority nor the title of one. 'He is no longer a tribune,' Camille Desmoulins remarked; 'he is a consul.'

The misfortune was, as Châteaubriand afterwards regretted, that Louis XVI and those who surrounded him could not win the co-operation of this force, or only thought of doing so when it was too late, and even then half-heartedly. 'The day the king's ministers consent to have conference with me,' Mirabeau said, in September, 1789, 'they will find me devoted to the cause of the king and the well-being of the monarchy.' No attention was paid

to his wish. Mirabeau entered into negotiations with Lafayette, who shuffled too long. With the offer of his genius Mirabeau found himself obliged to couple demands for money or for office, as was his wont. The confidence that his offer might have inspired was destroyed by the distrust born of his demands—a distrust for which his character and the scandals of his life were responsible. It was to be thus until Mirabeau's death; the principal stumbling block on his road to the glorious future that was now opening before his patriotic ambition was his own past, the suspicion of venality that clung to him in all his dealings, to an extent sufficient to poison his triumphs and paralyse his actions.

At the critical hour, when Lafayette might perhaps have induced the court to summon himself and Mirabeau to the ministry, the alarm he excited in the Constituent Assembly made it vote the decree of November 7, excluding from the royal ministry all its members, but Mirabeau in particular. In this manner was finally shattered the plan that he had conceived of effecting a reconciliation, a 'coalition,' between the king and the nation for a common effort. From 1790 till 1791 he

devoted himself to the prosecution of this plan, utilising the solid reputation which his admirable speeches on the law of peace and war (in 1790), on the troubles at Marseilles and on the permanence of the districts continued to give him with the Assembly, which elected him president, and even with the people. But he lacked the essential means to his end, the kind of government that he felt necessary to a country that had been a monarchy for so many centuries—government of which he felt himself capable.

After March, 1790, he was degraded to the position of paid secret councillor to Louis XVI by a bargain which his friend, la Marck, negotiated with the court—Mirabeau was given a monthly pension and the promise of a million livres when the Assembly was dissolved. His situation was an ignoble one: that of a statesman who was unable to accomplish the work that should have established his glory and the well-being of the nation except by

hiring himself out, and who could not save others except by irretrievably losing his own reputation. It was a thankless position, too, which exposed him alternately to the reproaches of the king and queen if he should attack in the Assembly the champions of the ancien régime, the reactionaries, with as much vigour as ever, and to the only too fully justified suspicions of the revolution-

ary zealots, and to the Invidious position abuse of the public that of Mirabeau would sometimes shout

in the streets of 'the great treason of M. Mirabeau.' In notes so eloquent and perspicacious as to constitute in sum an admirable political record, he told his intimate associate, the comte de la Marck, who undertook to pass his views on to the sovereign, that 'it is necessary to resort to dissimulation when one wishes to augment force with ingenuity, as one is obliged to tack before a storm.' How different an authority the pilot would have had if, instead of concealing his identity, he had been publicly sent to the helm and been given full control. As for the ingenuity, Mirabeau made quite prodigious use of it. Without disclosing himself he coped with his adversaries and retained his popularity even in 1791; he braved the clubs, and especially the Jacobins, whom Lameth and Duport, as Robespierre earlier, roused into opposition against him.

When, worn out by the turmoil of his life, by excesses of work as well as those excesses that ruined his health, he took to his bed on the day after a stormy session with the Jacobins which had afforded him his last triumph, an anxious crowd hurried to the gates of his residence. On the day of his death his obsequies were an occasion of national mourning. The populace insisted on all the theatres closing, and with the concurrence of the citizens and the approval of all parties he was given a royal funeral. Demagogy, whose perils he had courageously denounced, both in his speeches and by his votes, did not bring him to book until after his death. Then it seized upon his remains, which had been laid in the Panthéon, and scattered them in the cemetery at Clamart, where the victims of the

Terror were buried. France, which was to a great extent indebted to him for the earlier and more glorious years of her freedom, forgave him his errors, and in him, through the work of Dalou, one of her greatest artists, personified the dawn that he enlightened with his genius.

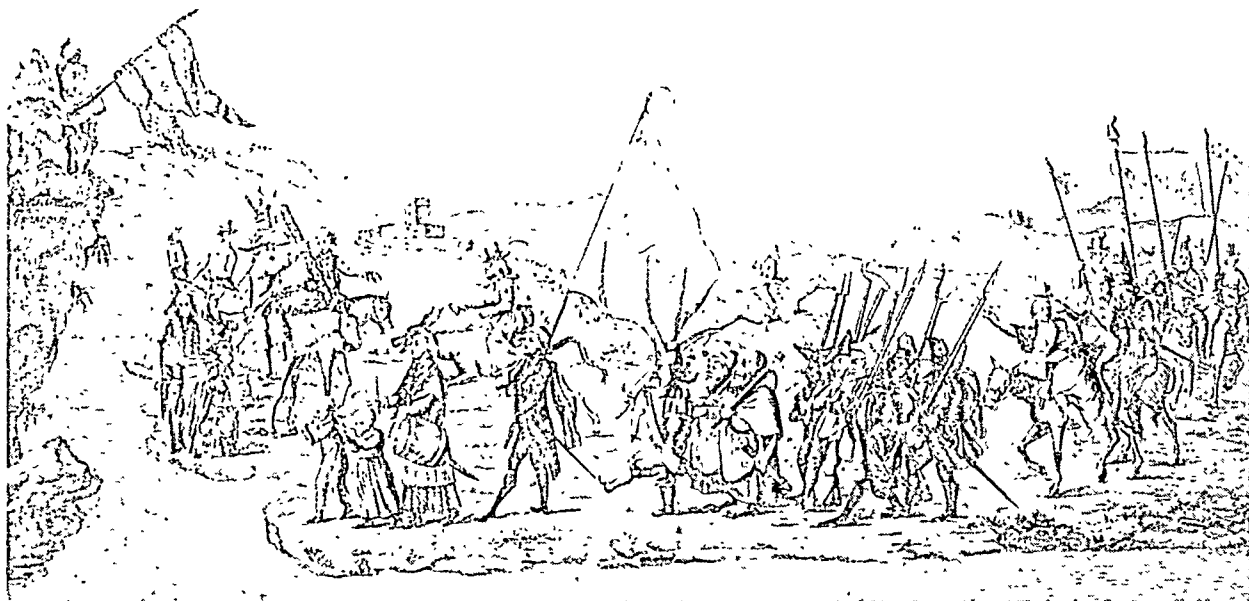
The period that followed upon Mirabeau's death was still one in which power was obtained through eloquence in the passion-filled debates of the Legislative Assembly, where there was a large party of orators which predominated for some time by reason of its cohesion and the brilliant talents of its members. The Girondins were, so to say, the small change of Mirabeau now suddenly withdrawn. With less good fortune, authority and ability, they endeavoured to fight against the unreasonable demands and the violence of the Parisian democracy, which waxed steadily greater during the year 1792, because of the incapacity of the Assembly and the blunders of the monarchy. Towards the end of 1791 their impetuous youth, shaped by the teaching of classical antiquity, took the place, at first with brilliant effect, of the members of the Constituent Assembly whose reelection was forbidden by law. But with all their talent they had not the experience

of their predecessors, nor the sense of the realities of politics.

At the beginning they did not all come from Gironde like Vergniaud, Guadet and Gensonné; some, like Isnard and Barbaroux, were from Marseilles and Toulon, some from Paris, like Louvet, or from Normandy, like Brissot. They grouped themselves round

Origin of  
the Girondins

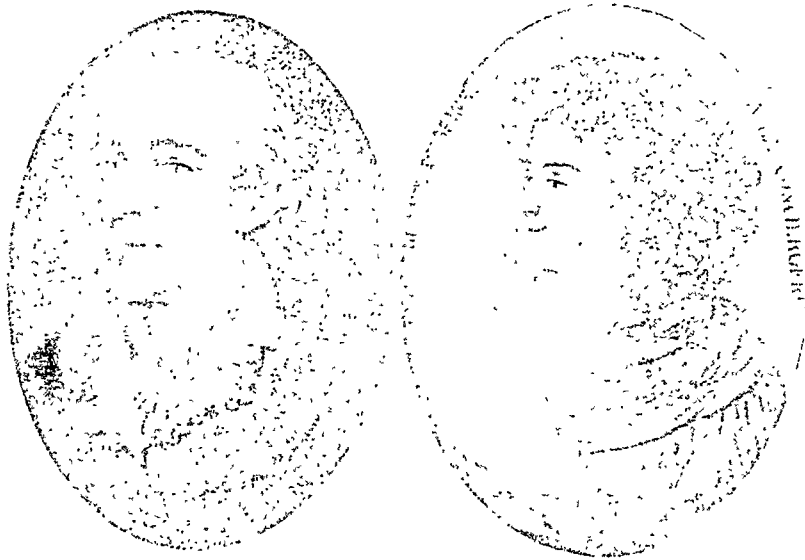
a man whose ability and character did not really entitle him to such influence—Brissot, a literary adventurer like Mirabeau, but lacking his genius, and like Lafayette an admirer of America and the free peoples, without ever having assisted them, however, in any way. The Girondins were at first called 'Brisotins'; and 'brissoter' was used as a synonym for 'to intrigue.' Brissot's intrigues, to which they gave their support by enthusiasm and vigorous, passionate speeches, had for object war against monarchical Europe; it seemed to be justified by the dealings of the émigrés on the frontiers with the German sovereigns. Brissot's success with the nation was due to the fact that France believed herself to be threatened, and meant to make her own Revolution secure by revolutionising the entire Old World and regenerating it



SATIRE AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THE REVOLUTION

The intrigues of French émigrés with European monarchs for the overthrow of the Revolution in the land they had deserted aroused the fierce contempt of the impassioned spirits who remained. This satire, entitled *The Contra-Revolution*, enjoyed a large sale in Paris in 1791. It represents an army of émigrés, nobility and clergy, assembling, with a great waving of banners, on the wrong side of the Rhine. The figure on the extreme left is Calonne, carrying the army's treasure.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*



## ARDENT SUPPORTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

Both Jean Marie Roland de la Platière, minister of the interior (left, by Nicolas Colibert), and his wife (right) were zealous members of the Girondist party. The portrait of Madame Roland is from the crayon and water-colour drawing made at the Conciergerie before her execution in 1793. Her husband escaped the guillotine.

*Photo, Giraudon, and (right) Hennin Collection*

like herself; it was due, that is to say, to propaganda and self-defence.

On October 20, 1791, Brissot explained his plans to the Assembly and the Jacobins. About a month later, on November 29, Isnard, in a flaming oration that enraptured the Assembly, the tribunes, all the people of France to whom it was addressed, called upon the French to undertake a crusade for liberty. 'Let us tell Europe that millions of Frenchmen, ablaze with the fire of liberty and armed with sword and pen, reason and eloquence, could alone, if driven to it, change the face of the world, and cause the tyrants on their thrones of clay to tremble.' At Isnard's words, the men of the Revolution, fanatical devotees of a new religion, saw themselves as heroes and believed they were invincible. On December 20, Condorcet secured the decree that seemed an Evangel addressed to the Europe of this new era.

Of all the Girondins, Vergniaud—and it was perhaps to his personality that the party owed its name—was the one who best represented the group, with his classical education and philosophy, and his studied oratory, correct but affecting and eloquent enough. Their ephemeral triumph may be said to have reached its apogee in March and April, 1792, when Louis XVI surrendered to them the reins

of government which he had refused to Mirabeau, and, on their advice, supported by popular acclamation, declared war on Austria on April 20. Madame Roland, the beautiful and exceedingly zealous wife of their colleague, Roland, then minister for the interior, gathered all their efforts, their friendships and their talents in her salon, replacing the court and Marie Antoinette, who was reduced to fighting against her father, with democracy for her ally.

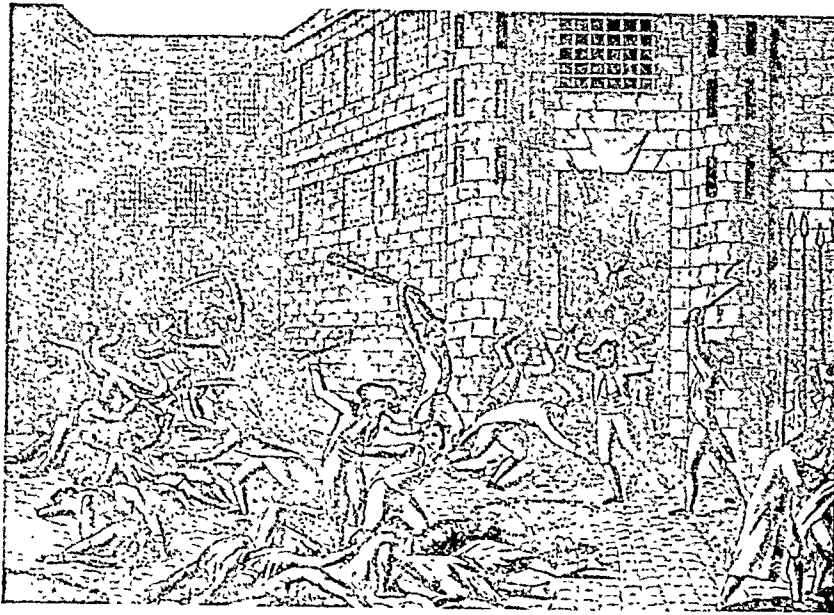
Two years earlier, when peace and war were being discussed in the Assembly, Mirabeau had denounced the error which was to lead the Girondins very quickly from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock. 'One doesn't make war,' he had said, 'when one has no government.' Immediately



## A NOTABLE GIRONDIST

Bonneville painted this portrait of Pierre Victurnien Vergniaud (1753–92), the talented orator and Girondist leader. His denunciation of the September massacres aroused the opposition of the extremists and he was guillotined in 1793.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo, Giraudon*



#### HORRORS OF THE SEPTEMBER MASSACRES

Fourteen hundred persons were put to death in the wholesale butchery that took place in the prisons of Paris from September 2-7, 1792. This engraving shows the people assassinating prisoners at the Abbaye Saint-Germain, after the victims had been interrogated and condemned by twelve commissioners chosen by the people.

*From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

before the outbreak of hostilities against Austria, Louis XVI was obliged to recognize the incapability of his constitutional ministry, which had only accepted the warlike proposals of the Assembly in order to turn them by a last intrigue against the Revolution. The powerlessness of the Girondins to form their ministry was the result of the appeal that they had launched to the passions of the mob and the violence of the Parisian democracy, frenzied by the menace of the foreigners and of the émigrés. In making this appeal they had wished to compel the king to dismiss the ministers Narbonne and de Lessart, whom they suspected of acquiescing in the war merely to break the Revolution. They had inoculated the people with this bellicose fever perhaps with the idea that Louis XVI, being incapable of directing this crusade against monarchism, would speedily become suspect to them. The idea was realized with the first defeats on the frontiers.

The riot of July 20, 1792, sent a crowd, furious at the dismissal of the Girondist ministry, to the Tuileries, and in a trice it had the king at its mercy. 'The throne still stood, but the People was over the throne, and had taken its measure.' On

July 3, Vergniaud, the orator of the Gironde, when he accused the king in dexterously moderate language that scarcely concealed the violence of the attack, had still imagined that his party would derive advantage from the anger and restlessness of the crowd. On July 11 he had declared 'la Patrie en danger,' and armed the nation against the foreigner whose armies were drawing nearer, and against the king, who was suspected of trafficking with their leaders. The control of this great patriotic and republican movement, however, slipped from the hands of the Girondins on August 10. A year later

they followed Louis XVI as its victims.

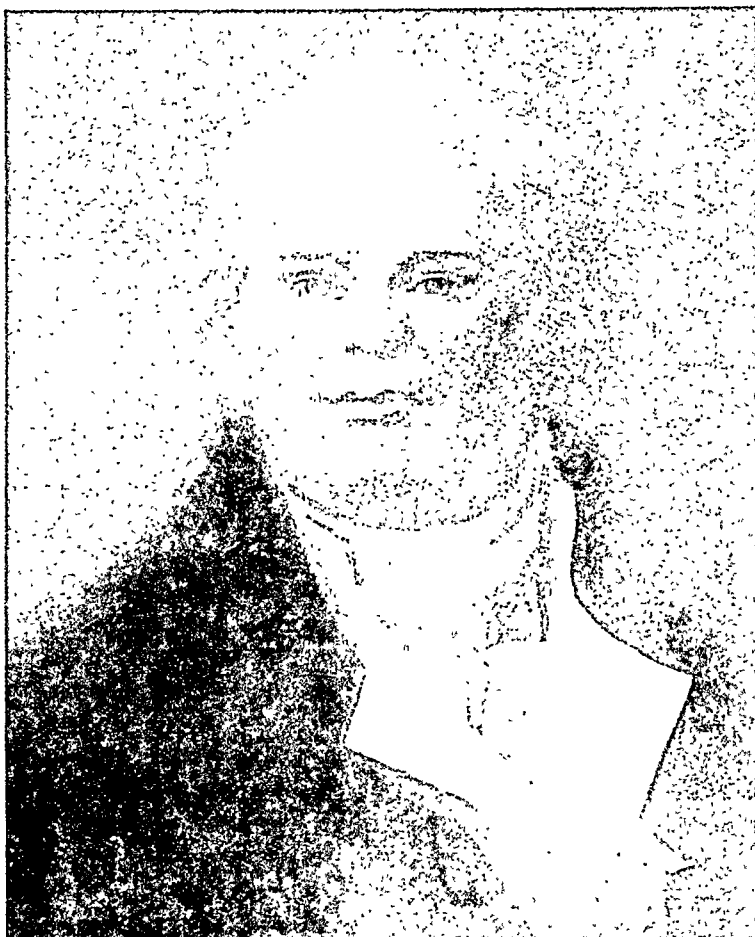
On August 30, 1792, Robespierre denounced them, in veiled terms that even then were a foreboding of their fate, to the Commune of Paris, thanks to them the only revolutionary force thenceforward capable of arousing patriotic enthusiasm—to the strains of the hymn of the federals whom their friend Barba-  
Excesses of  
the Paris Mob  
 roux had summoned from  
 The violence of the Parisian  
 mob, following upon the events of July 14 and October 5, 1789, was nothing in comparison with the massacres which, in September, inaugurated in the prisons the revolutionary Terror. The Girondins had not the courage to disavow them. Roland even found excuses for them, while Danton and even Robespierre were accessories to them; prison and the scaffold awaited them all in turn. 'It is to be feared,' Vergniaud had once exclaimed, 'that the Revolution may, like Saturn, devour her children.'

When he was condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal on April 16, 1794, Danton spoke these words: 'I shall fall asleep in glory—of that I am sure.' His name has indeed outlasted his power, which was short-lived, scarcely lasting for

a year. It is permanently associated with the heroic effort which he directed during the early days of the Revolution, the effort of the French democracy to resist the invasion, repulsed at Valmy and eventually rolled back to the frontiers of Belgium and the Rhine. For some time he held the Parisian mob in check, in order to draw from the city resources for the national defence and the republican conquests, and to found, as he said, 'the grandeur of France.'

Paris only knew him when, during the national crisis, the revolution of August 10 made him minister of justice and then chief minister. He was not of the people, although he was the most powerful interpreter of democracy; nor was he of Paris. Georges Jacques Danton was a bourgeois of Champagne, both by birth and in his social position. His father, the son of peasants who had grown rich, had a middle-class house at Arcis-sur-Aube, where he practised as an attorney. His father-in-law owned a cotton mill in the same place. Brought up by the Oratorians, nurtured upon much classical study and the reading of French authors like Rabelais, Molière or Diderot, also a native of Champagne, he came to Paris, the magnet of the ambitious, in 1780, to seek his fortune as an advocate; he found it in 1787, on his marriage with a pretty daughter of the lemonade manufacturer Charpentier. His wife's dowry enabled him to acquire an advocate's practice in the Conseils du Roi; in this way he obtained a position that brought him among the bourgeoisie that was almost of the nobility. He now signed himself d'Anton, and as an advocate with plenty of well-feed briefs and an excellent home, and as a happily married man, he found life, in 1789, very peaceful and enjoyable.

The Parisian rising had hardly taken shape in the sections that were to deliver the attack upon the royal Bastille when there was heard in the district of the Cordeliers, one of the areas in which there was most excitement, a clamour on behalf of the people, raised by this bourgeois who certainly had no reason to complain either of the existing regime or of life. 'The sovereign people has risen against despotism,' he proclaimed; 'the throne is overturned.' Perhaps it was the ambition of an advocate, or perhaps restlessness, which awakened the democratic instincts of his race in this grandson of a peasant, still attached to the soil of his home. The physical vigour with which Danton's ancestors had endowed him found an outlet when he played this improvised rôle of tribune, and perhaps even prompted him to play it. 'Nature,' he exclaimed,



FAMOUS VICTIM OF THE TERROR

This oil painting, which shows the strong, scarred face of the revolutionary leader Georges Jacques Danton (1759-94), dates from the last years of his life. He discountenanced the fanaticism of the extreme Terrorists, and Robespierre secured his arrest. He was guillotined, April 5, 1794.

Musée Carnavalet



has given me in heritage the athletic frame and the rugged face of Liberty.' Danton's 'Titanic figure,' as it was described, dominated the Assembly. With his broad shoulders, his deep chest, his strong face made ugly by the scars of smallpox, his high and wide forehead betokening intelligence and audacity—'a Tatar's face,' said Garat—he was of the make to impose his will, by intimidation if necessary, upon the people, which loves strong men.

After Mirabeau, the noble in whom the third estate had found its leader and its orator, Danton, the provincial bourgeois, was the orator of the great popular movements, aided by an extraordinarily powerful voice, which sounded sometimes the tocsin heralding tragic events in the capital now in arms against the monarchy, sometimes a clarion call for a levée en masse in defence of the country. His eloquence was like additional energy joined to his physical strength; it was almost cynically unaffected, unprepared, unconventional, and punctuated with outbursts of violence and brutality; it burst forth, in apostrophes, in phrases that have become famous because they are still vibrant with the passions of their original hearers, or with the uproar of the occasions on which they were made—'Dare, dare, and again dare!' for example.

As this powerful figure and revolutionary eloquence were above the level of the men and events of those days, they have to some extent become surrounded by legends, from which history must be disentangled that we may know the actual parts played by Danton, both as a private citizen and as a public character. As an individual he is disconcerting because of the contradictions in his life. The hero of the clubs and of the streets, the leader of mobs and the organizer of the Terror, the defender of the September massacres and the Revolutionary tribunals, was in private life twice married, each time to a pleasant woman whom he loved, and made for himself a comfortable home, conventionally middle-class; he built up a fortune for himself in houses and land in his native district of Arcis, for which he retained a constant affection; like so many of the bourgeois of

his day, he was a buyer of national stock; he was fond of comfort, open-handed and generous, hospitable to his merry companies of friends, with whom he revelled in good cheer and merry talk.

Documents that we have to-day prove beyond question that the uncompromising republican, the Cyclops, the Atlas, the Hercules of the Revolutionary party, was also a revolutionary adventurer. Like Mirabeau, he took money from the court; he tried to obtain some from Pitt, to save Louis XVI. After August 10 he was given some, as minister, which he did not use only to meet ministerial expenses. His relations with financiers and contractors, his intimate association with men of bad reputation such as Fabre d'Eglantine, the capucin Chaltot, the abbé d'Espagnac, Bazire, Courtois, Delacroix, confirm the suspicions that Danton was devoid of scruples and compunction and without remorse.

His public life also shows puzzling contradictions. Did he not instigate from the Cordeliers the Paris rising against the king and the Assembly from 1789 to 1791, in order to force himself upon the contending parties and obtain a place in the Commune of Paris as a substitute? Did he not declare war in 1792 on the Girondins because he was not given a place in the government that they formed in March, and in order to wrest from them, as he did on August 10, 1792, the government that he had hankered after? While he was urging the victorious French to the conquest of Belgium in 1792 and of Holland in 1793, he appears to have been in league with Dumouriez, who, four years before Bonaparte, had visions of a military consulate. After the crisis of April, 1793, when the Revolution and France once more were on the verge of ruin, we may perhaps admire the perspicacity shown in the plans he seems to have formed to split the Coalition by offering peace to some of the monarchies. He proposed to the Convention on April 13 'to combine policy with the republican virtues.' Was this suggestion prompted by forethought and wisdom, or by a secret desire to check the Revolution in order to secure his own power and fortune? It is certain that, in July 1793, this



policy cost him his influence in the Committee of Public Safety. In winning it back, in endeavouring to regain it, at the end of 1793, his opposition to Robespierre in the Committee of Public Safety, just when the Vendéan offensive, the German menace in Alsace and the capture of Toulon by the English were imperilling the Republic, 'seemed to impede the labour of national defence.' Was it solely because he was nauseated by the systematic shedding of blood throughout the Terror, because he was prompted by a statesmanlike instinct that the French character was antipathetic to such a regime, that he tried to put an end to revolutionary fanaticism, or was it not rather, as Levasseur said, because he longed to establish a legal regime 'profitable to himself?'

Then, in the Year II of the Republic (1794), there began a tragic conflict between Danton's ambition and Robespierre's: a conflict that was deferred for several months by their united action against the Hébertist faction, the most violent of the demagogic parties, which it was in the interests of both statesmen to destroy. In March, 1794, Danton again seemed, in an eloquent appeal that he made for peace, to control the interest of the Convention, which, 'with its committees,' he declared, had never been greater. And the time was not far distant when the republican armies organized by Carnot, having liberated



CAMILLE DESMOULINS

The resolute features of Camille Desmoulins (1760-94) are strikingly portrayed by Boze. An influential political writer, Desmoulins supported Danton in his opposition to the extreme Terrorists.



LOUIS ANTOINE SAINT-JUST

As a member of the Committee of Public Safety, Saint-Just (1767-94) was an advocate of the Terror. He played a prominent part in the downfall of Danton. Painting by Largillière.

*Musée Carnavalet; photo, Bulloz*

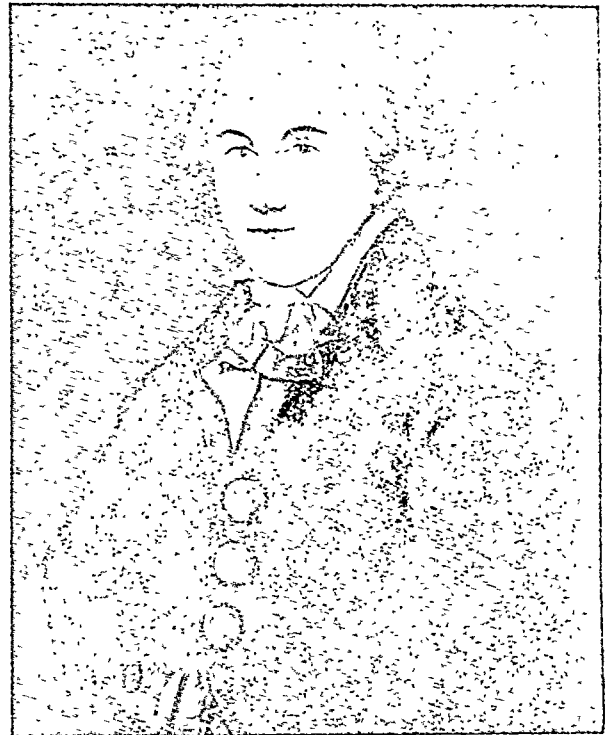
the overrun territories, dictated as victors to the Coalition. On March 30, Saint-Just, an accomplice of Robespierre, read to the Committees of Public Safety and of General Security the report culminating with arraignment of Danton, who with his friends had been arrested 'as accomplices of Mirabeau, of Dumouriez and of the Girondins,' without reference to the Convention. Nothing remained to Danton now but the fascination of his voice, the energy of his defence against the bloodthirsty dictatorship. He let all France hear 'his voice.'

It made the jury tremble and the tribunal hesitate. His adversaries, Saint-Just in particular, obtained a decree of the Convention, on the pretext of a plot hatched by the guilty parties in their prisons, stating 'that their resistance was a confession.' On April 6 Danton was executed, in company with Camille Desmoulins, Héault de Sechelles and Fabre d'Eglantine. 'There was universal mourning in Paris on that day,' wrote an eye-witness. When he was beaten Danton exclaimed to Robespierre, who got the best of him that day: 'Scoundrel! The scaffold will claim you. You next, Robespierre!'

The threat was not an empty one. On July 27, 1794, the Convention unanimously voted that the two Robespierres and their acolytes, Saint-Just and Couthon, should be put upon their trial. It revolted against the man

to whose almost sovereign authority it had submitted for a year, and the Commune of Paris, in which Robespierre had attempted to find a last refuge, was smashed with him.

Maximilien Robespierre is one of the principal figures of the Revolution, which he represented in its most methodically violent and cruel phase, the Maximilien regime of absolute Terror—in Robespierre obedience, or so he claimed, to the general will and republican virtue. And yet, even more thoroughly than Danton, this democrat dictator was a bourgeois—a cultured, powdered, correct bourgeois, the son of an advocate in the Council of Artois, an excellent pupil of the college of Louis le Grand, member and laureate of learned societies in the provinces and a deputy of the third estate in the States-General. But he



#### TERRORIST WHOM THE TERROR SLEW

This portrait shows the determined profile of Maximilien Marie Isidore Robespierre (1758–94), the revolutionary leader most responsible for the Reign of Terror. Nemesis finally overtook him and he was guillotined in July, 1794. Top: a portrait by Boilly shows him at twenty-four years of age.

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Alinari. Top, Musée Carnavalet*

early made himself prominent in the Constituent Assembly by his opposition to the regime which that body wished to establish by the Constitution of 1791—a regime under which there should still be a monarchy armed with real powers and a bourgeoisie resolved to keep for itself the right of deliberation and of administration in the name of the nation.

In opposition to this order of society—necessary, perhaps, as a transitional stage—Robespierre promptly came forward as the advocate of democracy in the Jacobin Club, which he founded and had been president of since 1790. Since 1789 he had pleaded for liberty of opinion with regard to the monarchy, protested against the royal veto, against the financial qualification for election to the Assembly, against the inequality of punishments for officers and men in the navy and army, and against the exclusion of poor citizens from the jury, the national guard and the electorate. But

he pleaded without success in the Constituent Assembly. The decrees that he succeeded in having passed against Mirabeau, to exclude him from the ministry, and against the members of the Constituent Assembly, to ensure, by making them ineligible for re-election, that they did not gain entrance to the Legislative Assembly, prepared the way for his ambition and his democratic programme.

His power was due to his having unceasingly given full publicity to this programme in the workers' societies. A precise orator, of frigid aspect and stiff deportment, very different from Danton, he carefully prepared his harangues, which were often like sermons. But he delivered them as if inspired by a kind of revelation urging him to attack the vices, corruption and injustice of the enemies of the people and himself. He presented democracy to the masses as their sacred right to happiness through the triumph of justice and of virtue. Nobody knew better than Robespierre how to build upon the almost religious enthusiasm which the Revolution had aroused in the nation. His private life inspired confidence; when the people in its hour of crisis was menaced every day by famine, Robespierre seemed indifferent to good fare. Sober and continent in the family life that he had made for himself in the home of the joiner Duplay, he squared his conduct with his maxims of virtue and unselfishness. Desmoulins called him 'our Aristides,' and Marat proclaimed him 'the Incorruptible.' And Marat was 'the friend of the people.'

In 1792 Robespierre was the first choice of the Parisians as deputy to the

Convention; but already his popularity was spread throughout France by the societies affiliated with the Jacobins and organized with a similar constitution in the cities, the towns and even the villages of the provinces. They were the instruments and interpreters of the sovereignty of the people, of which Robespierre had declared himself the champion. War, with the perils to the monarchy and to the nation which it immediately entailed, had not seemed opportune to him; he

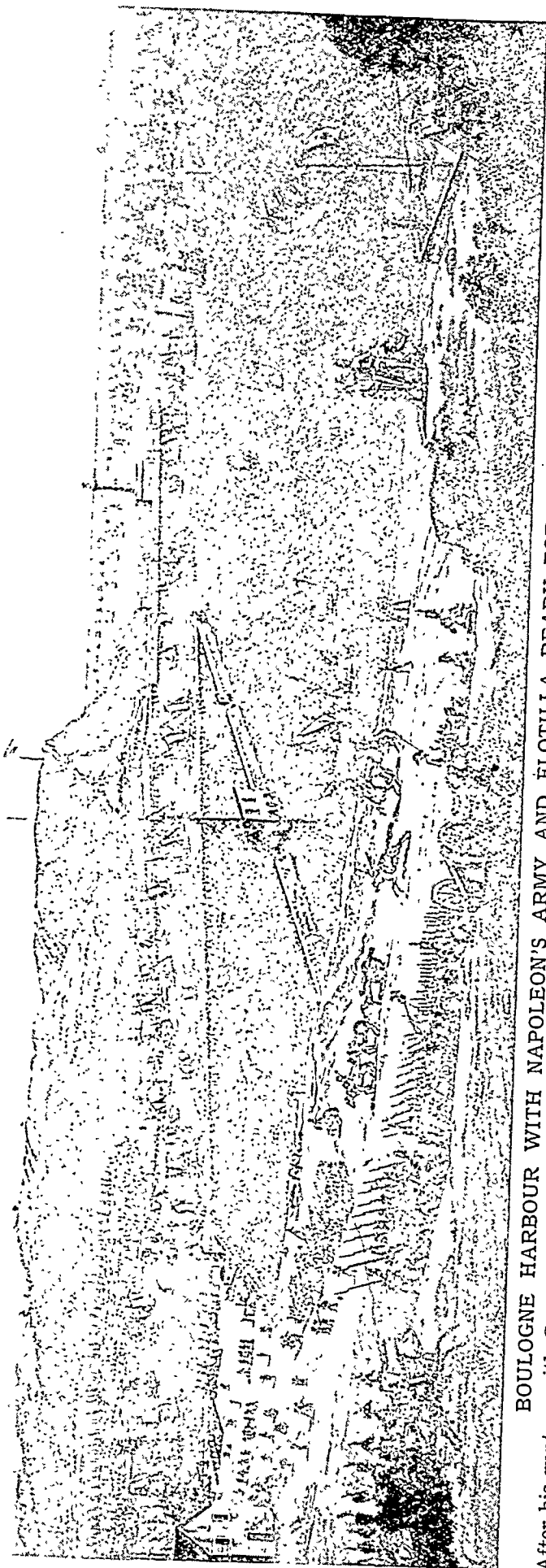
saw it only as a manoeuvre of the royalists and Brissotins. But when, in 1792, it compelled the people to rely on him alone for the defence of French soil, he knew no rest until he had assumed control of the Committee of Public Safety. Patriots and democrats and sansculottes closed their ranks, in 1793 and 1794, about the man whom the Committee judged most worthy of directing, in the Convention and on the frontiers, the effort of the nation and democracy. They accepted the Terror as a kind of 'state of siege' which was justified by this tragic period of crisis at home and abroad.

Immediately before the sweeping victory of Fleurus, his pride in his work—however ephemeral it might be—was gratified when on the 20th of Prairial (June 9) he presided, at the Tuileries and on the Champ de Mars, at the Festival of the Supreme Being—a new cult whose dogmas he had laid down in his speech to the Convention on the 18th of Floréal. On that day he became its consecrated high priest: an exceptionally competent high priest, when, aware of intrigues among the parties, he was obliged to expose and suppress his declared enemies or those who threatened to become such; yet withal he believed sincerely, like all fanatics, in the indispensability of his power for the advent of a new era.

No judgement upon him has better foundations than that of Brissot, the journalist, who was one of his victims:

The Revolution is a religion; Robespierre has sectarianised it. He is a priest who has his devotees. He censures the great and the rich; he preaches and thunders against them. He lives very simply and does not know what physical wants are; he has achieved a reputation for austerity which aspires to saintliness. He talks of God and of Providence. He proclaims himself the friend of the poor, and is attaching to himself a following of women and of the mentally deficient

A religion, 'la Patrie en danger,' carried him to the pinnacle of his power; but he was cast down from it when the country was no longer in danger. 'Victories,' said one of those who brought about his downfall, 'followed his footsteps.' In July, 1794 . . .



# BOULOGNE HARBOUR WITH NAPOLEON'S ARMY AND FLOTILLA READY FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND

After his rupture with Great Britain in 1803 Napoleon began preparations for an invasion of England and collected an immense flotilla at Boulogne. His preparations included the assembly of over 2,000 vessels, flat-bottomed and of shallow draught so as to be able to navigate close to the shore and be beached without injury. Harbours were cleared for them and an army of some 100,000 men was encamped there and drilled in embarkation and disembarkation, as shown in this print dated August 16, 1803. The scheme was frustrated by Admiral de Villeneuve's failure to wrest the command of the sea from Nelson.

*Engraving by J. L. Couché after Baugan ; British Museum, Lucas Collection*

# NAPOLEON: HIS AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Character and Career of the great Captain who almost made a French Empire of the Western World

By J. HOLLAND ROSE Litt.D.

Vere Harmsworth Professor of Naval History and Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; Author of *The Life of Napoleon*, *The Life of Pitt*, etc.

A FAVOURITE subject for debate is the question 'Does the great man more influence his age, or does the age influence him?' Probably no case bears on this complex and indeed unanswerable question more than that of the French Revolution and Napoleon. He claimed to be its heir, yet he greatly modified his heritage, and, on the surface at least, seemed utterly to transmute it.

At first sight this immense popular movement might seem to defy control by any one man. Yet there now arose a man who by the year 1799 tamed the impulses of 1789 and made them subserve the purposes of personal rule. Napoleon, the second surviving son of Charles and Letizia Bonaparte, was born at Ajaccio in Corsica on August 15, 1769. His father was an indifferent lawyer and mediocre littérateur, descended from a family of Tuscan origin which had displayed average talents in law and diplomacy. His mother (née Ramolino) came of families which embodied the fighting spirit of the wild Corsican hinterland. While the other children, notably the eldest, Joseph, displayed ordinary gifts, Napoleon combined the scheming gifts of the paternal and the military prowess of the maternal side.

Up to his twenty-first year he hated France as the conqueror of Corsica, and his education at military schools in Brienne and Paris failed to Gallicise him. But the extension of the new French departmental system to Corsica in 1790 won him over. The logical doctrines of the democratic creed appealed to his clear-cut reasoning faculties; while the need of officers for the new nationalised army of France probably touched the sense of self-

interest always very strong in his sternly objective nature. Though gifted with imagination and a strong sense of family pride and affection, he always held his feelings under strong control; and his enthusiasm for the Revolution cooled when he observed its workings at Paris. On July 3, 1792, he wrote: 'Seeing the whole business close to shows clearly enough how little worth while it is to attempt to win the favour of the people. Each one pursues his own interest and tries to outdo in horrors. Intrigues are to-day as base as ever they were.'

His patrician instincts Napoleon's early also prompted him to days in France shoot down the rabble of

Paris. Returning to Corsica on furlough, the young officer headed the French or democratic party; but, when worsted by Paoli and the Corsican royalists, he fled with his family to Provence (June, 1793). He thus broke away from insular patriotism, and for the time identified himself with the Jacobin or ultra-Republican party then in power at Paris, which, by its successful conduct of the war against the kings (George III of England now included), had rallied all patriots to its colours.

His services in organizing the French Republican artillery in the final operations which expelled Admiral Hood and the British and Spanish fleets from Toulon (then held by them and the French royalists) won golden opinions from Carnot and the other Jacobin leaders at Paris (December, 1793). But the subsequent fall of Robespierre, whose cause he had espoused, placed him in much danger; and an act of military disobedience led to his discharge from the army. In the

dearth of good officers he could not be spared; and a skilful plan of campaign which he drew up against the Austrians and Sardinians in North Italy led to his reinstatement and finally to his promotion to the command of the French army about to invade that land.

Meanwhile, during the time of waiting at Paris, he did not entirely escape the disillusionment which overtook natures far more idealistic than his. The sight of the sordid struggles for power, the mean cruelty towards opponents, the corruption which debased 'the sons of liberty' and the seeming hopelessness of raising the Parisian mob to the level of citizenship, all conspired to reawaken his patrician instincts. His marriage with a fashionable widow, Josephine Beauharnais (see page



'MADAME MERE'

Maria Letizia Ramolino (1750-1836) married Carlo Buonaparte in 1764. As Madame Mère she witnessed Napoleon's glory and his ruin, and after Waterloo she lived in seclusion in Rome.

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Alinari*

4149), strengthened his reactionary tendencies; and when he set out for Nice in March, 1796, he had in reality exchanged Jacobinism for a cynical opportunism. Ready to spread Republicanism abroad, he despaired of its successful application to France. In fact, revolutionary enthusiasm then survived chiefly in the armies on the frontiers. At Paris it was moribund. His Italian campaigns of 1796-7 exercised so potent an influence on Europe and on French politics that they must be briefly noticed here. Italy, then a mere mosaic of independent states, was well

described by Nelson early in 1796: 'Italy is the gold mine; and if once entered is without the means of resistance.' At that time the young captain, in command of a light squadron, was covering the left



SIEGE OF TOULON WHERE NAPOLEON WON HIS SPURS

In August, 1793, the royalists in possession of Toulon enlisted the aid of the British and Spanish fleets, and in September Napoleon was given command of the artillery of the republican army dispatched to recover the arsenal and harbour. On December 16 he stormed the principal battery of the besieged and compelled the allied fleets to withdraw, leaving the royalists to the mercy of the republicans. The figure on the right in this contemporary drawing is supposed to represent Napoleon.

*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Hennin Collection; photo, Giraudon*



BONAPARTE AT ARCOLA

Bonaparte's defeat of the Austrians at Arcola in November, 1795, was a personal triumph. This portrait was painted by Baron Gros a few days afterwards, and ranks as one of the most important documents in Napoleonic iconography.

*The Louvre; photo, W. F. Mansell*

flank of the Austro-Sardinian forces guarding the Genoese riviera near Savona; and he saw, as Bonaparte had seen, that if the allies lost the pass north of that town, they would be severed in the valleys running north-east and north-west towards the Austrian and Sardinian bases. Lacking adequate support Nelson could not oppose successfully the French advance along the riviera in 1795 or thwart the blows which in April, 1796, Bonaparte showered successively on the Austrian and Sardinian forces to the north of Savona.

The natural result followed. The Sardinian court at Turin, when cut off from its allies, had to make peace; and Bonaparte at once stipulated for the control of the road through Coni, which rendered his communications safe from the attacks of the British fleet. Next, he surprised the Austrian defenders of Lombardy by a swift march down the south bank of the River Po, thus compelling them to a

precipitate retreat to the line of its northern tributary, the Adda. This he forced by the brilliant capture of the bridge of Lodi, and drove the Austrians back on their only strong fortress south of the Alps, Mantua. In many cases he had relied on the effect of a surprise; or else by suddenly threatening the enemy's communications he checked his advance. An old Hungarian officer who was taken prisoner said indignantly: 'One day he is on our front, the next on our flank, then in our rear: he knows nothing of the rules of war.' In point of fact he won the war by ignoring the pedantic rules which in general the Austrian high command slavishly obeyed.

The fundamental defects of the Austrian position in North



JOSEPHINE BEAUHARNAIS

Josephine, widow of the guillotined vicomte de Beauharnais, married Napoleon in 1796. The marriage proved childless, and for dynastic purposes Napoleon divorced her in 1810. She died at Malmaison in 1814, aged fifty-one.

*Portrait by Prud'hon; Wallace Collection*





#### OCCUPATION OF VENICE BY THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

On the pretext that an unfriendly Venice was a menace to his line of retreat during his Austrian campaign, Napoleon marched on that city, and on May 16, 1797, occupied it without resistance, took possession of the arsenal and shipping and pillaged all the churches libraries and art galleries. This engraving by Dujlessis-Bertaux from a picture by Carle Vernet, shows the French troops removing the bronze horses from St. Mark's for transference to the Arc de Triomphe in Paris.

*From Davol, 'La Révolution française.'*

Italy now hampered their efforts to relieve Mantua. Their armies had to thread their way through the Alpine passes and then debouch on the plain. By taking up a central position near the outlets from the mountains he foiled their painful and often widely sundered efforts, thus giving new and brilliant examples of the power of a small but well handled army to crush in succession superior but scattered forces on the outer circumference. His crowning victory of Rivoli and pursuit of the Austrians finally ensured the fall of Mantua (February 2, 1797). Meanwhile,

he had been able to overrun central Italy and compel Pope Pius VI to an ignominious peace, obliging him, inter alia, to hand over from the Vatican a hundred pictures or statues (including those of Junius and Marcus Brutus) and five hundred manuscripts, all chosen by the French commissioners. A like fate befel the museums of Tuscany, and his occupation of that province hastened the evacuation of Corsica by the British at the end of 1796. Early in 1797 he had no great difficulty in driving the demoralised Austrians over the Carnic and Noric Alps to Leoben.

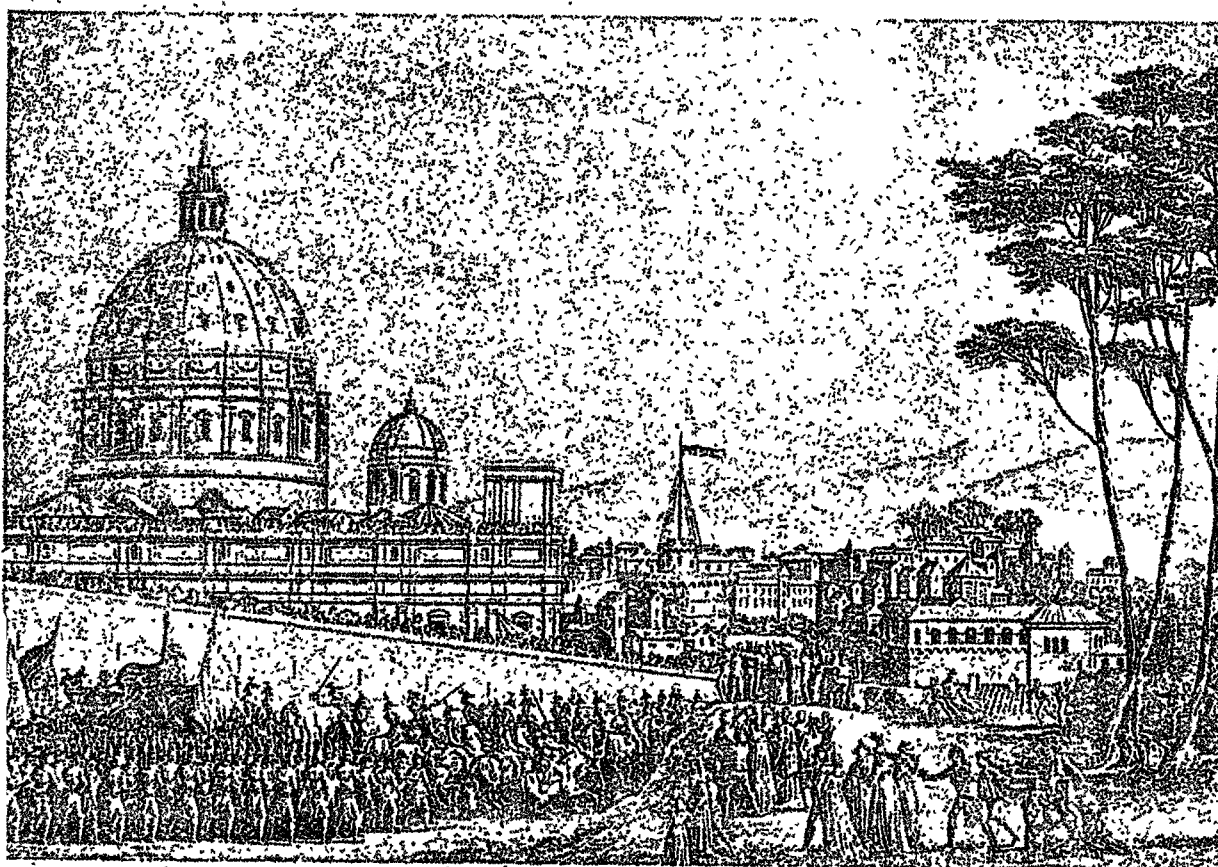
There the emperor Francis II signed the preliminaries of peace, which left England almost isolated in the struggle.

It was easy work now for Bonaparte to chastise Venice for some venial faults, and to use her as a marketable pawn in the diplomatic game which was now opening. Here again he displayed singular bargaining skill, reducing the civilian Directors of France to a secondary place and successfully edging the Hapsburg Francis II into the mean compromise of the Peace of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797). Thereby Francis ceded to France his Belgic provinces and secretly promised to aid her in acquiring all German lands up to the Rhine. He also ceded the Breisgau to the now dispossessed duke of Modena; and that duchy, together with Lombardy and the western half of the mainland territories of Venice, was soon effected into the Cisalpine Republic under the protection of France, which thus

ousted Austria from north-central Italy. Of the other lands of Venice Francis II received the city of Venice and her eastern territories, but Bonaparte insisted that France should acquire the Ionian Isles, for reasons which will soon appear.

Thus the Venetian Republic was blotted out by the action of the young general who claimed to champion Italian nationality. After the peace he soon found a pretext for dethroning the pope and erecting the Roman Republic under the aegis of that of France. Many of the chief artistic treasures of Italy were by Bonaparte's orders carried off to grace the new museum of the Louvre at Paris; and the Directors received from him presents which proclaimed his predominance and their subservience.

The Italian campaign and its results made the young general the idol of the soldiery and of the French nation. Even before the peace he had displayed his



#### TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF THE FRENCH INTO THE ETERNAL CITY

After the formal condemnation of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy animosity between the French Republic and the Papacy grew steadily fiercer. Early in 1798, during popular disturbances in Rome, the French general Dufhot was assassinated and papal soldiers insulted the French ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte. On February 15, 1798, acting on orders from the Directory, General Berthier entered and took possession of the Eternal City, and proclaimed the Roman Republic.

*Engraving by Berthault after Girardet; from Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

genius for political intrigue by sending a general to Paris to crush by force the anti-republican movement there gathering head ; and this coup d'état of 18 Fructidor (September 4, 1797), while perpetuating the Republic, made it really subservient to Bonaparte and his clique. Thereafter the French people followed his lead as the one strong and able man who could assure settled government. They had not gained a workable constitution and were deprived of political liberty, but they had won the Rhine boundary and control over the Netherlands, Switzerland and Italy. Thanks mainly to Bonaparte they had overthrown their old rival, Austria ; Spain was their tool ; and England was isolated, helpless and a prey to discontent. Inside France the only practical gains of the Revolution were the acquisition of most of the soil by the peasantry and a trifling share in the national and local administration, though this last was fast verging towards centralised control. What wonder that the nation turned away from politics to the young general who had given it peace on land and glory which eclipsed that of Louis XIV ?

Bonaparte, however, judged that the time for autocratic rule had not yet come, and his untiring energy and ambition, which increased with what it preyed on in

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Ostensibly, the scheme was for the purpose of compelling England to sign terms of peace dictated from Paris. But he rejected an alternative and still more effective plan, the conquest of Ireland. He has been censured, and rightly, for ignoring Britain's sea power as a barrier to his eastern schemes ; but it should be remembered that late in 1796 the British fleet had abandoned the Mediterranean, where



BONAPARTE SURVEYS THE LAND FROM EGYPT'S HIGHEST PYRAMID

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*From Dayot, 'La Révolution française'*

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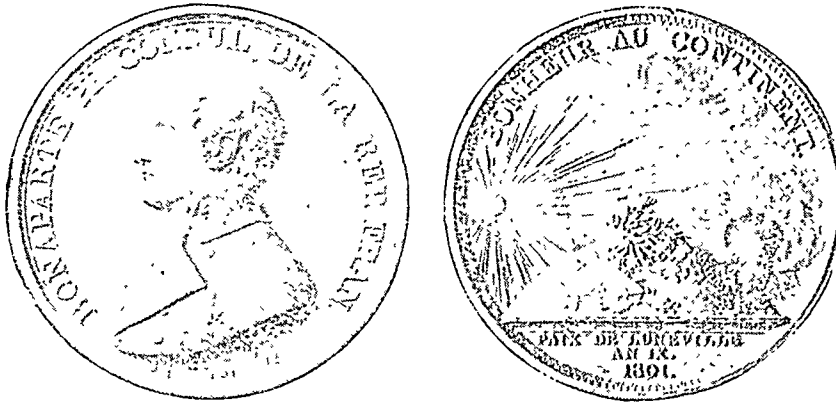
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NAPOLEON AS FIRST CONSUL

Napoleon liked to commemorate important occasions by the striking and wide distribution of medals. An interesting contemporary portrait of himself as First Consul appears on the obverse of this bronze medal issued in 1801 to celebrate the peace of Lunéville. On the reverse the sun disperses clouds from the globe, revealing France.

*British Museum*

state of things must cease'—by this and other tirades he assured the overthrow of the Directory, which came about easily on 18 Brumaire (November 9, 1799).

To dispose of the representative councils was not so easy; but, their sessions being transferred to the palace of St. Cloud on the plea of a Jacobin plot, he and others of the real conspirators induced the soldiery to believe that the legislators of France were traitors in the pay of Pitt. Following Lucien Bonaparte and other arch-conspirators, the troops drove out the Council of Five Hundred; and Bonaparte, who three days before had proclaimed it a crime 'to subvert a representative government in this century of enlightenment and liberty,' now perpetrated that crime by dissolving the councils and establishing autocracy under the thin veil of the Consulate. He himself became First Consul, with two ciphers added as Second and Third Consuls. The councils were later on resuscitated but divided up and gagged. Thus, in a decade, the Revolution of 1789 took on a monarchical form, which became more pronounced in 1802, when Bonaparte was proclaimed First Consul for Life, and in 1804 Emperor of the French.

The inner causes of this reaction have now been suggested. The Revolution of 1789 was a complex movement, aiming partly at the redress of certain economic wrongs and absurdities, partly at the strengthening of the very weak central

government, partly at the attainment of political and social ideals very hard to realize in any society, especially in time of turmoil and war. The first two aims were to a large extent achieved by the year 1793: the third has never been achieved. The movement, therefore, went to pieces, its dissolution being accelerated by war, civil strifes and the selfishness or cruelty of civilian leaders who were below the level of their task. It was therefore reserved for a soldier

of transcendent military and organizing gifts to apply this hitherto undiscovered union of powers to France after she was thoroughly wearied and disillusioned. He offered her order and glory, incarnate in his person. She leaped at the boon. Hence the seeming miracle of the coup d'état of Brumaire.

He answered her wishes by skilfully compromising with the Breton royalists and ending or adapting the relics of Terrorist administration, by overthrowing Austria in the brilliant campaign of Marengo (June 14, 1800) and by making the highly advantageous Peace of Amiens with England (March, 1802). In internal affairs he healed the breach with the now restored Papacy (Concordat of Easter, 1802), drew up a new and intelligible code of laws and by a wonderful succession of administrative and engineering triumphs gave France good roads, improved harbours, an extended system of canals and beautiful cities. These varied activities were rapidly pushed on or applied by the new prefects of departments working under the impact of his untiring and Argus-eyed intellect. Never did a country more need the exercise of Herculean organizing powers, and never were those powers so ably and fruitfully exercised. The outcome is modern France.

The Revolution having succeeded mainly, if not solely, on its agrarian side, Bonaparte could here rightly claim to be

its heir. In the bankruptcy of its ideal aims it could easily annul its disjointed constitutional efforts, especially as the moderate men of all parties now accepted his rule as the best of republics. The great French critic, Sainte-Beuve, has finely said that 'it is through character rather than through ideas that men are governed.' The Revolutionary leaders forgot this truth when they sought to force their ideas on a people which was still essentially Gallo-Roman. Its material needs having been met by the abolition of feudalism and the division of the soil between the hitherto half-enfranchised peasants, that people was now ready to settle down on the new basis and reject Jacobin idealism.

Bonaparte understood this. Where Robespierre and Sieyès had legislated for man in the abstract he was content to make laws for the man in the street. The process entirely suited the French in 1799-1800.

Hence at the end of 1800 he was able easily to get rid of the 'red' leaders under the pretext that they had concocted a plot which he knew to be 'white' or royalist; and in 1804 he terrorised the royalists by kidnapping and executing the duc d'Enghien, in spite of the entreaties of the far more merciful Josephine. In one sense the crime was a blunder; for it outraged the conscience of Europe and made an enemy of the young Tsar Alexander. In another sense it succeeded; for it placated the relic of the Jacobins, who now supported his assumption of the imperial title.

If he could have adopted a peaceful policy abroad his success would have been not only phenomenal but lasting. But his interventions in the affairs of neighbouring states, especially in the Cisalpine, Genoese, Swiss and Batavian (Dutch) republics, alarmed and exasperated those peoples and all interested in them, besides upsetting the European settlement reached in 1801-2. Great Britain alone protested with vigour against these infractions of the European order, but she was isolated, her maritime code having led to hostilities or sharp tension with the northern powers and Prussia, while Austria, after her two

great defeats, was too timid to move except under severe provocation. Over-estimating his advantages and the complaisance of the Addington ministry then in power at Westminster, Napoleon (for such we must call him after the assumption of hereditary power) pressed on his control of the states above named, and set about plans which promised to make France the great world power in place of Great Britain.

In particular, in March, 1803, he dispatched an expedition to India with secret instructions which implied aggressive and conquering moves at the end of 1804. Early in the year 1803 he had published in the official *Moniteur* a report of his agent to the East, General Sébastiani, referring to the ease with which the French could again conquer Egypt. The British Government therefore declined to evacuate Malta (captured in 1800) in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, which had meanwhile been rendered unworkable by



**ADDINGTON, VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH**  
As premier, Henry Addington (1757-1844) concluded the treaty of Amiens in 1802. Industrious but not brilliant, he failed as a war minister on the renewal of hostilities. He was 76 years old when Richmond painted this water colour.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*



Bonaparte's sequestration of the property of the restored Knights of S. John. Though Addington had practical as well as technical justification for refusing to give up Malta, Napoleon pressed his demands to the point of a rupture, which came about in May, 1803. There can be little doubt that he was laying his plans for war with England some time in 1804 when his navy was better prepared, but his exasperation at the unexpected firmness of Addington now led him to order the detention of all British civilians in France, and they were detained through the war.

The prospects of Great Britain were gloomy. Apart from the fleet she was ill prepared for hostilities, and there was little hope of gaining allies. Napoleon compelled the Batavian or Dutch Republic to side with him, and exacted pecuniary succours from Spain, until, in the autumn of 1804, a British attempt to intercept her treasure ships brought about a state of

open war with her. Meanwhile Napoleon made portentous efforts for an invasion of England or Ireland, believing for some time that his great flotilla of flat-bottomed boats could fight its way across alone. Revising this opinion, he next devised various plans for a naval combination of French, Dutch and finally Spanish warships which would ensure temporary command of the Channel and provide a sure escort for his flotilla concentrated on Boulogne, which was to transport an army of some 100,000 veteran troops. For the most part these plans were countered by the tenacious blockade of the Brest fleet by Cornwallis, and the more distant but equally effective observation of the Toulon fleet by Nelson. The escape of the latter force under Villeneuve in March, 1805, its union with Spanish warships at Cadiz, its voyage to and from the West Indies, failed in their ultimate object. Villeneuve, intercepted off Cape Finisterre by Admiral



THE WRITING ON THE WALL: A SATIRE ON NAPOLEON'S ENGLISH AMBITIONS

Many of the gross but clever sketches of the English caricaturist, James Gillray (1757-1815), were political in character. This striking example, *The Feast of Balthazar* (sic), shows Napoleon presiding over a banquet of English delicacies, and satirises his project of invading England. At his side, Josephine, of an exaggerated obesity, drinks greedily. The head of George III is served on a platter, and other dishes include the Tower of London, St. James's Palace and the Bank of England

British Museum



Cable, finally decided to put about and make for Cadiz. Thereupon Napoleon in a fury ordered his Army of England, long encamped near Boulogne, to march eastwards against the Austrian army then mustering on the upper Danube.

It is an open question whether he had not of late desired and played for this military solution of a singularly difficult and dangerous naval problem. His annexation of the Genoese Republic in June, 1805, was an open defiance of the Austrian and Russian emperors, who could not see unmoved a further violation of the principle of the balance of power, then the only safeguard of European peace. At once they took counsel for joint military action to end these intolerable aggressions. Napoleon probably counted on such action on their part, against which his only retort was an unsuccessful effort to secure the support of Prussia.

War therefore ensued between him and the two emperors. They had counted on uniting their armies near Ulm for the invasion of Alsace, assuming that he was still at Boulogne, occupied with the invasion schemes. In these he now found an excellent blind. At the close of August, 1805, he began to march his troops secretly towards the Rhine and thence concentrate them on the upper Danube. So skilfully were his moves co-ordinated with those of Bernadotte's corps marching south from Hanover, and those of his South German allies, that he was able by rapid marching to encircle the over-confident Austrians at or near Ulm and compel the surrender of nearly their whole force (October 20-25). The belated Russians and the relics of Austria's array retired through Vienna into Moravia, where Napoleon dealt them the



#### AFTER AUSTERLITZ: VICTOR AND VANQUISHED

Napoleon's sweeping victory over the Russians and Austrians, December 2, 1805, was a personal triumph for him over Tsar Alexander and the emperor Francis. This picture by Baron Gros of Napoleon's meeting with the emperor shortly after the battle is chiefly interesting for its admirably characterised portraiture.

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Neuracín*

death blow by the most dramatic and most complete of his victories, Austerlitz (December 2, 1805).

Well done, soldiers! In the Battle of Austerlitz you have accomplished all I expected of your valour; you have crowned your eagles with immortal glory. An army of 100,000 men commanded by the Emperors of Russia and of Austria has been dispersed or captured in less than four hours. What escaped your arms was drowned in the lakes. Forty flags, the standards of the Russian Imperial Guard, 120 guns, 20 generals, more than 30,000 prisoners are the result of this eternally glorious battle. This famous infantry, that outnumbered you, was unable to resist your attack, and henceforth you have no rivals to fear. . . . You will have but to say, 'I was at the Battle of Austerlitz,' to hear the reply, 'He is one of the brave.'

Such is one of the proclamations whereby Napoleon endeared himself to the soldiery, and therefore to the French nation.

The results of Austerlitz were indeed immense. Before that victory he was in a highly critical situation with an unfriendly Prussia on his flank. After it he gave the law to all the Continent. The Russians now retired eastwards under



In 1806 Napoleon utterly defeated the Prussians at Jena and afterwards occupied Berlin. This engraving of Ulrich Ludwig Wolf's drawing shows Napoleon riding triumphantly along Unter den Linden. Behind him is the famous Brandenburg Gate, erected in 1795 and surmounted by the historic quadriga, which the French carried off in 1807. It was restored in 1814.

*From Oncken, 'Zeitalter der Revolution'*



After the defeat of the combined forces of Russia and Prussia by Napoleon at Friedland, the tsar, Alexander I, abandoned his Prussian ally and came to terms with the conqueror. On a raft in the middle of the Niemen the first interview of Tilsit was held, in 1807, Alexander promising to support the Continental System. Napoleon's leave-taking is the subject of this painting by Gioachino Serangeli

#### **NAPOLEON VICTORIOUS IN ENCOUNTERS WITH PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA**

*Musée de Versailles ; photo, Neurdein*

cover of an armistice, and Francis II of Austria soon signed with him the Peace of Pressburg, ceding to him her gains of the partition of Venice—that is, eastern Venetia, Istria and Dalmatia. She also recognized his recent changes in Italy and those now planned in Germany which raised the electors of Bavaria and Württemberg to regal dignity. To these rulers and to the grand duke of Baden she ceded her scattered Swabian domains, and received in indemnification only the bishopric of Salzburg. Further, by

The Confederation  
of the Rhine

marrying his step-son Eugène de Beauharnais to the daughter of the king of Bavaria, his youngest brother, Jerome Bonaparte, to the daughter of the king of Württemberg, and Josephine's niece to the heir of the grand duchy of Baden, he strengthened his alliances with these South German states, and thus prepared for the formation of a large Napoleonic-German union. This took form in July, 1806, in the Confederation of the Rhine, which united all the West and South German states in a federation skilfully designed to secure his predominance and their subservience in all important matters. Another result of the battle of Austerlitz was the invasion by the French of the recalcitrant kingdom of Naples, whence the king and queen fled in haste to Sicily, there long remaining under the shelter of the British fleet. Meanwhile, the collapse of Pitt's schemes for raising North Germany against the French had led to his death from exhaustion (January 23, 1806), and this year, 1806, was to lead to the overthrow of the power on which the British statesman had vainly counted.

Prussia, under her king, Frederick William III, had long pursued a weak and wavering policy which in the spring of 1806 sank to its nadir in the surrender of vital interests to Napoleon. But when the emperor pressed her too hard the old Prussian spirit flared up and war ensued. As before, Napoleon's moves into Germany were too well concerted, too swift for the unskilful defence, which utterly collapsed at the twin battles of Jena-Auerstädt (October 14, 1806). Thereafter

Napoleon occupied Berlin and flooded the Prussian plain with his cavalry and light columns, the king and his high-spirited queen Luise retiring first to Königsberg and finally to Memel on the Niemen.

Another year!—another deadly blow!  
Another mighty Empire overthrown!  
And we are left, or shall be left, alone!

So wrote Wordsworth near the end of 1806. For the present he was prophetic. When Tsar Alexander belatedly came to the aid of Prussia in her extremity their joint forces were defeated at the battle of Friedland; whereupon the tsar gave up the struggle, abandoned his ally, and struck a profitable bargain with the conqueror in the Treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807). Of its many results we can notice only those which directly concerned Napoleon. He consented to restore to the house of Hohenzollern Silesia and other Prussian provinces now conquered; but that house had to cede its Polish lands, now organized by Napoleon into a state dependent on him, termed the duchy of Warsaw. The new order of things in Germany was also recognized.



**JEROME KING OF WESTPHALIA**

Kinson painted this portrait of Jerome Bonaparte (1784-1860), Napoleon's youngest brother. Napoleon united him to Princess Catherine of Württemberg, and in accordance with the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 made him king of Westphalia.

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Neurdein*

Danzig became a free city, really under French control. In effect Prussia was halved and Poland was half-reconstituted under Napoleon's protection.

By the secret Treaty of Tilsit he and Alexander agreed to make common cause against any power which did not accept the mediation of one of them. England and Sweden were here hinted at as Napoleon's enemies, and Turkey as Alexander's, the aim being to drive the Turks from Europe and partition their lands. Russia and Prussia also agreed to exclude British goods, a formidable extension of the Berlin Decrees of November, 1806, which had banned them from all lands under Napoleon's control. Tilsit placed Europe at the feet of Napoleon and Alexander, and promised to bring about a union of nearly all Europe under their control.

The French emperor now sought to master all the important coasts of Europe in order to ensure the commercial stragulation of Great Britain. He therefore used his enormous power to coerce Sweden and Portugal, the latter being partitioned by a secret agreement with the Spanish court. When French troops had occupied Lisbon they proceeded to seize strategic positions in Spain, and finally occupied Madrid. Thereupon, by a series of clever but unscrupulous moves, he dethroned the Spanish Bourbons, substituting his brother Joseph. These acts and the annexation of part of the Papal States to the newly formed kingdom of Italy sprang out of the policy of Tilsit, which aimed essentially at controlling the continent of Europe in what he termed his Continental System, devised for the commercial ruin of Great Britain. After the defeat of Villeneuve and Gravina at Trafalgar this seemed to be the only means of ensuring the overthrow of the obstinate islanders; and thereafter all his efforts, from the attempted conquest of Sicily to the coercion of the Iberian peninsula and the Scandinavian states, had in view the perfecting of this mighty fiscal engine of war.

In May, 1808, it had so far succeeded that he was laying his plans for a great Franco-Spanish expedition which would

assure the conquest of Turkey and the Levant. But at that crisis the Spanish people rose in a spasm of fury at the insults to their national pride and won surprising successes over the French forces holding Madrid, Saragossa and the province of Andalusia. Joseph fled from his capital to muster French troops behind the line of the river Ebro, and the whole situation changed as if by magic. The Spanish patriots sent deputations to beg help from their enemy, and the British foreign secretary, Canning, realizing the meaning of the Spanish national rising, at once expressed his ardent sympathy, which George III and Parliament finally clinched by a treaty of alliance.

Thus began the Peninsular War. For the first time the sea power found on the Continent a sure base in the estuary of the Tagus for its troops, which always had ready means of supply and reinforcements, while the French armies sent to drive them out had to struggle through several hundred miles of difficult country and a hostile population hardened to guerilla warfare. The combination of sea power operating at Lisbon in support of national efforts of Spaniards and Portuguese proved to be unconquerable, even in successive campaigns waged by the ablest marshals of France. As for the Spaniards, though ill organized, faction-ridden and frequently beaten, they renewed the struggle with admirable fortitude which moved Wordsworth to the following outburst:

The power of armies is a visible thing,  
Formal and circumscribed in time and space;  
But who the limits of that power shall trace,  
Which a brave people into light can bring!

Above all, the genius of Wellington, by turns patient and daring, accorded able support to the Iberian peoples, and at the crisis of the end of 1810, when the French efforts seemed on the point of complete triumph, stayed them at the final barriers thrown up north of Lisbon, the Lines of Torres Vedras. During the years 1808-1813 France poured out her life blood uselessly in the Peninsular campaigns, the issue of which encouraged all the elements of resistance to Napoleon throughout Europe.

So jealous, however, were Austria and Prussia that, even after their dire misfortunes consequent on disunion, they would not pull together, and for the present Napoleon used Austria's attempt successfully his unique powers of fascination in keeping Alexander in tow. Thus, when Austria decided again to break away from Napoleon's irksome control, she found no support at Berlin and gained no timely help from England. In the spring of 1809, relying on Napoleon's absorption in the Spanish campaign, she threw down the gauntlet, the archduke Charles issuing to all Germans an appeal: 'The liberty of Europe has taken refuge under your banners. Your victories will loose its fetters, and your brothers in Germany, yet in the ranks of the enemy, long for their deliverance.'

These spirited efforts failed: the Germans of the north and west made a few local risings which were soon suppressed. Napoleon, hurrying back from the north of Spain, assumed command of the French forces previously scattered along the upper Danube and, by a wonderfully skilful concentration, gained a succession of victories which drove back the Austrians to the north bank of the Danube opposite Vienna. There they won the hotly contested battle of Aspern and placed Napoleon in jeopardy, while the brave Tyrolese peasants under Hofer threatened his communications near Munich. Yet he contrived to bring up forces which, superbly handled, crossed the Danube and inflicted on the archduke a sanguinary defeat at Wagram (July 6, 1809). Thereafter, Austria made peace, ceding to the French Empire Carinthia, Carniola and parts of Friuli, Croatia and Dalmatia.

An equal blow to Hapsburg pride was the sacrifice of the archduchess Marie Louise as a bride to Napoleon. His recent divorce of Josephine was prompted by motives of policy. She had borne him no heir, and he judged the time opportune for founding a dynasty. Though he might have adopted an heir, he put aside this alternative and decided to part with his old love, towards whom his once

volcanic passion had cooled. His present decision was hard, even to callousness, and the superstitious noted that after the divorce and the Austrian marriage his good fortune forsook him. As logically might that change of fortune be attributed to his dethronement and banishment of Pope Pius VII, an event which shocked Christendom. Rome was now annexed to the French Empire, which, after the annexation of the north-west of Germany as far as Lübeck, stretched from the Baltic to the Roman Campagna, and on the south-west to the line of the Ebro. The son born to him in March, 1811, by Marie Louise was proclaimed king of Rome, but the ceremony of proclaiming him on the Capitol, fixed for 1812, never took place. Napoleon was then fighting for his life in Russia.

We may pause here to note that the years of the Napoleonic supremacy (1809-12) were marked by great public works which brought new life into the French



NAPOLÉON'S AUSTRIAN BRIDE

Napoleon married Marie Louise (1791-1847), daughter of Francis II of Austria, in 1810, and she bore him a son the following year. This engraving after Bossio's original drawing shows her at the age of eighteen.

From *Oucken, 'Zeitalter der Revolution'*



THE KING OF ROME

This portrait of Napoleon's infant son is by Gérard, successful painter of child subjects. In his right hand the solemn child holds the sceptre of the kingdom of Rome ; in his left the cross of the Legion of Honour.

Empire, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands. The Code Napoléon was introduced with beneficent results wherever his will had sway—over the whole of Italy, Switzerland, the Confederation of the Rhine and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Feudalism was stricken down, education received some impulse under state control, and religious toleration was extended. All this was to the good ; and many Germans, including Goethe, believed that Napoleon's rule furthered the best interests of the German people. Nearly all Italians held a similar view ; for in Italy, as in Germany, he struck at the abuses of the old regime, swept away the petty states and brought together the people in larger unions, within which was freedom of trade, equality of law, the beginning of education and the semblance of popular government.

That he had in view the gradual uplift of his peoples is unquestionable ; and even a few Spaniards, Portuguese and Dutch rallied to his rule. But the experiment of a vast European state, or, as he phrased it later, the United States of Europe, required many years of peace and of just and tactful government for its

due realization. These opportunities the restless will and aggressive temper of the 'New Charlemagne' denied to his peoples, who asked only for peace and a just and mild government. While the British, Spanish and Portuguese defied him, he bent all the resources of his empire and of the Confederation of the Rhine to the ruin of British commerce and the subjection of the Iberian peoples.

Consequently in 1810 he tightened the fiscal cordon around all his long coast-line, so as virtually to ban from the Continent all colonial products, on the assumption that they were British. By that time, thanks to British sea power, the assumption was nearly always correct ; and he went so far as to order in all his lands the confiscation of all goods which were of British origin. These seizures produced infinite hardships, besides opening the door to official extortion and dishonesty. Hamburg and other German seaports suffered terribly, and whatever good was done by his administration was largely undone by his harsh

fiscal policy. The Continental System was the fundamental cause of his ruin ; for at the end of 1811 Tsar Alexander made it clear that Russia, dependent as she was on colonial goods, could no longer bear the yoke fastened on her at Tilsit, and made unendurable in 1810. Hence came the rupture between Russia and France, which yawned wider and wider until open war began on the Niemen at midsummer, 1812.

Napoleon therefore had to wage two mighty campaigns ; one in Spain and Portugal, where Wellington and the allies now had assured bases of operation at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz ; the other in Russia, more than a thousand miles from the Rhine. A prudent ruler would have sought to compromise on one of these disputes in order to concentrate on the other. But a long vista of triumph had hardened Napoleon's heart against all thought of compromise. Therefore he marshalled huge masses of men, who with pathetic fidelity struggled on towards both the Tagus and the Dvina in the belief that a lasting peace would result from his triumph. A sign of the vast power of his



will was the march of some 150,000 Germans into Russia for a quarrel which was his, not theirs. About the same number of French, together with large contingents of Italians, Poles, Dutch, Illyrians, some Swiss and even a few Spaniards, made up the Grand Army destined for the invasion of Russia. Austria and Prussia supported it with flanking armies, which in the main marked time.

Oddly enough, Napoleon afterwards placed the ensuing campaign among his masterpieces. In its organization it was so; but, viewed as a whole, it sinned against the principles of sound strategy as much as against those of sound policy. The Fabian policy of retirement adopted by the Russian leader, Barclay de Tolly, and unwillingly followed by his rivals and the rank and file, brought Napoleon to Smolensk and then to the banks of the Moskva. At Borodino Russian patriotic pride counselled a stand, which cost Napoleon a bloody and almost fruitless victory. There followed the occupation of Moscow, the burning of large parts of it by the Russians or by French and Polish plunderers, and the final discovery of

Napoleon that he had been duped into remaining there until a dangerously late date (October 19). Then he sought to retreat by the southern route, not desolated by his advance; but he was forced to turn back to his former devastated track. In it he saw the Grand Army wither away under famine, frost and snow.

From this disaster he never fully recovered. France and the subject states made loyal efforts to raise new armies; but the conscripts had not the physique of the troops lost in Russia; and he had no masses of cavalry such as clinched the campaign of Jena. Prussia also turned against him. In the first part of the Saxon campaign of 1813 his genius and the enthusiasm of his young troops won surprising successes over the Prussians and Russians, who were poorly led and badly equipped. After forcing them back into the foothills of the Riesengebirge he granted an armistice, mainly because he needed time both for bringing up a large force of veteran cavalry from the Spanish war, and also for negotiations which would range Austria actively on his side.

The cavalry he obtained, though to the



LOOTING IN THE SMOKE-GRIMED STREETS OF MOSCOW

After Napoleon's victory at Borodino, on September 7, 1812, had left the conqueror an open road to Moscow, the Russian troops evacuated the city and the French took possession of the Kremlin on September 14. Fire broke out the same night, and the few inhabitants left. There followed chaotic scenes of pillage and a general rising of the peasants. Adam's drawing illustrates a Moscow street scene on September 20, 1812, when the lust for plunder had invaded the Russians themselves.

From *Oncken, 'Zeitalter der Revolution'*



detriment of his resistance to Wellington's triumphant progress northwards to the Pyrenees. Austria's help he did not obtain. Her astute statesman, Metternich, after hearing of Wellington's decisive victory at Vittoria, saw that Napoleon's position was so critical that his extreme demands were impracticable and indeed absurd. Yet the infatuated emperor continued to press them. Austria, on the other hand, required him to give up the Illyrian provinces, which barred her access to the Adriatic, also north-west Germany and his control over the Confederation of the Rhine. In stormy interviews Napoleon rejected these conditions, and Metternich, seeing that the emperor was resolved to try the fortune of war, came to an understanding with the Allies. These, meanwhile, had come to a closer union and welcomed the overtures from Vienna. Accordingly on August 10, 1813, when the prolonged armistice ended, Austria joined them and admitted their armies into the great mountain bastion of Bohemia which dominates the Saxon plain. Perhaps no one single act of Napoleon's career was so fatal as his rejection of Austria's reasonable terms—an act which ranged her against him and ruined the rest of the 1813 campaign.

Napoleon had pinned his faith to the great line of the Elbe which runs from south-east to north-west across Germany. Near its issue from the Erzgebirge he held the entrenched position outside Dresden. His now ablest marshal, Davout, was similarly fortifying Hamburg. Magdeburg midway between was a great fortress, and weaker intermediate posts guarded the chief crossings. From this great line he hoped to advance eastwards and relieve his garrisons cut off at Danzig and other posts. This design, thoroughly practicable as against Russia, Prussia and Sweden, was now precarious owing to the facilities recently afforded to the Allies to threaten the southern end of that line from the north-west of Bohemia.

Their first attempt to turn his line failed before his brilliant concentration of troops at Dresden which gained him his last great victory (August 23). Elsewhere things went awry. His lieutenants,

Vandamme, Macdonald, Regnier and Ney, suffered sharp reverses which compromised the French main force and enabled Blücher with the Silesian army to work round Napoleon's northern flank, meet Bernadotte's forces from the north and then close in on Leipzig from the north-west. Around that city on October 16-19 was fought the series of battles known as the 'Völkerschlacht' (Battle of the Nations), which ended in Napoleon's overthrow and retreat westwards to the Rhine. Even during that retreat he let slip the opportunity of accepting the Frankfurt terms of the Allies which would leave him in undisturbed possession of the French Empire.

Accordingly, early in 1814, they crossed the Rhine and invaded Alsace, while Wellington was battering in the southern defences of France. The position of Napoleon seemed hopeless but, as the Allies advanced in the east and north loosely and over too wide a front, he from his central position in the Seine basin was able to deal them severe blows and hurl them back for a time. Ultimately their weight of numbers, and the pressure of Wellington's advance in the south, placed him in a desperate position, so that Blücher and the bolder spirits in the Prussian army ended his last spasmodic efforts by a swift move on Paris. The defection of Marmont's corps of 12,000 men south of that city compelled Napoleon to lay down the sword, and the remonstrances of his marshals at the Palace of Fontainebleau brought him to abdicate (April 6). The Allies decided to leave him the title of emperor and deport him to Elba. Thither he departed on H.M.S. *Undaunted* and spent eleven months not unhappily in his little realm. Marie Louise declined to accompany him, and soon formed a connexion with Count Neipperg. The little king of Rome was brought up at the Austrian court and died comparatively young of a mysterious disease.

We may pause again to note some of the methods by which Napoleon won his astounding victories. They were based on careful study of the campaigns of the great captains from Alexander and Caesar

to Frederick the Great. From them he deduced some of his guiding principles. They were as follows: to equip his troops lightly for quick marching; to keep his columns well in touch for a speedy concentration; to use all possible means for finding out the enemy's force and movements, and then suddenly and secretly to attack him when and where he least expected it. These methods seem easy; but they are very difficult of accomplishment in the fog of war; and few leaders have known how to apply them with certainty. Napoleon's geometrical faculty, his ability to read a situation and to gauge the advantages offered by the ground,

Such were the principles which underlay his greatest successes. Needless to say, he did not always act up to them, and his campaign of August-November, 1813, sinned against several of them. For the most part, however, he failed through underlying defects of policy, as in Spain and Russia.

As is well known, the disputes of the victorious allies in 1814-15 concerning the future of Europe, and the tactless behaviour of the restored Bourbons, gave Napoleon his chance. He escaped from Elba to Antibes on the coast of Provence (March, 1815), and as he proceeded towards Grenoble met with an enthusiastic

6. avril 1814.

Les puissances alliées ayant proclamé que l'empereur Napoléon était le seul obstacle au rétablissement de la paix en Europe, l'empereur, fidèle à son serment, déclare qu'il renonce pour lui et ses enfants, aux trônes de France et d'Italie, et qu'il n'est aucun sacrifice, même celui de la vie, qu'il ne soit prêt à faire aux intérêts de la France. Il est badly blotted and the handwriting is almost illegible.

#### FACSIMILE OF NAPOLEON'S AUTOGRAPH DEED OF ABDICATION

On April 6, 1814, Napoleon with his own hand wrote this momentous document. 'Les puissances alliées ayant proclamé que l'empereur Napoléon était le seul obstacle au rétablissement de la paix en Europe, l'empereur, fidèle à son serment, déclare qu'il renonce pour lui et ses enfants, aux trônes de France et d'Italie, et qu'il n'est aucun sacrifice, même celui de la vie, qu'il ne soit prêt à faire aux intérêts de la France.' It is badly blotted and the handwriting is almost illegible.

together with his power of quick decision and unflinching action, mark him out as the greatest captain of his age. Some of his war maxims may be quoted:

The mind of a good general should resemble in clearness the glass of a telescope.

Success in war depends on a glance and a right moment.

A nation can recover men, but not honour.

The first qualities of a soldier are fortitude and discipline; courage is but the second.

A general in war should know but three things: to march 10 leagues a day, fight, and canton afterwards.

The strength of an army is estimated by the mass multiplied by the velocity.

An army ought to have but one line of operation.

welcome from the troops, and henceforth carried all before him. Yet his position at Paris as emperor was far from secure. Forced to rely largely on popular sentiment, he had to endure much opposition from the Liberals in the elected Chambers, which slighted his proposed constitution, and probably he hailed with a sense of relief the approach of hostilities with the again united powers of Europe. There ensued the Waterloo campaign, which has been described in Chronicle XXVIII.

This time the overthrow was irretrievable, and as the royalist movement in France everywhere gained ground, his surrender to the Allied troops near Paris

or to the British warships on the coast was a foregone conclusion. Arriving at Rochefort, he finally surrendered to H.M.S. Bellerophon off that port (July 15), and the British government decided that he should be detained thenceforth at St. Helena. He solemnly protested against this decision as a violation of the rights of hospitality which he had come freely to claim at the hearth of the prince regent. This plea was contrary to the undoubted fact that on July 15 he had come to the end of his resources and was in effect a prisoner. The same plea was kept up during the years of exile at St. Helena (1815-21); that he was the victim of England's guile and meanness; that Sir Hudson Lowe, soon appointed governor of the island, maltreated and half starved him and his French comrades at Longwood; that, in fine, he was the friend of the human race, chained to that rock, like Prometheus, by superior force.

This and much more was set forth with infinite skill by his subtle brain and by his followers, who ever sought to exhibit him and themselves as martyrs. In point of fact the British government allotted £10,000 a year for the support of the emperor and his suite. Also Sir Hudson Lowe, though annoyingly pedantic on

points of detail (for example, in refusing absolutely to countenance the title of emperor), was never rude or harsh. On the contrary, he sought to promote the comfort of the exiles, so far as their set design of posing as political martyrs would allow it. One of Napoleon's suite, Count Montholon, long afterwards admitted that this was their 'system,' and that the sale of parts of Napoleon's plate and other devices were adopted in order to spread abroad the impression that they were half starving. Later on, he sought a reconciliation with Lowe, and it is now generally recognized that the governor was unjustly vilified. The chief literary man of Napoleon's suite, Count Las Cases, has left a journal of high interest recording the sayings of Napoleon. Though much amplified and touched up, they contain passages of great beauty. Thus he reports the great exile as saying:

Our situation here may even have its attraction. The universe is looking at us. We remain the martyrs of an immortal cause; millions of men weep for us, the fatherland sighs, and Glory is in mourning. We struggle here against the oppression of the gods, and the longings of the nations are for us. . . . Adversity was wanting to my career. If I had died on the throne amidst the clouds of my omnipotence, I should have



LONGWOOD, ST. HELENA, WHERE NAPOLEON SPENT HIS LAST EXILE

On his first arrival at St. Helena, Napoleon lived in a house called the Briars in the charge of Admiral Cockburn, but in April, 1816, he was transferred to Longwood, a larger house of the bungalow type on an elevated plateau, and committed to the custody of Sir Hudson Lowe. As time went on he confined himself ever more rigorously within this small domain, getting some necessary exercise by working in the garden shown in this sketch, the work probably of General Gourgaud.

*From Dayot, 'Napoleon raconté par l'Image'*

remained a problem for many men; to-day, thanks to misfortune, they can judge of me naked as I am.

Often during the long exile the conversations turned on religion, and at a later date the Chevalier de Beauterne published a work on Napoleon's opinions on this subject, in which occurred the following noble passage belittling earthly achievements and exalting the work of Christ:

It is not the same with Christ. Everything in Him astonishes me; His spirit soars above mine, and His will confounds me. Between Him and every other person in the world no comparison is possible. He is truly a being apart from all. His ideas and His sentiments, the truth that He announces, His manner of convincing one, are not to be explained either by human organization or by the nature of things. His birth and the history of His life, the profundity of His dogma, which touches the height of all difficulties and yet is their most admirable solution, His Gospel, the singularity of this mysterious being, His apparition, His empire, His march across centuries and realms—all is to me a prodigy, an unfathomable mystery that plunges me in a reverie from which I cannot escape, a mystery that is under my eyes and endures, which I can neither deny nor explain. I see nothing of the human in this. . . . Nations perish; thrones fall; the Church alone endures.

Yet General Gourgaud, the most credible member of the Longwood household, asserts that the emperor was a materialist, who believed that 'man has been produced by the clay warmed by the sun and combined with electric fluids.' 'But,' added Napoleon, 'nevertheless the idea of God is the simplest. Who made all that?'

Some futile efforts were made by relatives and friends, especially in the United

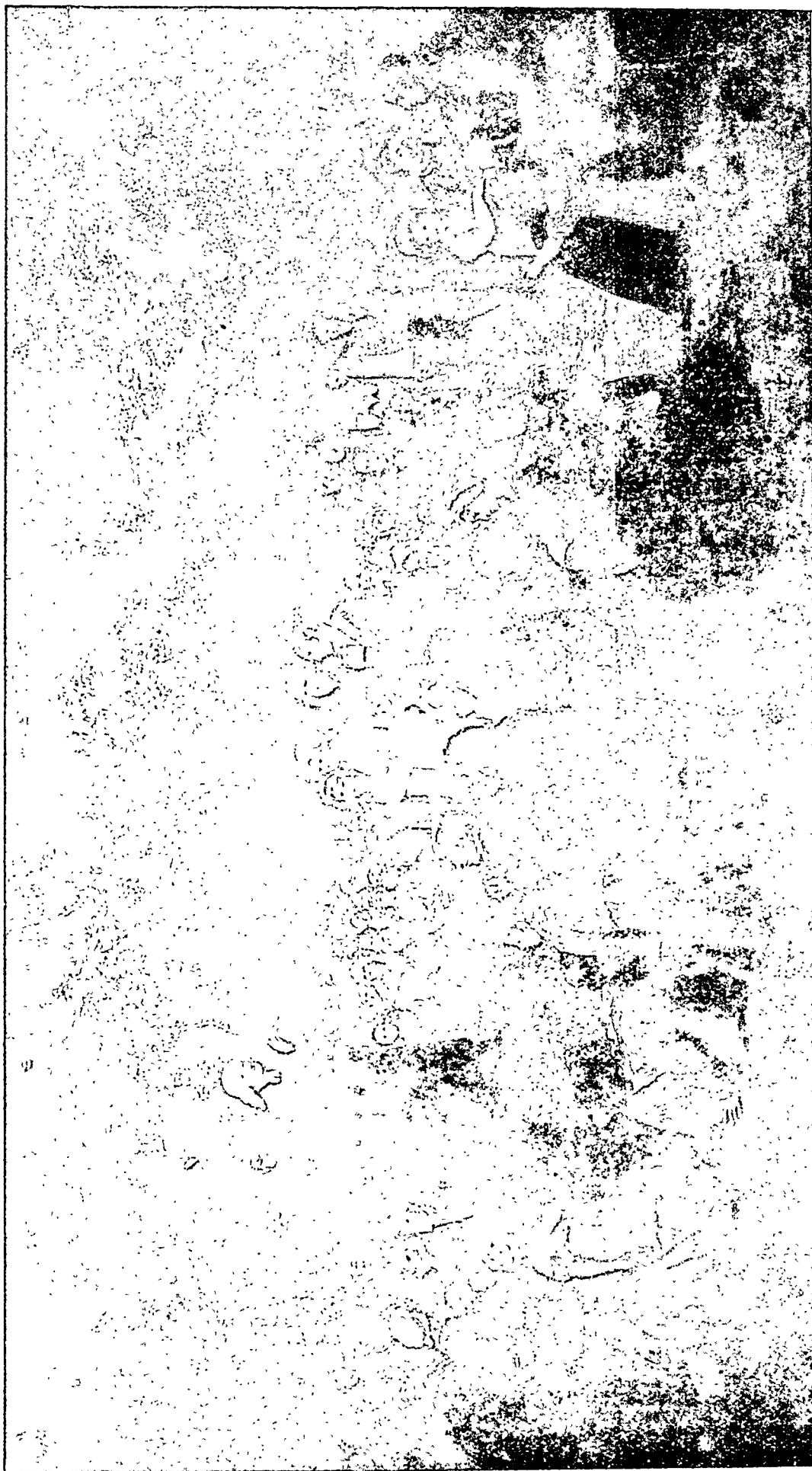


**NAPOLÉON DICTATING TO GOURGAUD**

One of Napoleon's chief relaxations in the last years at St. Helena was the composition of memoirs which he dictated to his companions, Gourgaud, Las Cases and Montholon. His slovenly dress in this lithograph after Steuben's painting of him so engaged contrasts pathetically with his previous soldierly appearance.

*Crawford Collection, British Museum*

States, to effect his rescue; and the knowledge that these plans were afoot caused the British government and Lowe to maintain ceaseless vigilance. So the weary years crawled on, and the sympathy which men and women always feel with fallen greatness brought about a strong Napoleonic reaction which reached its height on the news of his death (May 5, 1821). In 1840 his remains were brought to France. They now repose in the Invalides at Paris, in the heart of the nation which he raised to unequalled heights of glory and yet left depressed and exhausted by the ruinous excess of his masterful qualities.



JOHN WESLEY PREACHING IN THE OPEN AIR AT ROSANNA, COUNTY WICKLOW, IRELAND

John Wesley paid no fewer than forty-two visits to Ireland. One of many places where he frequently preached was Willybank, on the estate of Mr. William Tighe at Rosanna, Co. Wicklow, and this picture of an actual occasion of his doing so was painted by Maria Taylor, nee Spilsbury, while staying with the Tighe's. The portrait of Wesley is copied from the Romney portrait (see page 4204), then in Mrs. Tighe's possession, and most of the other figures in the large composition are portraits from life, including Mr. Taylor, the artist's husband, in light waistcoat in front of the schoolhouse on the right.

*Wesley Museum*

## JOHN WESLEY &amp; NONCONFORMITY

The Revival of Religious Feeling in England and the  
Man whose Character and Career did most to promote it

By SYDNEY G. DIMOND

Author of *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival*

THE fascination of the eighteenth century for the modern mind is due to many elements in its history, but not least to the renaissance of true religion, at the heart of which was the attractive personality of John Wesley. An astonishing record of achievement has always a charm of its own, but when the work of one man dominates a whole century of England's history we have material for perennial and refreshing interest. Before turning to the study of Wesley's character and influence it is worth while to glance at some of the conditions abroad and at home which not only made his work possible, but in a very real sense shaped the course of the revival.

Any interpretation of Methodism would fail which did not take into account the breath of new life which swept over Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and marked the end of an old order and the creation of the modern world. The religious revival is part of a comprehensive change of life and thought which altered the character of western Europe. In the period covered by Wesley's life, France experienced a dramatic transformation from autocratic medievalism to revolutionary democracy. In Wesley's early years, Bossuet, the thundering orator of French orthodoxy (see page 386r), was still alive yet Voltaire's most valuable work was done while Wesley was still in his prime, and Mirabeau died only a month later than Wesley. Methodism took root and became established while France was reaping the fruit of seed sown by Montesquieu, Diderot, Voltaire and Rousseau; England was dominated by a creative religious movement while France was in the midst of the French Revolution. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that both revival and revolution were signs of

the same spiritual awakening, and that they were not unrelated to the birth of national consciousness in the German people, which found its expression in the great humanism of Goethe and Schiller, and in the spiritual philosophy of Fichte, Kant and Hegel. If the eighteenth-century renaissance was mainly political in France and philosophical in Germany, in England it was mainly religious.

In the world of literature the distinguishing mark of the later eighteenth century was a revolt against a rigid and artificial classicism, and a quickening of the imagination which set free the romantic spirit. We need not look for illustration beyond the comparatively small circle of English literature, although the movement was European in its scope. When Wesley was born, Pope was writing his Pastorals, and the classical school held undisputed sway, yet Coleridge was a student at Cambridge when Wesley died, and the Lyrical Ballads of Wordsworth and Coleridge were published seven years later. Wesley's lifetime covered the Augustan and the early part of the romantic age in English literature, and although the religious revival cannot be regarded as the cause of the literary movement, there is good reason for believing that they both sprang from a common source, and that the stirring of emotion and passion by Wesley's mission created an atmosphere peculiarly congenial to the growth of imaginative literature.

Colonisation and imperial expansion frequently appear to us in the light of a manufacture rather than a creation, yet the curious combination of luck and good management which founded the British Empire in the eighteenth century has all



the marks of creative genius. Captain Cook and Wesley were contemporaries, and the glamour of adventure and exploration had its own appeal to the mind of both men. The infant colony of Georgia was the scene of Wesley's first missionary enterprise, but before his great campaign began the whole of the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to Florida was in English hands, and when he was sixty years old the end of the Seven Years' War left the fortunes of Canada and India bound up with those of Britain. Green estimates the population of the American Colonies at 1,200,000 whites and a quarter of a million negroes in the middle of the eighteenth century. No adequate attempt was made by the national church, nor indeed by any church, to provide for the religious needs of these great and growing populations overseas, and consequently when Wesley sent his preachers across the

Atlantic they found before long a ready hearing, and the genius of Methodism proved itself to be peculiarly adapted to the spirit of the English-speaking colonists.

Social and industrial activities in the home country manifest the same creative impulse, and are characterised by changes which were directly related to the development of Methodism. Wesley began his work amid the static society of 1738, when the typical statesman was Walpole, whose motto, 'tranquilla non movere,' might be translated 'change is the cause of all unrest'; but before long Wesley found himself involved in the administration of a vast religious organization amid the complex life of modern England. Following upon the growth of coal mining and the iron industry, together with a marvellous development of mechanical invention, of which the steam engine and the power loom are only two examples, came the rise

of the industrial towns and a vastly increased population in the north of England. As the large number of English settlers in the new colonies created the opportunity for Methodism overseas, so the new industrial populations provided the most fruitful field for Wesley's work in the home country.

Along with a very high level of artistic achievement in architecture, decoration and craftsmanship, there was in the early part of the century a very low level of social morality. Court and aristocracy were alike corrupt, and the poorer classes were sunk in ignorance and depravity. There is indeed 'a reverse to any pleasant picture of town life in the eighteenth century, and Hogarth painted it; behind his jolly Beer Street ran his foul Gin Lane. In every town, beside the prosperous masters, journeymen and apprentices, lived a mass of beings, physically and morally corrupt, for whose bodies no one, and for whose souls



HOW THE POOR LIVED IN LONDON IN 1750

Almost unbelievable degradation defiled town life for the poor in the eighteenth century, aggravated by the rampant drunkenness resulting from the repeal of restrictions on the sale of gin. In his Gin Lane, produced in 1751, Hogarth gives a scarcely exaggerated picture of conditions prevalent in St. Giles's, London, round about New Oxford Street.



only the Methodists, had a thought to spare. (G. M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century*.)

These evils were intensified in the latter half of the century by the increase of the population, the low rates of wages in the factories and the development of the industrial areas without any of the old religious and social loyalties which survived in the country districts. Neither squire nor parson was responsible for the miners and weavers. In many cases absentee clerics lived on the income from their parishes without going near them, and meanwhile unjust judges administered laws which had not even consistency to justify their severity, and under which there were over two hundred crimes punishable by death. Neither Church nor State attempted to meet the new spiritual need; not a single new parish was created; and the pathetic picture of Bartle Massey's night school, described by George Eliot in *Adam Bede*, is typical of the only education available for masses of the people.

It is not surprising that the absentee God of the educated Deists was matched by remote spiritual powers—'them

above,' as Dolly Winthrop called them—who were regarded by the illiterate with complete distrust and

fear. The religious life of the eighteenth century may be painted in very dark colours, but it must be remembered that there has always been a strong vein of genuine religion in the English character. Among the happiest pictures of the time is *The Diary of a Country Parson* by James Woodforde (edited by John Beresford, 1924). No strong lead, however, came from the Church of England, because she was suffering from the evictions which, culminating in the secession of the non-jurors in 1688, had robbed her of her most gifted, saintly and devoted sons. Nonconformity inherited certain weaknesses from its own struggle for religious freedom; political factors were brought into undue prominence, and the need for insistence upon the independence for which Dissenters had heroically fought was in danger of eclipsing the eternal verities of religious experience. Undoubtedly Christianity was

at a low ebb as a result of the long wars which had filled the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Montesquieu, on his return from a visit to England, bluntly declared that there was no religion in that country, while so sane and balanced a witness as Bishop Butler speaks of 'the general decay of religion in this nation, which is now observed by everyone.'

Into such a world came John Wesley, visiting almost every town and village in England and Wales and not a few in Scotland and Ireland, and organizing a band of preachers. **Pioneers of the Revival** who, for the most part, lived with and shared the daily toil of those to whom they preached. On the merely human side they carried a message of sympathy backed by personal help and comradeship into the lives of neglected populations. Naturally enough, the early converts were inclined to discern in the phenomena of the revival the immediate action of God. Methodists described the revival as 'the work of God,' and Wesley defined religion as 'the life of God in the souls of men.'

Here is a pen-portrait of John Wesley as he was seen by the eyes of his contemporaries:

A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye the brightest and most piercing that can be conceived and a freshness of complexion scarcely ever to be found at his years, and expressive of the most perfect health. In his countenance and demeanour, there was a cheerfulness mingled with gravity; a sprightliness, which was the natural result of an unusual flow of good spirits. His aspect, particularly in profile, had a strong character of acuteness and penetration . . . A narrow, plaited stock, a coat with small upright collar, no buckles at his knees, no silk or velvet in any part of his apparel, and a head as white as snow, gave an idea of something primitive and apostolical; while an air of neatness and cleanliness diffused over his whole person.

Born in 1703, the fifteenth child of his parents, John Wesley was so frail that his father baptised him on the day of his birth, and when he became a scholar at the Charterhouse School commanded him to run a mile every day for his health's sake. He suffered from hemorrhage of the lungs while at Oxford, and at fifty-one was so

near death from consumption that he wrote his own epitaph 'to avoid vile panegyric.' His Journal tells us that he had smallpox when a child, and a fever at thirty-eight and twice later in life. When over seventy he underwent a surgical operation, and in June, 1775, he was for days 'more dead than alive,' yet he lived to the age of eighty-eight, and his faculties were unimpaired when he died in 1791. The rule he laid down for one of his preachers was that of his own life: 'Lie down before ten; rise before six. Every day use as much exercise as you can bear; or—murder yourself by inches.' In spite of the constitutional lethargy consequent upon his physical weakness, he trained himself into habits of ceaseless diligence, and crowded every day with a rigid programme of astonishingly varied activity.

Wesley's place among the divines is indisputable, but for this reason his Journal has not

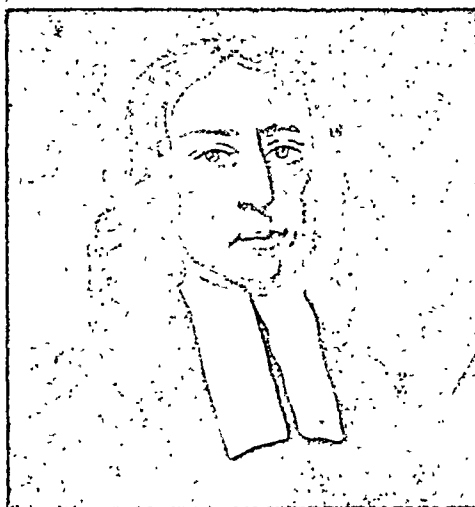
always been awarded its true place among the more human letters. It remains as a standard picture of the times in which he lived, but always the centre of interest will be in the human Wesley who wrote the amazing record. As an Oxford undergraduate he was too frail to be an athlete, yet he could hold his own on the tennis court, pull an oar on the river, swim, ride, hunt and walk long distances. In later life one of his intimates speaks of his sportive sallies, another of his witty proverbs, and another says that it was impossible to be in his company long without partaking of his

hilarity. He had an inexhaustible fund of stories adapted to all kinds of people and to every occurrence of life. When speaking of any who imagined that religion would make people morose, he said in the pulpit: 'Sour godliness is the devil's religion.'

Johnson said of him: 'He can talk well on any subject,' but he complained to Patty Wesley:

'I hate to meet John Wesley. The dog enchants you with his conversation, and then breaks away to go and visit some old woman.' In similar vein he remarked to Boswell: 'John Wesley's conversation is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs and have out his talk as I do.' All kinds of queer folk abound in Wesley's Journal, comedy and tragedy inevitably intermingle, but the joy of life is at the heart of the story. Comparisons have been made between Wesley and S. Francis, and if they were akin in the intensity of their religious devotion so they were in their humanity. Wesley lacked the exuberance of Francis, but both men recovered the New Testament identification of sanity and faith, of religion and joy.

At the age of twenty-two Wesley fell in love with Betty Kirkham, but probably her father was responsible for discouraging what might have been a happy marriage.



FOUNDER OF METHODISM

John Wesley declared his preference for these two portraits of himself. The upper one was painted by John Williams in 1741; the lower one, by Romney in 1789, two years before Wesley's death at the age of eighty-eight.

*Engravings in the Wesley Museum*

At any rate, under her influence Wesley was led to make an intense and enthusiastic study of William Law, Jeremy Taylor and Thomas à Kempis, and he 'set in earnest upon a new life.' Ten years later he spent nearly two years as a missionary in Georgia, and was thrust into the company of Sophia Christiana Hopkey, whose uncle was the chief magistrate. Wesley suggested marriage to her, but when she refused him he wrote in his private journal that it was 'a

Love affairs narrow escape'; yet when, after many delays, she and Marriage married someone else, he was overcome with grief, and the depression and unrest consequent upon this disappointment were not overcome until he found certitude and peace through conversion in the year 1738. After thirteen years came Wesley's last love affair with Grace Murray, which was thwarted partly by his brother Charles, who disapproved, and who furthered her marriage with one of Wesley's preachers to whom she was previously engaged. In this case also Wesley was grievously disappointed, but in the reaction he married a wealthy widow with four children, who never shared his interests, was jealous of his friendships and tried to ruin his career by tampering with his correspondence.

Susannah Wesley, John's mother, had taught him from the time that he was rescued from the burning rectory at the age of five that he was dedicated to God, and this dominating idea was always associated with the phrase, 'a brand snatched from the burning.' He always failed in his unconscious attempts to drag his women friends into the image of his devout and determined mother, and his love affairs came second to his sense of vocation, which in the last resort was grounded in God. Thus the wealth of affection in a singularly intense nature was diverted from a satisfying human love and centred in his converts, who were his children by spiritual adoption. Wesley himself told Henry Moore that the failure of his marriage was 'overruled' in order that he might be the more faithful in the great work to which God had called him.

Twelve years' hard toil and self-discipline intervened between Wesley's 'awakening'



JOHN WESLEY IN OLD AGE

No formal portrait gives a better idea of John Wesley's personality than this clever impression of him walking in Edinburgh in 1790 between Dr. James Hamilton and the Rev. Joseph Cole. It was drawn from the life by John Kay.

Wesley Museum

under the influence of Betty Kirkham and his evangelical conversion in 1738. Ascetic practices, regular fasts, pious ejaculations, systematic attendance at Holy Communion, combined with incessant 'good works'—the visiting of the poor, the sick and those in prison—earned for the Wesleys and their companions at Oxford the nickname of the Holy Club, the Bible-Moths, or Methodists. When Wesley had thirty pounds a year, he lived on twenty-eight and gave away two; the next year he received sixty pounds, but still lived on twenty-eight and gave away thirty-two; the third year he received ninety pounds and gave away sixty-two; the fourth year he received a hundred and twenty pounds, yet still he lived on twenty-eight and gave to the poor all the rest.

As an Oxford graduate and a fellow of Lincoln College (1726), he already gave promise of a distinguished career within the Church of England, but neither in the opportunities of Holy Orders nor in the activities of the Oxford Methodists did Wesley find satisfaction and inner harmony. His intercourse with the Moravian Brethren on the voyage to America and



**METHODISM'S FAMOUS PREACHER**

George Whitefield (1714-70), life-long friend of the Wesleys, was one of the founders of the Calvinistic Methodist church. His reputation as a pulpit orator justifies the pose in which John Wollaston placed him for this portrait.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

in Georgia, whence he returned in 1738, convinced him that he had missed the intimate individual communion with God which they knew, and he came to believe that this experience could be acquired instantly in conversion. After a period of constant self-examination and doubt, he went to one of the Church of England religious societies in Aldersgate Street, and during the reading by a Moravian elder of Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans he felt a sudden release from strain and at the same moment possessed an intuitive certainty that God loved him and that his sins were forgiven.

His life is witness to the fact that this strange warming of heart, as he called it, fused all the varied forces of his character under the dominant sentiment of love to God, with its necessary corollary of love to man. The emotional and intellectual aspects of the conversion are inseparable. The conception of God as the absolute law-giver and judge had been replaced by a conception of God as in Christ the Redeemer and Saviour of His children. With the best of inten-

tions, Wesley had been at war with his fate, his relations with ultimate reality had been strained almost to the point of hostility. At his conversion, this unavailing conflict gave place to reconciliation, the centre of which was a gracious personal relationship mediated through faith in Jesus Christ.' (Dimond, *Psychology of the Methodist Revival*). The intensity and joy of his conversion are the key to the whole of his subsequent career; he lived to proclaim to all men the possibility of a spiritual new birth.

Seeking for light and guidance, Wesley visited the Moravian settlement at Herrnhut, and on his return a Pentecostal moment in a love-feast at Fetter Lane confirmed the idea in the mind of the

**Opening of the  
Preaching Campaign**

Wesleys and Whitefield and their colleagues that they were called to take up an almost immeasurable task (1739). Whitefield commenced preaching the new doctrine of conversion and assurance in Bristol, and after being forbidden to preach in the London churches Wesley followed Whitefield's example and took up the work in Bristol, proclaiming the truth to immense crowds in the open air. With extraordinary rapidity the movement spread in the Kingswood area, in London, in Newcastle-on-Tyne and in many places on the roads between these first great centres.

Strange contrasts are presented by the leaders of the revival. Whitefield lacked the mental discipline which Wesley displayed, but he had greater dramatic gifts; his preaching was passionate and rhetorical, and often overwhelmingly emotional. David Hume, who was not likely to be a sympathetic hearer, said that it was worth going twenty miles to hear Whitefield preach. Although later on he broke with the Wesleys on account of his Calvinistic doctrine, their personal friendship was maintained to the end. Johnson described Charles Wesley as a 'more stationary man' than his brother John. Charles was calm and methodical in his preaching and was very critical of John's innovations with regard to field preaching, lay preachers and the appointment of presbyters for America.

A wealth of religious poetry of the highest order was the greatest contribution of Charles Wesley to the revival. Of the six thousand five hundred hymns with which he is credited it is remarkable how many rise to a very high level as lyrical poems. Who does not know 'Jesus, lover of my soul,' or 'Hark! the herald angels sing'? Reflecting as they did an immediate and passionately felt religious experience, the hymns conveyed to the reader and to the congregation a deeper and more clearly defined spiritual conviction, and at the same time created those moments of quickened emotion in which conversion was more likely to take place. Congregational

Potent influence singing was quite a novelty in Wesley's day, except among some of the Dissenters, and the effect produced by a large crowd joining in songs of faith and prayer was one of the most distinctive features of the Methodist movement. What the converts lacked in creeds and liturgy they were more than compensated for in their hymn-book. No other revival in history presents to us such a striking combination as that of these two brothers, John Wesley, with his undoubted eminence as a leader of men, and Charles, whose poetry of religious experience has all the marks of creative genius.

John Wesley was, in many ways, a great and typical Englishman. It is sometimes pointed out that both his grandfathers were Nonconformists, his mother was a Congregationalist, but his parents had returned to the national Church, so that he inherited at once the root principles of the Independent and the Anglican. Whether this be so or not, Wesley certainly possessed the English passion for individual liberty peculiarly combined with a deep sense of the necessity of order. For him there was no conflict between a Protestant assertion of the right of the individual will and judgement and a Catholic acceptance of order and tradition. Although these diverse principles of freedom and authority account for the disputes and divisions of nineteenth-century Methodism, they have since been accommodated in a

community of Methodist organizations which have their central unity in an evangelical experience akin to that of Wesley himself.

With his reverence for Church order, and a strong sense of the social values of religion, Wesley never preached anywhere unless he saw the possibility of following it up by the formation of a local society, and before long there were hundreds of these societies established all over the country. The charge of popery was brought against the Methodists because they possessed an order and fellowship at that time not to be found in any church outside Rome, if there.

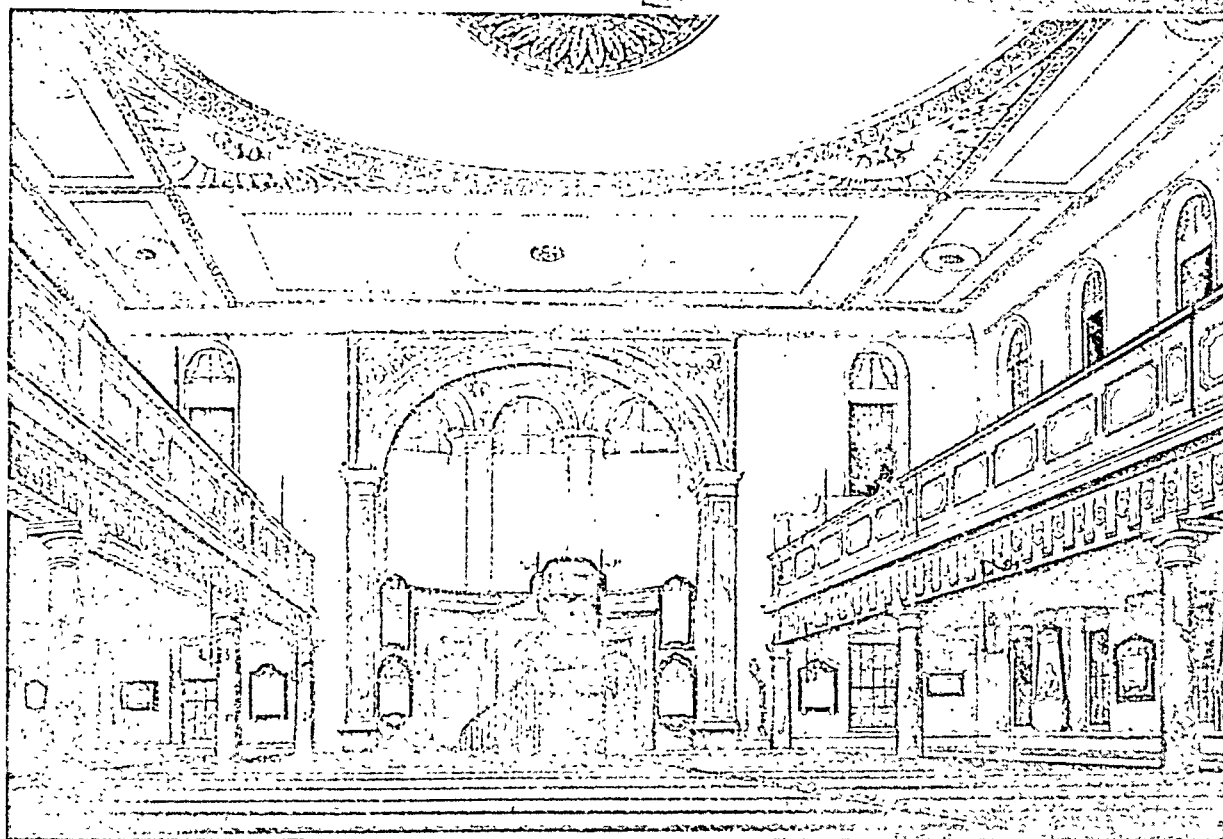
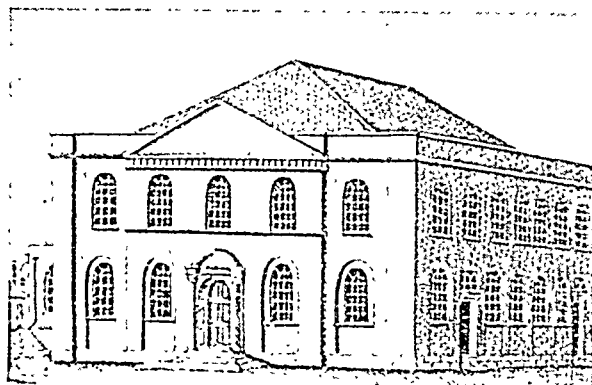
Intimate comradeship brought strength to the new movement, and the converts were less likely to find their vision fade into the light of common day when they met regularly in 'band' or 'class' meetings, and by their testimony counselled one another and fanned the flame of spiritual ardour. A strong community spirit gathered around the widening circle of society, circuit and connexional life, until it spread to the colonies and has become in modern Methodism a world-wide religious and social sentiment. With his hierarchy of preachers, local preachers, stewards, class leaders and members of society Wesley was able to impress his own high standard of moral and religious discipline upon the whole social organism.

So wide-spread a movement could not be ignored, but the national Church failed in spiritual vision and in administrative wisdom, and Wesley's societies were thrust out to join their potent young forces to those of the Nonconformists. Thus it came to pass that during Wesley's lifetime the number of church-goers who were Nonconformists rose from about a twentieth to somewhere near a half. It must be remembered that Wesley liked the order of the Church, he liked bishops, and he always maintained his attachment to the older communion; consequently Methodism became a kind of High Church of Dissent, infusing a new spirit into Nonconformity.

The older Dissenting communions responded to the vital influence of the

Methodist revival and shared its creative religious experience. When Wesley was born both Baptists and Independents were declining sects and suffered from constant controversy, and many of the moderate Dissenters, of whom Baxter may be regarded as a representative, were still in favour of inclusion in the national church. Dr. Workman quotes the historian Mosheim, who wrote in 1740: 'Those best acquainted with the state of the English nation tell us that the Dissenting interest declines from day to day.' In spite of the work of Watts and Doddridge, Wesley's contemporaries among the Independents, and John Gale, a Baptist scholar and preacher of Wesley's boyhood, and other individual leaders, it seems probable that but for Methodism Nonconformity in England would have disappeared, with the exception of a few extremists. The immense moral and spiritual values of the revival soon broke down opposition and distrust, and many of the converts found their way into the

various dissenting churches, carrying with them the cleansing and invigorating power of a genuine evangelical experience. A passion for evangelistic work took possession of the Independents, and the spread of 'open communion' among the Baptists dates from the evangelical preaching of Robert Hall. Wesley not only brought a wealth of higher values and new religious life to Nonconformity, but by direct additions to its ranks and indirect influence upon its spirit he raised it from declension and decay and made it the representative church of half the nation



INTERIOR OF WESLEY'S CHAPEL IN THE CITY ROAD, LONDON

On November 2, 1778, Wesley's Chapel in the City Road was opened. It was reconstructed and reopened in 1899, but the interior presents virtually the same appearance as in Wesley's time, although the pulpit from which he preached for twelve years has been reduced in height. Wesley died at the Chapel house—the building now used as the Wesley Museum—on March 2, 1791, and is buried in a vault to the rear of the chapel. Above is the chapel as first opened in 1778.

*Wesley Museum; lithograph (below) by J. C. Anderson, 1779*

in England, and of a vastly larger proportion of the people in America.

Elie Halévy, who has devoted life-long study to nineteenth-century England, traces the stability of modern England to a psychological root in the individual stability produced by the Methodist Revival. But for this, he says, the economic iniquities of the Industrial Revolution would have led to anarchy, and the French Revolution would have had its counterpart in England. Similarly, he shows how events so diverse as the Electoral Reform Act of 1832, the early factory acts and the abolition of slavery in the British colonies owed their inception to the direct work of evangelical leaders, or their place on the statute book to the unrecognized but dominating evangelical or centre party in politics. It may be that Methodism

shared the humanitarian impulse, the passionate sympathy with human suffering which swept over western Europe at the end of the eighteenth century; but it is also incontrovertible that the social implications of the evangelical experience sent the stirrings of new life wherever the English language was spoken, and by means of its missionaries throughout the whole commonwealth of men. In the immediate experience of God, which is the heart of evangelicalism, is found the secret of stability and of social righteousness, for in the high moment of conversion are found at the same time harmony of life within and adaptation to life without. 'Peace with God' is always identified with 'love to man.' Here is the root of Methodism, with its passionate confidence in personal and religious values, and in the possibility of social and moral redemption for men and nations.

Our last word must be of John Wesley. It is impossible to study the documents which tell of his life and work without being at once humbled and exalted by the sheer greatness of his moral and spiritual stature. He claimed England again for God and made the whole world his parish during a campaign which lasted fifty years. Throughout the three kingdoms his journeys on horseback averaged

eight thousand miles annually for many a long year, during each of which he rarely preached less than a thousand times. He wrote thousands of letters, and published over a hundred works which brought him a profit of thirty thousand pounds, every penny of which he distributed in charity during his lifetime. 'No single figure influenced so many minds, no single voice touched so many hearts. No other man did such a life's work for England.' Yet the Journal presents him to us without any impression of haste. 'I have no time to be in a hurry,' he said. Sure of himself and of his task, he has all the leisure and grace which are the marks of power in reserve.

The charm of Wesley's personality and the secret of his life are revealed in his Journal, and even more intimately and completely in his *Wesley's Journal and Cipher Diary* private cipher diary

which was made public in the standard edition of the Journal. There we learn that his early resolve 'to dedicate an hour, morning and evening; no excuse, reason, or pretence,' to private prayer and communion with God, was almost literally carried out from the beginning to the end of his crowded life. But this was not enough if the happy confidence in God of his conversion experience was to endure to the end. From his diary we learn that in every hour he spent five minutes, sometimes a minute more or less, in secret prayer. If illness or other circumstance interrupted these devotions, they were speedily resumed with a regularity like that of his meat and drink. In facing angry and hostile mobs, or in facing his lifelong task of 'spreading Scriptural holiness throughout the land,' Wesley was sustained by the reality of his communion with God.

When all the historical facts relating to Methodism have been considered, and when Wesley's temperament and training and gifts have been weighed, his self-discipline, his cool and balanced judgment, his sure instinct for fact and his passionate purity and devotion to his task, we are compelled to recognize in the story of the Methodist revival the very grace and might of the Eternal.





#### GATHERING OF BRILLIANT GUESTS AT A LITERARY PARTY GIVEN BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS

The great master of portraiture, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), was exceedingly popular in the best society of the period and numbered many celebrities among his friends. This engraving after James Doyle's painting shows the distinguished assembly at a party given by Reynolds (third from left). Next to him, at the head of the table, sits his intimate friend, the great Doctor Johnson, with faithful Boswell watching behind him. David Garrick, the famous actor, is on his host's left hand with Pascal Paoli beside him. Warton murmurs an aside to Goldsmith at the other end of the table. Edmund Burke, bespectacled, and Burney, on his right, listen earnestly to Johnson's outpourings.

# ENGLISH LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Society from the Court downwards watched at its  
Occupations & Diversions in an Age of Transition

By ARTHUR J. IRELAND

Author of *Episodes in the History of England*, etc

WITH the dawn of the eighteenth century there began a period of growth and change in England for which no parallel can be found in all the twelve centuries that had elapsed since Roman Britain became a part of England, and this period, although it was eclipsed in some respects by the developments which occurred in the nineteenth century, still remains the most remarkable era of transition in the history of the country. Strange to say, the interest of the eighteenth century is a modern discovery for until comparatively recently it was supposed to be a dull period, in which clever, selfish and scheming statesmen were playing their own game under the rule of a succession of stupid German princelings who had been elevated to the throne of England. Never was a greater mistake made than this, for careful consideration shows that the seed of the changes that made the Victorian Age one of the most amazing periods in the history of England was sown during the last three-quarters of the preceding century.

The broad generalisation that this period was a most important age in the history of England can be easily verified from the memoirs of the notable characters who flourished under Queen Anne and the first three Georges. The student should also turn to the entertaining and illuminating pages of *The Spectator*, *The Tatler* and *The Rambler* and read there the contemporary writings of the inimitable Fanny Burney, who is perhaps better known as Madame d'Arblay, and of that prince of gossips, Horace Walpole—not omitting the sardonic comments of Jonathan Swift and the mordant criticisms

of Lord Hervey, while first among the books that should claim attention is James Boswell's *Life of Dr Samuel Johnson*, which is not only the most remarkable biography in the language, but also paints a very accurate picture of the social conditions in England during the later years of the period under consideration.

Avowed fiction very often depicts more truly than alleged fact the manners and the customs of an age. This generalisation applies with particular accuracy to the best of the stories and the romances which were written during the eighteenth century. No history contains a more faithful, a more entertaining or a more intimate picture of the time than will be found in *Evelina*, by Fanny Burney, while Fielding, Smollett and Richardson may also be taken as trustworthy guides.

Among the dramatists, pride of place must be given to two Irishmen, Goldsmith and Sheridan, but 'Mr John Gay,' as he liked to be called, must not be omitted. Little need be said about the poets of the period, for with very few exceptions those who were more than mediocrities were either survivors of the seventeenth century or belonged to the group of brilliant young men whose best work was done after the death of the century in which they were born. The artists, however, are of more moment—one need only refer to the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough and George Romney—with which must be coupled the brilliant social satires of William Hogarth and the biting caricatures of James Gillray.

While it is true that the novelist, the dramatist and the poet, with their

allegorical allusions and their imaginary characters, very often present a truer picture of the age in which they lived than the historian who attempts to examine contemporary people and events, the records of the men and the women who have played a great part in making the history of their generation cannot be overlooked. Every age is finally assessed in the scales of history by the achievements of a relatively very small number of individuals; and the real interest and importance of the eighteenth century is that it produced an unusually large number of outstanding personalities.

Orators of dazzling ability were plentiful; for during the one century the country heard Edmund Burke, the elder and the younger Pitt and Charles James Fox—to mention but four of the greatest names. Great statesmen were almost as common as great orators; for it was governed by Sir Robert Walpole, Halifax, Somers, Oxford, Bolingbroke, the Pelhams and the Rockinghams—surely no mean array of talent, even though the honesty of some may not be above suspicion. On the stage it saw David Garrick, Sarah Siddons and Peg Woffington. Among its soldiers were

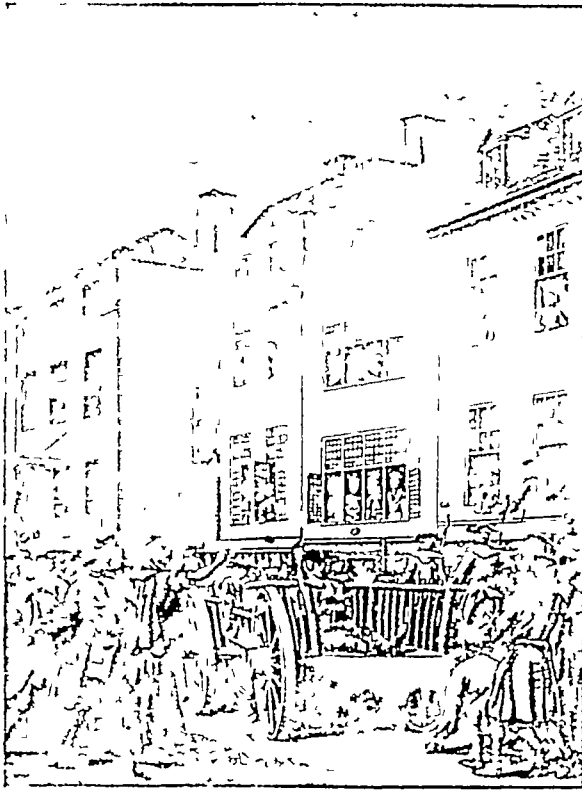
John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, James Wolfe and Robert Clive. Its navy was led by such men as Anson, Hawke and Nelson. Its preachers among the orthodox clergy were Sacheverell, Burnet and Wilberforce; while the Nonconformists were led by John Wesley and by George Whitefield. Most notable of its explorers was James Cook, whose voyages led to the colonisation of Australia and New Zealand; but closely allied with the actual explorers may be mentioned Warren Hastings, the great British consul in India.

Apart from the really great names of the century, a peculiarly characteristic type was the very 'fine gentleman' called a 'beau,' who devoted an inordinate amount of time to the attiring of his person and set the fashion at the popular watering-places; for without Beau Brummel and Beau Nash, worthless popinjays though they were, the eighteenth century would have lost a great deal of its colour. It was the influence of the professional beau that produced many of the recklessly extravagant societies, or fellowships, of which the Macaronis, the Bloods and the Corinthians are examples. Moreover, out of these associations of stupidly foppish



DEFRAUDING THE REVENUE: SMUGGLERS BREAK OPEN A CUSTOM HOUSE

Engraved for *The Newgate Calendar*, 1773, this eighteenth-century print shows a gang of smugglers forcing their way into the king's custom house at Poole in 1747. Two of them keep guard over the horses while their daring companions batter down the door, eager to seize and carry off consignments of brandy and tea. At this time smuggling was widely practised in England, and the coasts of Hampshire, Kent and Sussex were terrorised by the activities of this reckless band.



THE END OF A CRIMINAL CAREER

By organizing robberies, pretending to be a detective and restoring stolen goods to their owners for large fees, Jonathan Wild prospered greatly. Finally apprehended and pelted by an angry mob, he was hanged at Tyburn in 1725.

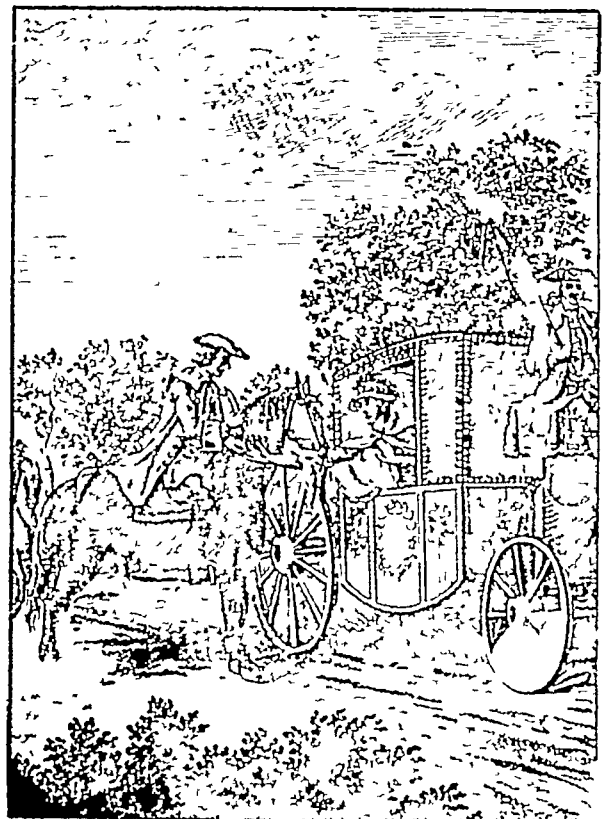
From *'The Malefactor's Register'*

Young men grew such freak clubs as the Hell Fire Club and the Medmenham Frotherhood, that became notorious owing to the riotous excesses of every kind in which their members indulged.

Almost equally characteristic were the daring outlaws who infested the high seas and the highways, making both unsafe for the honest traveller. In reality, the 'gentlemen of the road' were a sorry lot of scoundrels, but they were picturesque figures, though not nearly as romantic as the writers of fiction have made them appear. On the other hand, there is very little that can be said in extenuation of the methods employed by the pirates, although the honest smugglers, who 'ran' into the country cargoes of contraband wines, silks and laces under the very noses of the revenue men, were certainly rather attractive and very daring devils.

The extent to which travellers were terrorised by the highwaymen is shown by the many allusions to the dangers of the road that are made by contemporary

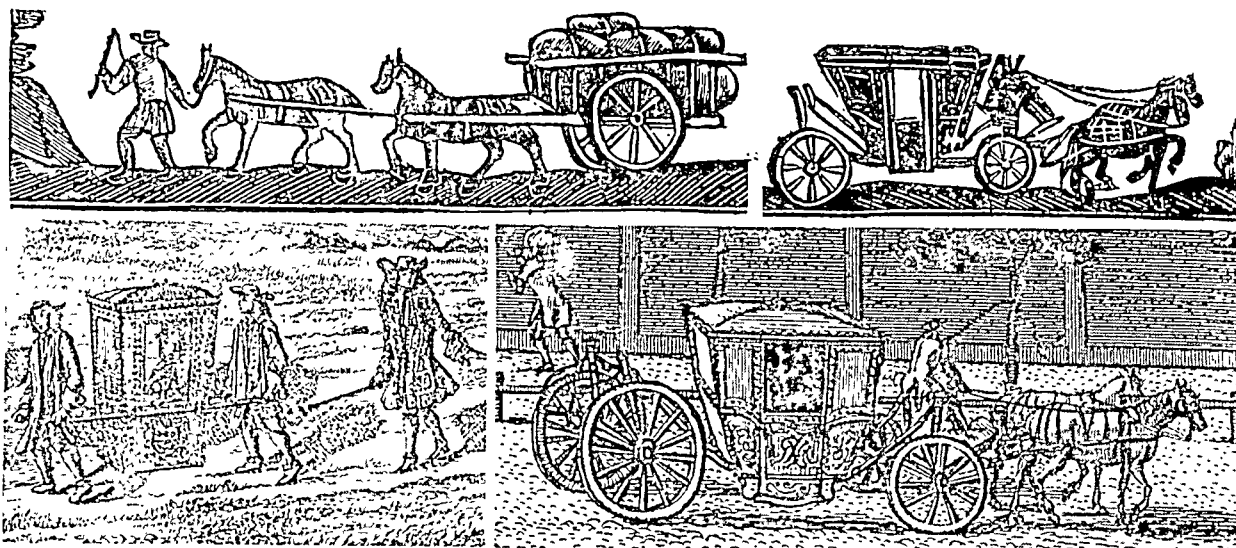
writers. Horace Walpole, for instance, said that men were forced to travel even at noon as though they were going to battle, and in large parties for the sake of safety, and he bitterly complained that he was deprived of much pleasant company at Strawberry Hill, because his friends could not be induced to face the perils of the highwayman-infested roads between Twickenham and London. Most of these sad gentlemen of the road came to an untimely end, and made their last public appearance on the gallows at Tyburn. But while nothing except contempt can be felt for such exploiters of the frailties of their kind as Jonathan Wild, it is difficult not to feel a sneaking fondness for such a dare-devil outlaw as Dick Turpin, who, by his unaided prowess, made his name feared on every road within a hundred miles of London, while he and his fellows in misdoing made Hounslow Heath, Blackheath, Finchley Common, Hampstead Heath and every



A BLACKGUARD OF THE ROAD

Evidence of the ruthless attitude of highwaymen towards their victims is supplied by this engraving representing one Raby in the act of cutting off a lady's finger to obtain a ring which he cannot wrench off.

From *'The Newgate Calendar'*

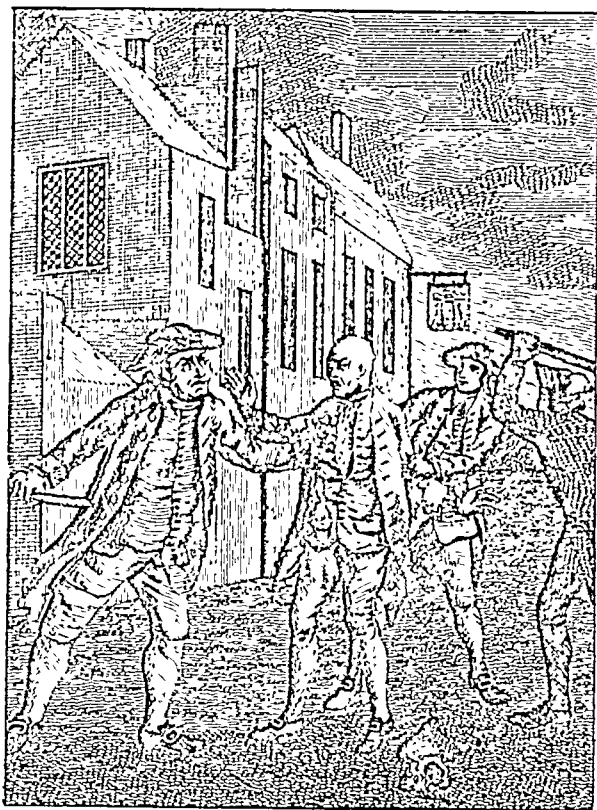


## CONVEYANCES IN USE IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE THE FIRST

The sedan chair (lower left, c. 1720) was a mode of transit greatly favoured by the fair sex, especially when venturing abroad at night, for the bearers served as a protection against footpads. On the right is a Hackney coach, driving down Piccadilly, by the same artist, Kip. The other specimen (top right), dated 1709, is from a torn table of fares issued by the Sheriff's Court. From the same source comes the representation of a carter's wagon (top left) drawn by two horses.

*Lower two from Kip, 'London and Westminster' and 'Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne'*

other open space places of horror, where the belated traveller looked to the priming of his pistols and hid his valuables in the most unlikely parts of his attire.



## MURDEROUS FOOTPADS AT WORK

Late on the night of June 11, 1751, three robbers fell upon one William Fargues at Hoxton and murdered him. There was risk of attack from thieves and pickpockets even in daytime.

*Engraving by Valois*

Even the streets of London, which was by far the largest town in England, were extremely unsafe for pedestrians in the eighteenth century. Footpads, pickpockets, cutpurses and common thieves abounded, and carried on their trade even in broad daylight; while at night bad characters of the worst type—including kidnappers, bullies and cut-throats—made even the more frequented thoroughfares places to be avoided. Few men, and no woman, could venture with safety into any of the quieter streets—especially those which were in the neighbourhood of the clubs, the coffee-houses, the public gardens and the theatres. It was customary for gentlemen to sally forth armed and in parties; but those who had no friends to bear them company, and could not afford to employ a lackey, were thankful to hire the protection of a sturdy ruffian armed with a stout cudgel. Skull-cracking, as a prelude to robbery, was a fine art; for although theft, with or without violence, of anything above the value of five shillings was a capital offence punishable by death on the Tyburn gallows, murder was a more serious crime and was shunned when possible.

Ladies who ventured out after dark, bound for a ball or a rout or a fête or the play, travelled either in sedan chairs or in great lumbering coaches, escorted



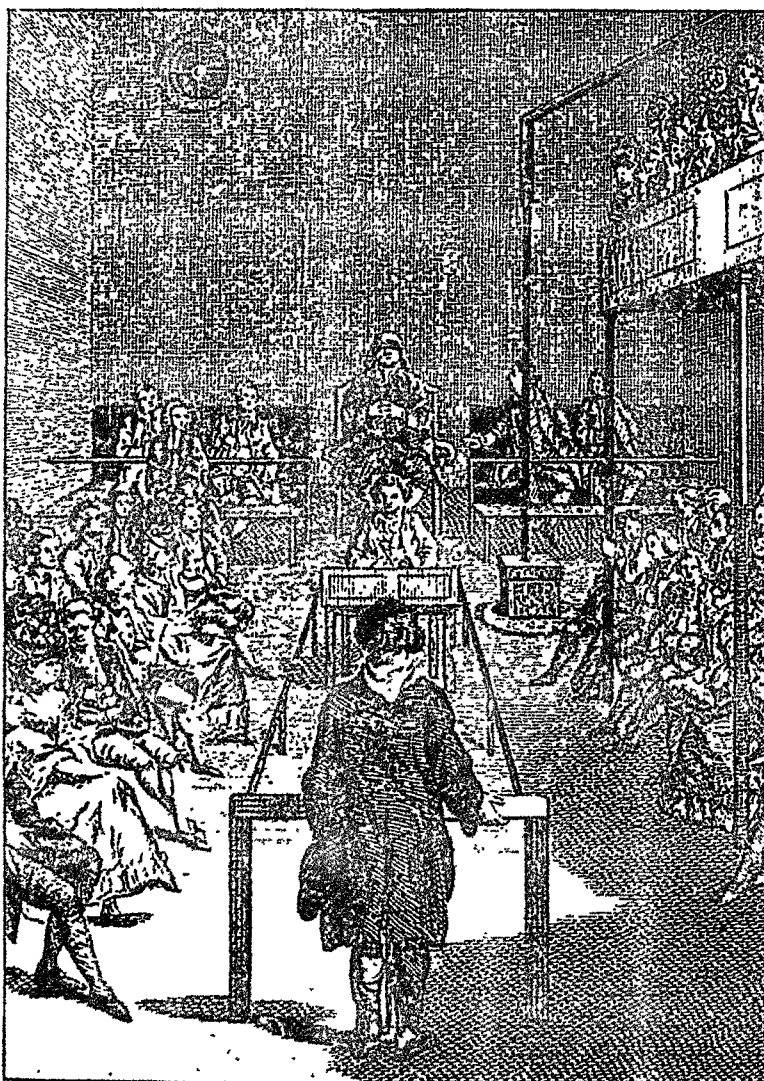
by armed cavaliers and guarded by trusty manservants who were also fully prepared to face all the chances of the common way.

Another type of criminal common in the eighteenth century was the highly accomplished shop-lifter. It was known that some of the aristocracy of the profession made a comfortable income at the expense of honest shopkeepers; for they had no difficulty in disposing of the stolen property through the medium of known 'fences'—a name which has survived. Some of these rogues eluded capture for many years, although their occupations were known to the authorities; but eventually most of them came to a tragic end—either on the gallows, or as convicts who were transported to the American plantations, and later to Botany Bay in Australia. The shop-lifting record was held by the notorious Charles Speckman, who remained at large for fifteen years; while Hardy Vaux was a keen competitor for the honour.

During the last part of the century, however, the lot of the London pests became anything but happy; for they were hunted like vermin by the remorseless bloodhounds who were known as Bow Street runners. Even here crime crept in; for among the 'runners' there were men who, like the Jonathan Wild of an earlier day, flourished by running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. It is interesting to note that the company of Bow Street runners, composed of picked men who were strong and resolute, was formed at the suggestion of Henry Fielding, the famous author of *Tom Jones* and of many other extremely entertaining but somewhat scurrilous stories.

But violence, after all, was no more typical of this age than of its predecessors. More characteristic was a class of

women that grew up in a society where it was fashionable for ladies of gentle birth to have 'come-overs,' 'declines' and 'swoons' upon every possible occasion—especially when receiving a proposal of marriage, or upon beholding a mouse. These were the highly educated women who, despising the weaknesses of their sex, were not content to sit in a corner either playing cards for high stakes or talking babies, servants and scandal, while their menfolk, who were supposed to be discussing the great affairs of state, were really sleeping off, either on their chairs or under the dinner table, the effects of heady punch and port wine. These revolutionaries were inspired by the example set by their French sisters, such



'THE BLIND BEAK OF BOW STREET'

The creation of the body of men who later became the famous Bow Street runners was initiated by Henry Fielding the novelist and carried on by his half-brother, the blind magistrate, Sir John Fielding (d. 1780). This engraving shows the latter presiding over the Public Office at Bow Street.

From *'The Malefactors' Register*, 1777



## PIONEERS OF THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Sir Joshua Reynolds painted the clever face of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu (top left), noted for her literary ability and power of repartee. Top right: Mary Wollstonecraft, who published her *Rights of Women* in 1793, painted by S. Opie. Other outstanding blue-stockings are the poetess, Hannah More (left, by Raeburn), and Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, the Greek scholar, drawn by Sir T. Lawrence.

*Left, engr. by Bartolozzi, and the Louvre; right, National Portrait Gallery, London*

as Madame du Deffand and Mademoiselle de Lespinasse, who had created the form of social gathering which was called a 'salon' (see page 3991). The salon in England never flourished as it flourished in Paris; but the English ladies were certainly quite as brilliant as their French neighbours, and probably more learned. They formed very select little coteries—which Horace Walpole aptly nicknamed 'petticotries'—and were generally known as the 'blue-stockings,' a name that was said to have been derived from the charming but impecunious Benjamin Stillingfleet, who, not being able to afford the conventional black silk stockings, asked to be excused from coming to the salon of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu. So much appreciated was his company, however,

that the ladies would not allow him to absent himself; and so he was bidden to attend in his everyday stockings, which were made of coarse grey or blue worsted.

Among the more notable of these learned ladies—some of whom, it is said, upon occasion donned blue stockings as a compliment to Stillingfleet—were Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, Fanny Burney, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Mrs. Vesey, Mrs. Delany, Mrs. Thrale, Hannah More, Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Mrs. Boscawen, all of whom were women of great talent in an age in which well educated women were exceptional. But they were by no means the only 'female freaks,' to quote the epithet of a satirical lampoonist of the period; for any reference to the outstanding women of the age would be incomplete if it omitted the names of Mrs. Howard, who was the friend, confidante and correspondent of all the lead-

ing literary men at the beginning of the century, of Selina, countess of Huntingdon, the most influential of the early supporters of John Wesley, and Mary Wollstonecraft, whose *Rights of Women* was the forerunner of all the feminist literature which has helped to win the suffrage for women.

Naturally, the blue-stockings and their sympathisers were the butt of much pleasantry, both kindly and malicious. Byron alludes to them somewhat sneeringly; while Lord Lyttelton 'let them down lightly' with a judicious dose of mingled flattery and rebuke. He wrote:

Make not too dangerous wit a vain pretence,  
But wisely rest content with modest sense;  
For wit like wine intoxicates the brain,  
Too strong for feeble women to sustain.



On the other hand, justice demands that the tributes paid to these ladies should be represented—even though it be necessary to quote from Hannah More as their champion in verse. She wrote:

Long was society o'er-run  
By whist, that desolating Hum;  
Long did quadrille despotic sit,  
That vandal of colloquial wit;  
And conversation's setting light  
Lay half-obscured in Gothic light;  
At length the mental shades decline,  
Colloquial wit begins to shine;  
Genius prevails, and conversation  
Emerges into reformation.  
The vanquished triple crown to you,  
Boscawen sage, bright Montagu,  
Divided fell; your cares in haste  
Rescued the ravag'd realms of taste.

It is very easy to make fun of these ladies, who were the extremely worthy and gifted pioneers of a great movement. But to end upon a note of ridicule would convey a false idea of their influence and of their acquirements. Lyttelton might gently flatter and rebuke, Byron might snap and snarl, Hannah More might betray her limitations in well-meaning but flaccid verse; but there is no misunderstanding the solid and sweeping compliment which was paid by Dr. Samuel Johnson, the greatest arbiter of literary taste—the autocrat and despot before whom every 'quill-driver' quailed—when he was speaking of the scholarship of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, the translator of Epictetus. She was wont to relate with pride that when referring to the acquirements of some celebrated Greek scholar he had said that 'he understood Greek better than anyone he had ever known, except Elizabeth Carter.'

Such were the more outstanding personalities of the age; after alluding to them it is now possible to tell the story of the eighteenth century as it is revealed by the manners of the people and conditions under which they lived.

According to the generally accepted estimate, the total population of England and Wales in the year 1700 was about 5,500,000. This number represented an increase of about half a million during the last twelve years of the seventeenth century; for when the Revolution took place, by which James II. was deposed and

William and Mary became joint sovereigns, the population was said to be 5,000,000 people in England and Wales. It must always be remembered, however, that these estimates are only approximate, and that they were obtained by allowing for a certain number of occupants in each house; for it was not until the year 1801 that the first proper census was taken, when the population amounted to 9,187,176—or, according to the official figures, which excluded the army, the navy and the merchant service at home, to 8,892,536. These figures are interesting and important for two reasons—first, because they show how comparatively rapidly the population had increased during the eighteenth century; and, secondly, because they indicate how sparsely even the most densely populated districts of the country were inhabited.

But far more important than the actual number of the people was the question of their distribution and of their occupations; and when these aspects have



MRS. THRALE AND DR. JOHNSON

Mrs. Thrale was the wife of a wealthy brewer and, with her husband, rejoiced in the friendship of Dr. Johnson. He was a frequent visitor at Brewery House, Southwark, where, in this drawing (1791) by Isaac Cruikshank, he is seen at breakfast in conversation with his hostess.

A. M. Broadley, 'Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale,' John Lane

been explained, it will be found that during the period under consideration a great social and occupational revolution took place. During the early years of the eighteenth century the rural population far outnumbered the urban population, while during the later portion of it the balance was gradually redressed, until the towns became crowded haunts of humanity and the country districts were left almost depopulated wildernesses.

Here it may be well to state that for the sake of convenience the whole period can be divided into two very distinct parts—the accession of George III to the throne, in the year 1760, being taken as the event which marked the beginning of the second division.

Throughout the earlier period, from 1701 to 1759, England was essentially an agricultural and pastoral country, which was producing a steadily decreasing surplus of grain—a surplus which was still being exported and sold abroad, even as the superabundant harvests of the Roman province of Britannia Felix were sent to relieve famine-stricken districts in other parts of the Roman Empire. But before the close of the century the home-grown crops had ceased to be adequate for the needs of the people, and, consequently, for the first time in the history of England it became necessary to import wheat and

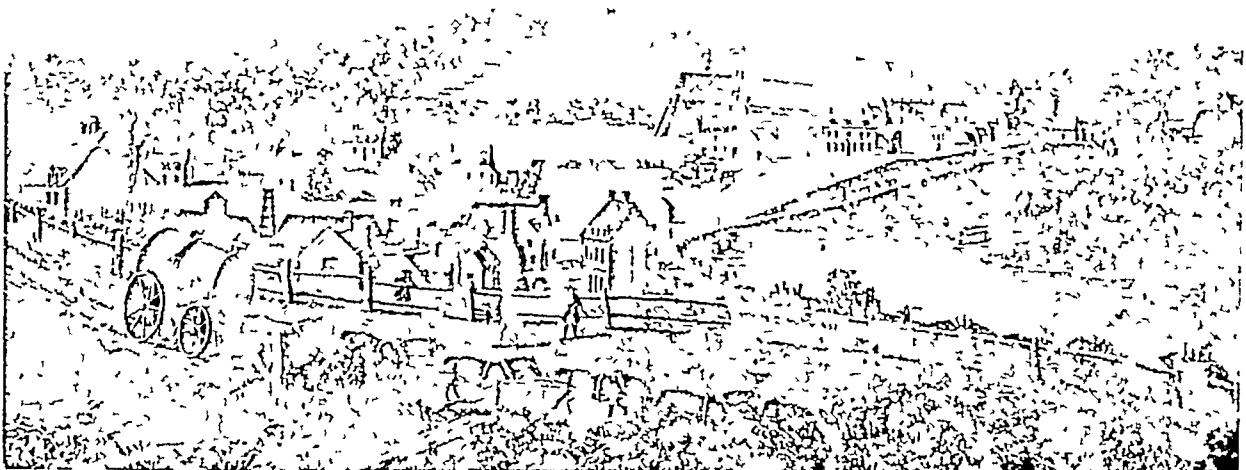
other bread-stuffs. The shrinkage in the harvests was due not to the failure of the crops, but to the very much smaller acreage of land under cultivation, the former tillers of the soil having left the rural districts and flocked into the already congested towns.

Such a change as this could not fail to have a very profound effect upon the character of the people, as well as upon their occupations, and it becomes necessary to inquire whether the change was produced by a purely voluntary migration, or whether it was stimulated, if not necessitated, by the force of circumstances over which the migrants had no control.

The answer to this question cannot be given in a few words, for there were many causes that helped

to produce the result. But **The Enclosure Movement** without entering into details it may be said that

the primary cause of the change was what is known as the 'enclosure movement'—a movement which deprived the independent yeoman peasantry of their ancient rights as freeholders, in order that the estates and farms of those who already had more than enough to supply their wants might be increased. It has been said that the enclosure movement was beneficial to the country, because, owing to the greater wealth of the



AN EARLY STAGE IN THE TRANSITION OF COUNTRY INTO TOWN

Early in the eighteenth century Abraham Darby founded his ironworks in the valley of Coalbrookdale, Shropshire, and the transformation of that pleasant rural district into a centre of industrial life began. This contemporary print shows the nucleus of the town in 1758 with smoking chimneys and begrimed buildings in a setting of trees and fields, soon to be further encroached on by the influx of workers and their accompanying housing problem.

Engraving by G. Perry and I. Smith, 1758



The eighteenth century is accounted an age of agricultural depression, owing to the operations of the enclosure movement. But this homely scene, painted and subsequently aquatinted by George Stubbs in 1791, of reapers on what looks like enclosed arable in the ownership of the mounted squire, suggests that there were districts at the end of the century where conditions were far from intolerable.

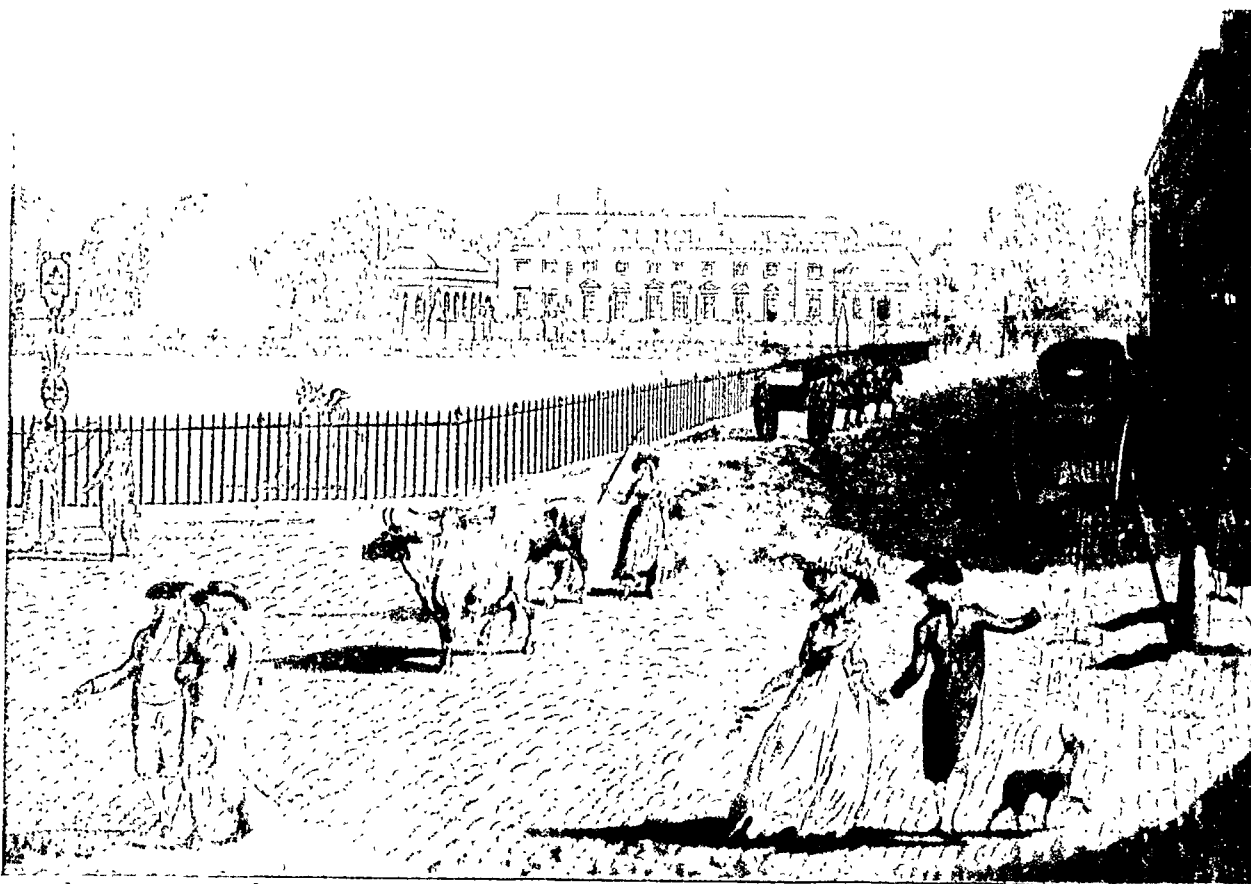
*Courtesy of James Rimall & Son, Ltd.*



If the condition of the countryside might give the economist cause for disquiet, there was nothing outwardly to mar the polish and brilliance of Society in eighteenth-century England; only the moralist might carp. This group of the Beaumont family, by Romney, is typical of the soberer section of the aristocracy, and gives a good idea of military and civil costume. George Romney (1734-1802) is ranked second to Reynolds and Gainsborough, but his male portraits are excellent.

#### COUNTRY AND TOWN : STRATA OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIETY

*National Gallery, London*



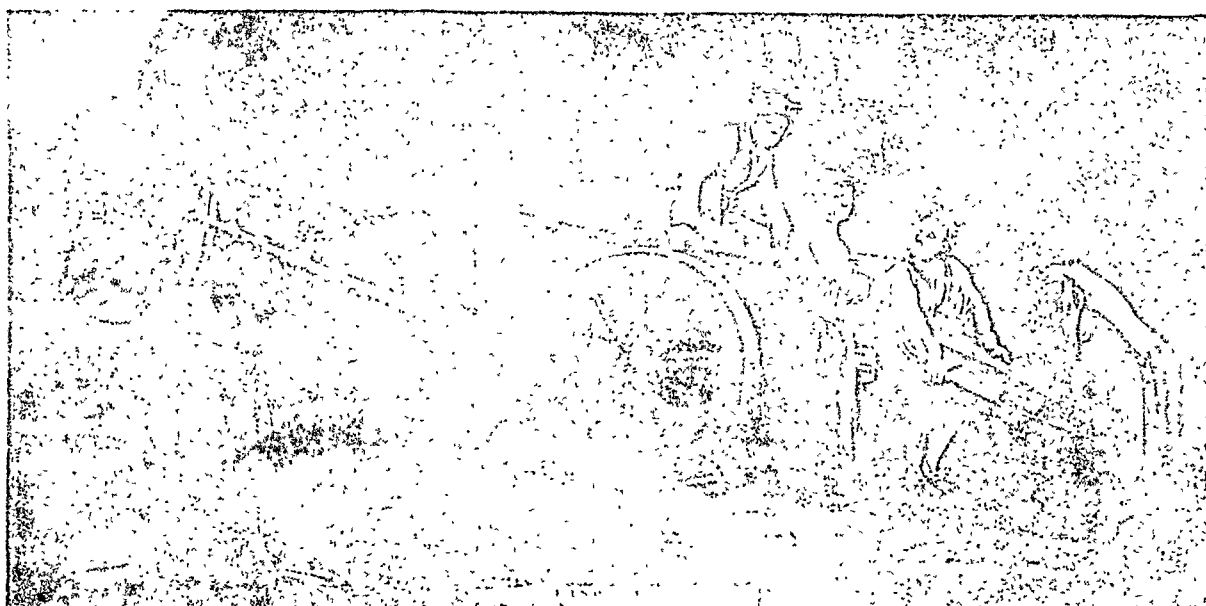
An advance on stipple engraving (see plate facing page 4090), in which the depressions to hold the ink were punched on the plate by hand, was aquatinting, in which the stipple was produced by acid acting on a plate dusted with rosin. This example, aquatinted by R. Dodd and R. Pollard from a drawing by E. Dayes, shows the almost rural and very aristocratic setting of Bloomsbury Square in 1789.



Invented on the Continent, aquatinting was introduced into England shortly before the date of the print at the top of the page, when some of the finest examples were being produced. For long afterwards, however, the cheaper method of hand-colouring an engraving remained popular, as seen in this view looking from Ludgate Circus towards Blackfriars Bridge in 1810, with the Albion Fire Office on the left. The still extant obelisk commemorates the mayoralty of John Wilkes (1774).

#### BUSINESS AND RESIDENTIAL LONDON OF MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO

*Published by R. Pollard, 1789, and (bottom) Laurie and Whittle, 1810*



#### AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS OF HANOVERIAN ENGLAND

The Industrial Revolution and the enclosure movement profoundly altered the complexion of life for the simple tiller of soil. The one lured him to the factories of overcrowded towns; the other took away his independence and ancient rights. The labourers seen in this picture, painted and engraved in 1789 by George Stubbs (1724-1806), noted for his portrayal of rustics and animals, still go about their wonted tasks, but their expressions do not suggest contentment and satisfaction

*British Museum*

new class of landowners, who could afford to till the soil better and to fertilise it more extensively, the cultivated areas yielded a larger harvest per acre than the old small holdings had done. This argument is prejudiced, for by driving away from the countryside thousands of men, with their wives and their children, the self-respecting independence of the many—even though it was but a straitened independence—was sacrificed to the enriching of the few. It marked the appearance of the trust system in operation, although it was still in the embryo stage.

These men, who had been the owners of the strips of land which provided them and their families with the necessities of life, possessed the instinctive lore of the land that they had inherited from innumerable generations of ancestors, who had been tillers of the soil from time immemorial. They were poor, but they were their own masters. They had their quota of tillage land, which was planned on the old 'open field' system (see Chapter 102); and on these freeholdings they could grow their own wheat, their own potatoes and their own vegetables. They had also grazing rights upon the common pastures; and there they could feed one or two cows, a few sheep and a few pigs.

Their wives had their poultry yards, their bees, their dairies and their little flower gardens—while many of them had their own spinning wheels and hand looms. In many cases the freeholders had certain fishing and shooting rights, which enabled them to give a pleasing and healthful variety to their daily dietary.

But this was all taken away from them by the operation of the enclosure movement; and men who had been freeholders were reduced to the position of hired labourers, whose services were requited by a pittance which barely kept body and soul together. Men and women who had been accustomed to eat the food that they had produced, and to wear clothes that were made of cloth which had been spun and woven from the fleeces of their own sheep, had to buy everything they wanted; and the garments that they had to wear were made of shoddy, as that was the only material that they could afford.

If they rebelled, and declined to accept the wages that they were offered, what was the alternative? They might, perhaps, have been able to remain in their little homes, where they would have starved; but the probability was—and this was what happened—that the

majority would be driven into the already overcrowded towns, where they would receive little more than a starvation wage as unskilled workers.

At the end of the seventeenth century there were, it is said, one hundred and eighty thousand yeoman freeholders in the country; but when the great Reform Act was passed this class had almost completely disappeared from the English countryside. Where they clung to the soil they were ill paid and hard-worked; and when they migrated they only helped

(See Chapters 163 and 164, which describe conditions up to the middle of the nineteenth century.)

The population was rapidly increasing; but when it is remembered that this increase was due to an appreciable extent to the decreasing mortality of pauper children, who were largely employed in the factories, the increase does not seem to have been an unmixed blessing. At the end of the eighteenth century it was estimated that twenty-eight per cent. of the entire population was in receipt of poor-

law relief; and when it is added that before the establishment of the factory system a very large percentage of the pauper babies had been intentionally allowed to die in infancy, the deduction is obvious. The masters were ready to employ children for a starvation wage, and the miserable parents, preferring to secure even this small sum than to bury their offspring, did their best to keep their children alive until they were old enough to begin to work.

Obviously, there could be but one result of the far-reaching occupational revolution which was taking place; and it was

revealed by the transformation that was wrought in the appearance of the country, as much as by the changes that were apparent in the lives of the people. These changes were further accentuated by another and very significant enterprise that was closely allied with the growth of industrialism—namely, the rapid development of the coal-mining industry which occurred at the same time, having been stimulated by the need for power to drive the machinery that was being so widely adopted (see Chapter 163).

Both these great causes, coupled with many which were of minor importance, were effecting a complete transformation in the appearance of the country. Small towns suddenly expanded into huge



#### SUFFERINGS OF CHILDREN IN FACTORIES

The appalling conditions and brutal treatment endured by child victims of the iniquitous factory system are the subject of this cartoon, one of a series by Robert Cruikshank entitled *English Factory Slaves*. It shows the unhappy children shrinking beneath the threats and blows of bullying overseers.

From Phillips and Tomkinson *'English Women in Life and Letters,'* Oxford University Press

to swell the inhabitants of the fast-growing, seething, sweltering, smelling slums of the new industrial towns.

The growth of the slums and the inadequacy of the home-grown food supply were not the only evils that sprang from the crowding of unskilled workers into the towns. The huge factories which arose, mushroom-like, to cope with the new conditions were as insanitary as they were hideous—ill ventilated and overcrowded—and in these terrible places men, women and children were herded together under conditions that almost defy description in decent language. The women, naturally, suffered more than the men; but the unhappy children were the real victims of the new industrialism.



Industrial centres, many of which had been very little more than villages when the Industrial Revolution began: and villages grew with amazing rapidity into towns in some districts, while in others they were deserted. Quick building was an urgent necessity, and it was carried out at the expense of good workmanship; for before long the hastily erected residential quarters of the towns which grew up around the factories began to deteriorate, and eventually sank into squalid slums. It was in these places that the workers were housed; and they had to pay exorbitant rentals for the most miserable accommodation.

In ratio to the growth of congestion in the mushroom industrial towns, the countryside was being depopulated so rapidly that in some dis-

**Depopulation of the countryside** tricts whole villages were forsaken. The tenantless cottage homes of the

people were being left to fall into a ruinous state by the hundred; and the thousands of acres which were being abandoned for agricultural purposes were not used even as pasture land. Goldsmith wrote about Lissoy, an Irish village, which he called 'Sweet Auburn,' in his poem, *The Deserted Village*; but probably he was in reality describing the state of rural England rather than the condition of Ireland—notwithstanding the evictions which were taking place there—and certainly had he looked round him, without seeking far he could have found many little villages which were in a similar plight.

Even this cursory account of the great occupational revolution which took place in England during the eighteenth century will suffice to show how truly the period may be described as a time of transition; and it was necessary to explain what was happening in order to show that one class of the community was disappearing while another was being called into existence. Peasants were being transformed into town dwellers—soon to become slum dwellers; and the transformation was being effected under conditions which made their loss far greater than their gain.

In striking and painful contrast to the miserable conditions under which the poor lived were the reckless extravagances

and the wild excesses of the idle and the rich; but, happily, midway between these two extremes there were several classes of sound, solid, steady men, whose influence probably saved the country from a terrible catastrophe. With the dire poverty of the down-trodden on the one hand, and with the irresponsible pleasure-seeking of the 'quality' on the other, England was blindly drifting towards disaster; and it is, almost certainly, no exaggeration to assert that an upheaval—the revolt of the miserable against their supposed maltreaters—similar to the revolution which rent France asunder was averted in England by the beneficent influence and the sound common sense of the middle classes, composed of the professional men, merchants and traders.

Fashion is like water—it always runs downhill; and thus, when seeking to account for the manners and the customs of the people in any age—

and especially when trying to explain their recreations, their foibles and their morals—it is always necessary to ascertain the tone of the court party. Laxity among the highest in the land is certain to lead to depravity lower down the social scale; and although purity in the court is not always able to raise the masses, failure does not relieve the great of responsibility for the well-being of the people, which is part of the burden of high estate.

The influence of the court of Charles II had almost completely died out during the twenty-six years which elapsed between 1688 and 1714. The courts of King William and Queen Mary and that of Queen Anne were, on the whole, reputable, though dull; but when George, the elector of Hanover, became King George I of England, there was a recrudescence of moral laxity at court and in society. The king himself had a weakness for eating and for drinking, as well as for various other forms of dissolute life. Thackeray said of him that he could have been forgiven for his little irregularities if only the ladies of his choice had been young and fascinating, however wicked; but that it was inexcusable for a king of England to be content with the charms of fat, elderly German women, who were



specimens of the most unattractive Frau type.

The court of Charles II—the 'Merry Monarch' of popular legend—had been completely immoral; but its unpleasantness was neutralised by a plentiful sprinkling of rose-water. Judged by the strictly moral standard, King Charles was an incorrigibly bad man; but as a king, despite his personal and political intrigues, he was not nearly as bad as his detractors had painted him. Even in his vices he was nonchalant and amusing; and that is where he differed from George I, who was gross in all his tastes, being redeemed from sheer animalism only by a species of slow, cautious common sense, which prompted him to leave his newly acquired kingdom to govern itself.



**CAROLINE THE GOOD**

Consort of George II, Caroline, seen in this portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller, had great influence on public affairs. An intellectual woman, she patronised learning, and her husband, though unfaithful, prized her advice.



**FREDERICK PRINCE OF WALES**

Frederick Lewis (1707-51), whose unhandsome features are here portrayed by B. Dandridge, was the eldest son of George II. Weak but head-strong, he opposed his father, who detested him.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

Even at his worst, however, King George was preferable to his son and successor, George II, whose one redeeming virtue was personal courage; for he was, it will be remembered, the last king of England who, as sovereign, led his army into action. This was at the battle of Dettingen, in Bavaria, on June 27, 1743. Both as a man and as a king the second George was a most contemptible creature; his domestic life was a failure, entirely through his own fault. He made everyone about him wretched, and he was

miserable himself; for the unhappy Queen Caroline was a martyr, owing to his brutal unkindness and to his gross and open infidelity. His children were estranged from him owing to his petty tyranny and his meanness. He had always hated his father, who also hated him, for it is said that Queen Caroline found among the private papers of her dead father-in-law a document in which the earl of Berkeley, who was First Lord of the Admiralty, proposed to kidnap the Prince of Wales, as George II was then, and to carry him off to the plantations in America, where he was to disappear in a most convenient manner. The scheme was dropped, and it is not known whether, at any time, it had received the support of George I.

George II upheld the family tradition, for he hated his eldest son and heir, Frederick Prince of Wales, even more bitterly than his own father had hated him. There was for many years a complete estrangement between them, and during this time there was bitter hostility between the court at St. James's and the rival 'court' at Leicester House, where the Prince of Wales rejoiced to receive all the disgruntled ministers of the crown, as a sure way of irritating his father.

Queen Caroline, in spite of her failure, was a clever woman, and she managed to exercise a great deal of influence over her husband, even though she could not win him away from his mistresses. When the unhappy lady was dying the king came to her bedside, weeping uncontrollably and very sorry for himself.

'Do not weep,' said the queen, who was rapidly sinking. 'I hope you will marry again.'

'No, no—never!' stammered the king, between his sobs. 'Marry again I never will—I will keep mistresses instead.'

'But surely,' breathed the queen, who was very weak, 'marriage will not prevent you from doing that—at least, it never has done so in the past.'

Queen Caroline died on Sunday, November 20, 1737, after an operation for rupture had been performed—too late by two days, it was said. She had suffered from this complaint for a long time, but she had heroically concealed her condition, knowing only too well that she would receive but little sympathy from her royal husband, who resented anything that caused him the least personal inconvenience. She

died, as she had lived, a patient, long-suffering woman, who deserved a better fate than Providence had seen fit to allot to her; and George II kept the vow which he had made beside her death-bed. He did not marry again, and he consoled himself for his 'irreparable loss' by lavishing wealth on Frau Amalia Sophie Marianne von Wallmoden, whom he created countess of Yarmouth.

It was Lady Yarmouth who ran to the side of the dead king when a page who had taken him a cup of chocolate, as usual, on the morning of Saturday, October 25, 1760, found the fat little body lying lifeless on the floor of his room. The Wallmoden, as she was called, had great power over the king; but what love he was capable of feeling was bestowed upon the wife whom he had so cruelly misused—and he was wont to declare that there never had been a woman on earth who was worthy to fasten the buckles of her shoes. By his expressed command he was buried in the same tomb as his queen, in King Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, and the side of his coffin that lay next to hers was, by his order, removed—so that, as



GEORGE III. WITH QUEEN CHARLOTTE AND THEIR CHILDREN

In 1760 George III (1738–1820) succeeded his grandfather George II as the first English-born sovereign of the Hanoverian line. The purity of his domestic life afforded a marked contrast to the profligacy of the first two Georges, and Thomas Stothard's study of the royal family in 1787 emphasises his best characteristics as kind husband and father. In 1761 he married Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and here she sits serenely by his side with their thirteen children gathered around them.

Engraving by P. Roberts



KING AND COUNTRYMAN

George III's habit of interrogating cottagers near his Windsor farm is satirised in Gillray's sketch, *Royal Affability*. A countryman whom the king and queen have met on their walk stands speechless before the abrupt questioning.

he said, their dust might mingle throughout the ages until the day of the great resurrection, when they would be reunited.

Such were the early Georges, father and son — a strange blend of gross conduct and of extreme sentimentality.

About the characteristics of George III it is almost impossible to say anything, for he changed greatly during the later years of his long reign—a reign during which a tremendous silent revolution took place in England. As a man he was happily very unlike his grandfather and his great-grandfather, and his court was a model of dull propriety. Until comparatively recently George III has been very much misunderstood as a man, and very much underrated as a ruler, but the publication of his correspondence has revealed the fact that he was by no means such a nonentity as the older historians have made him appear. Concerning the events which led up to the

American War of Independence and the subsequent establishment of the United States, for example, it was the king, not his ministers, who advocated a policy that might possibly have averted the breach; but formerly it was commonly said that he was the pig-headed, aggravating cause of all the misunderstandings. There is very little justification for the cheap sneer in which Byron indulged when he wrote: A better farmer ne'er brush'd dew from lawn, A worse king never left a realm undone!

There was one thing which endeared George III to his English subjects more than anything else—that by birth and by education as well as by taste he was an Englishman; whereas his grandfather and his great-grandfather were Germans, who detested the English and never understood them. Indeed George I, although he was an accomplished linguist, who knew French, Italian and Latin, never troubled to learn the language of the country over which he was called to rule.

The little paragraph which George III inserted in his own handwriting into his first speech from the throne, in the year 1760, gives a fairly accurate insight into the king's feelings and aspirations. He wrote:

*+ Born & Educated in this Country I glory in the Name of Britain, & the peculiar happiness of my Life, will ever consist, in promoting the Welfare of a people, whose Loyalty & warm affection to me, I consider, as the greatest & most permanent Security of my Throne.*

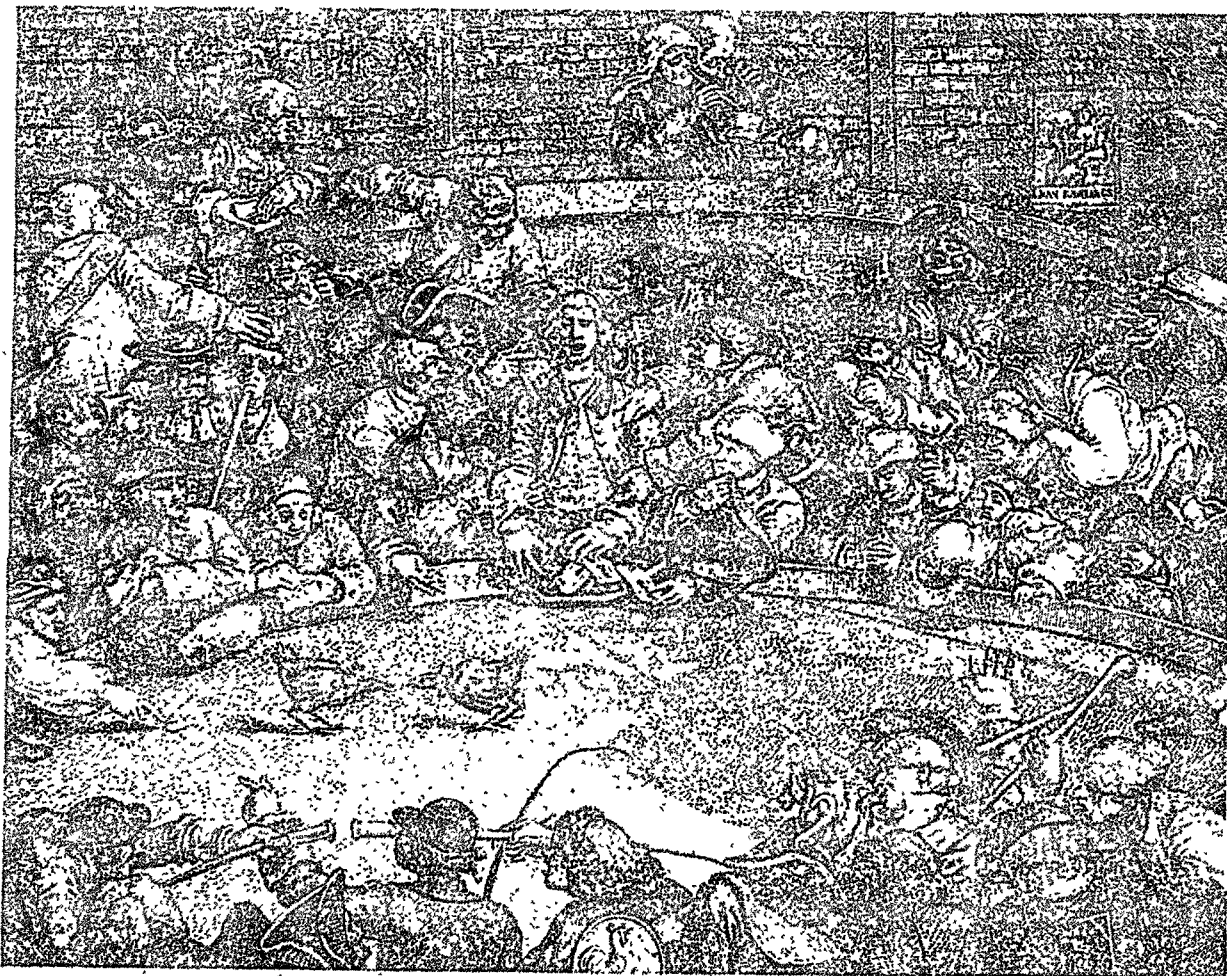
During the last years of the century the country was profoundly stirred by the events which were taking place in France. There was, it was well known, a large and influential revolutionary party in England; and it is difficult to say what would have happened but for the sympathy and the loyalty that were awakened among the people by the ageing king's infirmity. When the king lost his reason he was loved by his subjects more warmly than he had ever been loved when he was sane; and it is probably no

exaggeration to say that the dissolute regency of George Prince of Wales, who was commonly called The First Gentleman in Europe, was tolerated for the sake of the old king. Nevertheless, when the long reign ended in the year 1820, and the regent became king as George IV, he was a popular monarch; but it must be remembered that by that time the revolutionary fever had abated, having spent itself in France in a deluge of bloodshed.

Thus it will be seen that during the course of the century court influence and court example changed very much; but throughout the whole of the period there ran a streak of hypocrisy, which accounts for the surface polish of a rather sordid society. This is particularly true of the first half of the century.

Court influence was not to be escaped; and, consequently, those vices which had

scintillated in the time of Charles II became heavy and boorish under the first two Georges. Moreover, to them were added others which showed that the moral sense of the 'persons of quality'—using the word 'moral' in its widest meaning—had become deadened. That this is true is irrefutably proved by the nature of the popular recreations and of the so-called sports; for little can be said in defence of people who enjoyed watching either dumb creatures tearing each other to pieces, or men fighting with naked fists until their faces had been battered almost out of recognition. Cruel sports had flourished in earlier times; but there was a refinement of cruelty about the way in which the eighteenth-century Bucks, Macaronis, Corinthians, Mohocks gloated over the cock fighting, the dog fighting, the bear baiting and the bull baiting which were



#### COCK FIGHTING: HUMAN NATURE EXHIBITS ITS LOWEST QUALITIES

William Hogarth's moral indignation at vice is expressed in all his studies of contemporary life. In this engraving, *The Cockpit*, published in 1759, the artist relentlessly reveals greed and cruelty on the faces of all present, including the central figure, who actually was blind. The scene of the combat was probably the Royal Cockpit, Dartmouth Street, destroyed in 1816. The oval medallion at the foot of the plate containing a crowing cock represents the ticket of admission to a cock fight.



CRICKETING ENTHUSIASTS ASSEMBLED AT THE FAMOUS HAMBLETON CLUB IN ITS PALMY DAYS

Hambleton in Hampshire is famous in the history of cricket for its cricket club, which was the first of its kind in England and the prototype of the modern county club. It was founded about 1750 and in the next 50 years produced teams which held their own against all England. In 1777, in which year this picture by an unknown artist was painted, the Hambleton Club beat England. Its matches were played at Broadhalfpenny and Windmill Downs.

*Engraving after the original painting, by courtesy of Messrs. Fores*

as popular as the coursing and the prize fights—contests in which the combatants often fought for two or three hours.

Other sports and pastimes were horse racing, fox hunting, driving contests, shooting and fishing; while towards the end of the century cricket began to win wide popularity. Popularity as the fame of the invincible of Cricket Hambleton Club amply testifies. The club ground was on Broadhalfpenny Down, in Hampshire, and the Hambleton players could defeat any team that could be brought against them—even an All-England eleven; but for a full account of the old club, and of the doughty deeds of the worthies who represented it, the delightful pages of good old John Nyren must be read.

Football of a kind was also played; but it was not a game that would have been recognized by either the Rugby Union or the Football Association. The greatest day of the year in the football world was Shrove Tuesday, when village met rival village in mortal combat. The 'ground' was of unlimited extent—across hedges, and ditches, and streams—and the goal at each 'end' was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the most popular inn in each village. It was a rough-and-tumble game, in which the players were allowed to kick their opponents as well as the ball; and any member of the teams, which consisted of large numbers—often the entire young male population of the village—might pick up the ball and run with it. But woe to the over-hardy adventurer who was not sufficiently fleet of foot to outdistance his pursuers.

Cricket was a more sedate game even in those early days, and it was much supported by the gentry. Even the royal princes played the game occasionally; and it was commonly believed—upon rather slight evidence, it must be admitted—that Frederick Prince of Wales, the eldest son of George II, died from the effects of a blow from a cricket ball. The duke of Bedford and the portly George Osbaldeston occur to the mind as notable men who were among the early lovers of the game; while Fuller Pilch and George Mann were among the redoubtable players of the Hambleton Club. Freak matches



were often arranged—for example, a well-known player and his dog challenged, played and defeated two opponents for a substantial stake; while another notable player with a 'lent man' to field played against a team of three men. A curious match also took place between a team of men with only one arm and a team of men with only one leg.

It was in the eighteenth century that Thomas Lord opened his cricket ground at Dorset Square, in the St. Marylebone district of London. This Origin of Lord's was in 1787; and it Cricket Ground was upon this ground that the matches of the Marylebone Club were played until the year 1811, when Lord, having been obliged to find new quarters owing to the exorbitant demand of his landlord for an increased rental, moved to a ground at St. John's Wood, near Regent's Park. He took with him the actual turf from the Dorset Square pitch, and it was carefully relaid at the new Lord's Cricket Ground.

Sports and pastimes may be symptomatic of robust health and of a desire for laudable competition; but at the time under review this was not always so. They were an excuse for gambling and for many absurd wagers, and often the sums which were staked led to the ruin and to the death of the reckless patrons of horse-racing and games of chance. One of the most regrettable features of the sports of the time was the way in which the more unscrupulous attempted to secure success, for the maiming and the doping of horses were practised as fine arts. Moreover, upon events such as a prize fight, where thousands of guineas might be at stake, the combatants received only very small rewards. It hardly seems worth while to sustain a broken jaw, a smashed

nose, closed eyes or even worse injuries for the paltry sum of five guineas or even fifty guineas. The modern boxer of championship status for such a 'purse' would not face an opponent with gloves for twenty rounds; but for those sums—and even for less—the hardy old eighteenth-century 'pug' was well content to be pounded for sixty or eighty rounds; and he thought himself well treated if his 'patron of the fancy' supplemented the purse by laying a wager of a few guineas on his behalf.

As the century progressed, many changes took place in the life which was led by the young men of the day; but to the very end of the period the typical men of fashion remained reckless, extravagant and irresponsible. They were artificial products of a superficial age—an age in which all the forms and the ceremonies, outwardly most elaborate, were no indication of the real characters of the men who practised them. They would wager their inheritance upon the turn of a card, and they would bet heavily upon the most absurd things. It was quite good enough, for example, to lay a wager upon whether a well known character would be wearing a brown suit when next he was seen by either of the parties to the bet, upon whether the



#### SURVIVAL OF AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SPORT

The participants in this football match at Ashbourne, near Derby, are playing a game of the old-fashioned variety, when the 'ground' might include, as this one does, a neighbouring river. The match took place on Shrove Tuesday, the day on which village still sometimes plays village in the rough football of the eighteenth century.

fighting cock of some friend would recover from the croup, or upon which of two celebrated belles would be married first. These are not imaginary examples of freak bets; for they and many others—some even more ridiculous—will be found recorded in the wager books of the old clubs such as White's or Boodle's or the Cocoa Tree. There it may be read:

Sir Thomas Something, Baronet, wagers Mr. John Somebody the sum of twenty guineas that he will not be able to walk the length of St. James's Street after having drunk six tumblers full to the brim of the club punch.

Signed T. S. J. S.

This absurd wager was regarded as being a debt of honour, no matter how long the tailor, the hatter and the haberdasher of the bettors had to wait for a

settlement of their accounts. It was, in fact, a solemn bond, which neither Sir Thomas Something nor Mr. John Somebody would have dreamed of dishonouring, even if it necessitated the sale of his ancestral home to meet the obligation.

Foolish, reckless, mad perhaps, these eighteenth-century men were yet gentlemen who knew how to lose. The man who had lost the home of his fathers upon the turn of a card would steady himself, scarcely change colour, rise from the table and walk out of the room with his head in the air; and he would pay the debt—even though he might afterwards blow out his brains. Suicide was a thing that happened very often during this extraordinary period as the result of heavy betting; and wild extravagance was not confined to the young men,



WHITE'S CLUB, ONE-TIME CENTRE OF GALLANTRY AND GAMING

Earliest institution of its type, White's Club in St. James's Street was founded in 1697. The building was destroyed by fire in 1733, the scene of the fire being the subject for Hogarth's sixth painting in his series illustrating *The Rake's Progress*. So engrossed is the miscellaneous company of gamblers, usurers and drunkards that the fire is almost disregarded. The Rake, kneeling in the foreground, has torn off his wig and hurled it to the floor, in a frenzied fury at his heavy losses.

*Engraved in reverse by the artist after the original painting*



for the old gamblers were the most inveterate and the most reckless of the time.

Such statesmen bet as bravely and as madly as the raw striplings; and the insidious disease spread to the women—infecting alike the aged dowager whose wrinkled face was covered with powder, paint and patches, and the young girl who was just entering upon life. Among the women gamblers the greatest tragedy was that many of them paid the debts which they could not meet in cash by the sacrifice of their honour.

Among the most famous of all the great gamblers of the age was Charles James Fox, who was also one of the most brilliant of the statesmen of the century. He was an unlucky gambler, and it is said that during one memorable sitting, when he played continuously for nearly twenty-four hours, his 'most infernal luck,' to use his own

expression, made him through Gambling lose at the rate of five hundred guineas an hour; while in the course of a very few years he squandered at the gaming-table an ample fortune, amounting to about £140,000. Yet when the crash came Fox took it like a man; and when his friend Beauclerk went round to see him immediately after he had lost everything, he found him sitting before a roaring wood fire and reading Herodotus with evident enjoyment. When his would-be consoler murmured some discreet and conventional words of sympathy, and expressed wonder that the ruined man could bring his mind to read Greek, Fox laughed aside the idea.

And what is a man to do?' he asked.

When he is miserable, egad, he must keep good company!'

That was the spirit of the age; and it was reflected in a thousand and one different ways that might have had very serious consequences but for the steadying counterpoise of the middle classes. In no other age, for example, would men have



VICTIMS OF THE GAMBLING CRAZE

The passion for gaming, which was a striking feature of this period, infected not only men but women of all ages, and frequently led to ruin. Gillray's cartoon, published in 1792, presents a brilliant study in conflicting expressions at the gaming table and is satirically entitled *Modern Hospitality*.

even listened to such utterly absurd proposals as those which were eagerly supported by all sorts and conditions of people when the South Sea Bubble fever was at its height.

Before passing on to describe the daily life of the various classes of society, there is one other section of the community to which it is necessary to refer—and to criticise somewhat severely; for undoubtedly the worldliness and the selfishness, the lethargy and the laxity of many of the clergy of the Church of England were indirectly responsible for much of the conduct of the laity. It may not be possible for the clergy to prevent the moral shortcomings of an age; but by setting a high example in both spiritual and temporal matters they can act as a powerful break upon the wheel of folly. When the ministers of religion are not one whit better than the laity, who is to act as a deterrent? Men whose lives are an open scandal can hardly dare to stand up in the pulpit and preach purity; and when they do so, as many of the eighteenth-century divines certainly did in sermons of inordinate length, they make themselves ridiculous and contemptible—while they bring discredit upon the religion which they profess.

Immense numbers of the clergy in the orthodox church led just as dissipated lives as the worst rakes of the day. Those

who were fortunate enough to have influential friends secured several 'fat' livings, in none of which they officiated as parish priests; and this plurality of livings, as it was called, led to many grave abuses—including the scarcely concealed purchase of livings by men

**Plurality of livings** of means, who, while enjoying themselves in London, or at one of the fashionable spas, left their numerous parishes in the care of permanent curates-in-charge, who received a fraction—and a very small one—of the revenue from the living. There were even church dignitaries—even bishops and deans—who after their preferment still held these simoniacally secured livings.

Moreover, there were ornaments of the bench of bishops who had secured their appointments by the most questionable means. One notable instance is on record of an ambitious and wealthy parson who desired promotion but lacked the influence with which to advance himself. Therefore,

he sought the support of a notorious court favourite, bribing her to use her influence by a 'gift' of £5,000; but the lady was quite as cynical as the would-be wearer of lawn sleeves. She accepted the bribe, pretending that she did not know whence it came, and then bet the aspirant for episcopal honours another £5,000 that he would never be promoted to the bench of bishops. The outwitted parson did not dare to decline the wager, lest he should offend his potential friend at court—but, needless to say, he did not receive the preferment for which he hoped; and the lady was the richer by £10,000, while the thwarted bidder for her favour was left to find a less dishonest champion.

Clergy of this type were worse than useless, for they were a menace, and the extent to which the abuses grew is revealed by the allusions to church scandals which appear in many of the romances, and also in the memoirs of the time—while the sordid 'this-worldliness' of the



#### CONTRASTING TYPES OF CLERGY IN AN IRRELIGIOUS AGE

The eighteenth-century English clergy became a byword for their worldliness, simony and pluralism being rife among them. The corpulent Master Parson in the caricature on the left is typical of the prosperous self-complacency of countless divines. Yet in this age, as in Chaucer's, could be found poor, conscientious clergy like the hard-working curate seen in a sympathetic study on the right, a Journeyman Parson, who makes the long visiting round of his country parish on horseback.

*British Museum*

cloth provided the cartoonists with materials for many a scathing caricature. There is nothing to be said against the open-air, manly parson; but the 'sporting parson', who could ride neck-and-neck across country with the finest horseman behind a pack of hounds, drink glass for glass—even bottle for bottle—with the most notorious toper in the district, and was seen, at the ring-side whenever a 'main of cocks' was taking place, when a bull or a bear was being baited or when two men were pounding one another to a jelly, was not likely to be inspiring as a spiritual guide. Yet parsons of this type were by no means uncommon; and the more popular among them were familiar figures at the gaming tables.

When they took to writing, as many of them did—for there were great scholars among them—the clergy were frequently more scurrilous and more indecent than the lay authors. Only genius redeemed the works of the great Dean Swift from being positively unsavoury; while the author of *The Sentimental Journey* and *Tristram Shandy* was the Rev. Laurence Sterne, prebendary of York. Such men as these might, and did, harangue their congregations for an hour

Degeneracy or two hours on end—their of the clergy sermons being divided under headings from 'firstly' to 'tenthly,' or even 'twelfthly,' preceding the 'lastly' and the 'and now in conclusion'; but their words carried no weight. It was, indeed, the fearful apathy and the ungodliness—or un-goodliness—of the ministers of the eighteenth-century Church of England that made it possible, as has been shown in Chapter 158, for such men as John Wesley and George Whitefield to secure first a hearing and then a large band of followers. Simple people, who stood in mortal dread of eternal punishment, turned with avidity—hungry and thirsty—from the men who did not even pretend to practise what they preached to the teachers who were quite obviously profoundly earnest and deeply sincere about their doctrines.

More than once in this chapter reference has been made to the sound common sense of the middle classes; and now it is time



AN ATTRACTIVE STUDY

Thomas Gainsborough (1727–88), one of England's greatest portraitists, made this charming drawing of a lady walking in The Mall. His approval of the large picture hat of the period is shown by its appearance in many of his works.

*British Museum*

to substantiate the assertion that they were the backbone of the country. London was then the greatest mart in England, as it had been for centuries; and at the beginning of the eighteenth century Bristol was its most serious rival as a port, Liverpool, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Hull and Southampton being but small places with only a more or less local carrying trade. It was to London, therefore, that the richest products were brought from all parts of the known world; and it was there that the rich, hard-working, shrewd, far-seeing merchants were established. They congregated in certain quarters of the city, according to the trades in which they were engaged—the tea merchants in one place, the goldsmiths and silversmiths in another, the leather tanners elsewhere, and so on.

The merchant lived over his place of business, working early and late to extend his trade and to augment his fortune. He

was a very worthy person, who set an example of industry and of probity to many who considered him beneath their notice : and even his quiet, rather sombre dress—which was made of excellent fine cloth of a dark colour—was an indication of his character. With his silver-buckled, square-toed shoes, his knitted stockings, his stuff knee-breeches, his full-skirted coat and his black or dark grey hat, he was a solid-looking individual, a great contrast to the gallants of the fashionable quarters of the town, who were clad in silks and in satins of the brightest colours—pinks and blues, reds and greens—heavily em-

broidered with gold lace and ornamented with jewelled buttons.

Closely allied to the merchants were the more serious professional men, such as the doctors and the lawyers, who could be recognized wherever they were seen by the style of their dress.

The women of the period, who were scarcely more gaily dressed than the men, were also easily distinguishable into classes. It was easy to tell at a glance the wife of the merchant, of the doctor or of the lawyer ; and in their simple, full and flowered petticoats, with a modest corsage and a heavily flounced overskirt, they



#### FASHIONS UNDER ANNE AND THE FIRST THREE GEORGES

An attack on fashionable women in Anne's reign produced, in 1703, a defence entitled *The Country Gentlewoman's Catechism*, to which the modest lady (top left) is an illustration. Top right: A study in crinolines, from the *Oxford Magazine*, 1772, showing the styles worn in 1745 and 1772 respectively. Bottom centre: One of the Macaronis; on his left a female Macaroni, from Darby's prints, about 1773. Right: A print by Gillray, 1792, entitled *A Spencer and a Threadpaper*.



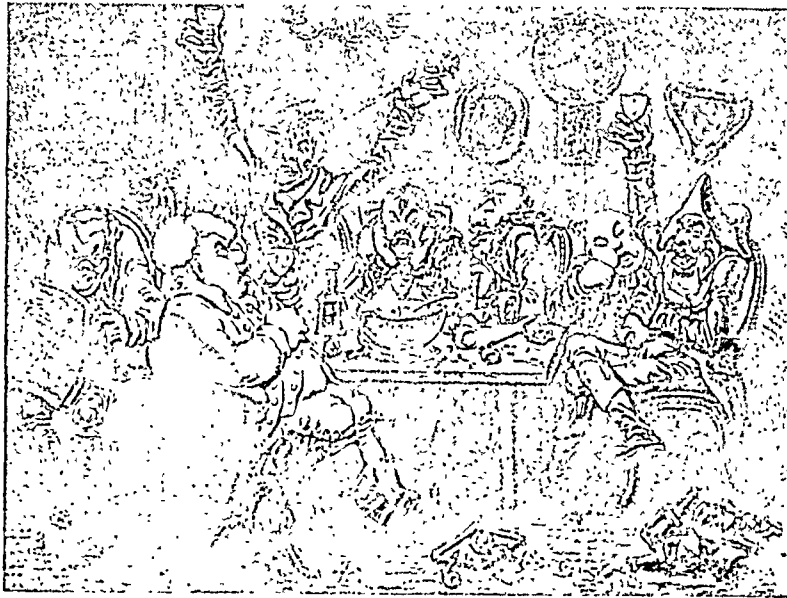
#### EXAGGERATED FASHION STUDIES OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

'Be not amazed, dear mother! It is indeed your daughter Anne.' Thus the country girl (top left, print by Carington Bowles), who has left her native village to enter society, greets her mother in 1775. Accompanied by a black page, she wears the mountainous coiffure then in fashion. A satire of 1776 (top right) shows a head-dress even more exaggerated. Bottom right: A group of people wearing the most fashionable attire of 1777. Bottom left: Three ladies of 1795, from *The Gallery of Fashion*, display the popular 'Caroline wrappers,' smock-like garments, with sashes under the armpits.

*British Museum and (bottom right) from Turberville, 'English Manners of the 18th Century,' Clarendon Press*

were more comely than most of the overdressed but under-clad society ladies. One thing that distinguished the women of the various classes was their head-dress. At one time fashion decreed that the society dame should wear her hair, which was supplemented by quantities of powdered tresses purchased from the coiffeur, built

into an extraordinary shape and towering far above her head. On the top of this tremendous structure was worn the most ridiculous little hat, which was perched at a rakish angle. But at court, or upon festive occasions, the society lady appeared with powdered hair, which was dressed to an enormous height and



CONVIVIALIST CLUB MEETING

Members of every class patronised the convivial clubs which flourished during the eighteenth century, and in Gillray's caricature, *Anacreonticks in Full Song*, a tolerably representative group waxes hilarious amid overflowing glasses and empty bottles. Such an assembly promoted deliberate drunkenness.

crowned by tremendous ostrich plumes. So tall were these adornments that the wearers had to be very careful when they entered a room, lest their waving plumes should be set alight by the candles in the chandeliers hanging from the ceilings.

In contrast to these absurdities was the simple head-dress of the wives of the merchants and the professional men; for they were content to dress their own hair prettily, and to go abroad either in curiosity-arousing poke bonnets, or in fascinating mob caps made of the finest muslin and trimmed with frills of lace.

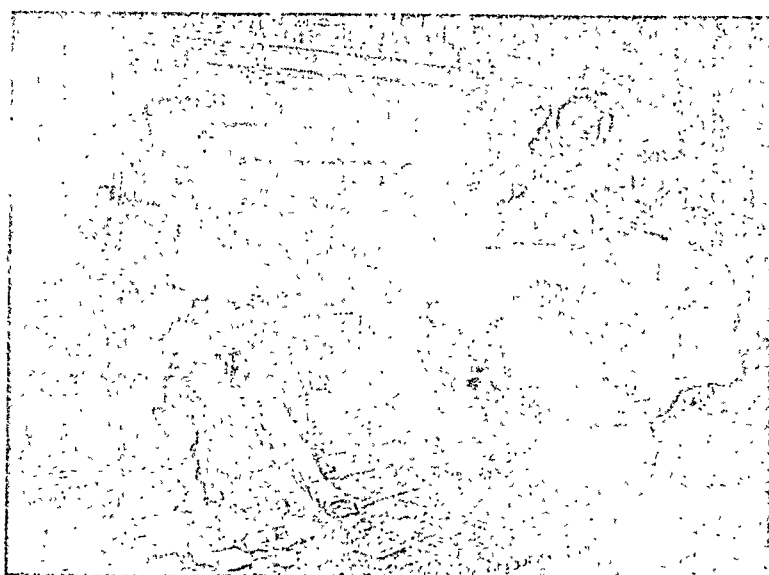
A wit of the period, when endeavouring to make an epigram upon the characteristics of the middle-aged men of fashion during the first half of the period, declared that they were mostly paunch, and looked as though the magnificent chests of their youth had fallen down—still later to make their appear-

ance in the gout-swollen legs of those who over-indulged in the good things of the table.' The lampoon was, in the main, true; for excessive drinking, excessive eating and general raking caused not only loss of figure in middle life, but



TYPES OF MEN PRODUCED BY THE EXCESSES OF THE AGE

Self-indulgence and extravagance left their mark upon the hard-drinking, loose-living men of fashion. Left: Gillray's sketch shows a royal voluptuary, dissipated of countenance and large of paunch, reclining after a heavy meal amid his decanters and unpaid bills. Right: Gout, the penalty paid for excessive consumption of port, has attacked this pompous old earl, one of the figures in Hogarth's engraving, *The Marriage Contract*, satirising the vices of contemporary society.



#### SOCIETY MARRIAGE AS HOGARTH SAW IT

In his series of paintings entitled *Marriage à la Mode*, Hogarth gives a vivid impression of married misery in the upper classes. The husband in this breakfast scene (engraved by the painter) sprawls dejectedly after returning from a night of debauch, while his wife yawns after equally protracted revels at home.

induced 'the gout,' said to be due to over-indulgence in port wine, which was the most fashionable drink of the time.

This accusation against port wine is probably well founded; and it is strange to what an extent a change in international policy may be reflected in the customs of the people—and even in their appearance or in their ailments. It was owing to the closer political ties which had been formed with Portugal, and to the quarrels with France—concerning the French support of the Jacobites, among other things—that the importation of Portuguese wines was encouraged, while the lighter French wines were virtually excluded by prohibitive excise duties. Hence the disappearance from English wine cellars of the once popular light clarets and burgundies—except for the illicit supplies landed by the smugglers—and the appearance in their place of the heavier port wine, with its unwelcome companion, the gout.

Among the excesses of the period, drinking was a very good second to gambling. Indeed, it may almost be said that they ran a neck and neck race which ended in a dead heat. This was the age in which men, irrespective of their years or of their occupations, consistently and deliberately got drunk; and they were not ashamed of the fact. Even Dr. Johnson expressed the opinion that the

habitual intemperance—drinking to the stage of drunkenness—which prevailed among the people of Lichfield, his native town, did the drinkers no harm; and the contemporary memoirs reveal the fact that men who could not, upon occasion, 'transform themselves into port-wine butts' were regarded with suspicion and as milksops.

There were, however, severe critics of the practice. The biting social satires of William Hogarth, for example, reveal a terrible state of affairs; and Hogarth spared neither the 'classes' nor the 'masses' in his scathing censures. His *Gin Lane* (see page 4202) shows that drunkenness had

a firm hold upon the downtrodden and the outcast, as well as upon the man of fashion; while in his *Marriage à la Mode* he depicts with awful vividness the



#### FASHIONABLE MAN ABOUT TOWN

Gillray's cartoon of a man about town ogling a pretty carrot seller at the corner of New Bond Street satirises the habits of the dandies of the time. The inscription indicates that it was directed primarily against Lord Sandwich.



married misery that prevailed among the upper classes. This was the age in which the two-bottle man—that is to say, the man who could drink two bottles of port wine at a sitting—was regarded as being only less of a good fellow than the three-bottle man; and it was also the age in which a touchy gentleman was ready to fight a duel upon any convenient pretext—for example, a doubt expressed that his lady's eyebrows were less arched or less beautiful than those of a rival, or her foot less shapely. There were instances of duels being fought across the dinner table, after the ladies had withdrawn, by combatants who were far from sober; and in a good many old family homes a bullet-hole in the oak panelling of the dining room still bears testimony to these absurd encounters.

Nevertheless, although his life was spent in a round of trivial if not pernicious

pursuits, there was something attractive about the eighteenth-century man of fashion. With his gay attire, his massive Malacca or ebony walking-stick—above all, with his snuff-box, which he managed to perfection, and with his quizzing-glass, through which he peered insolently at every pretty face—he was an arresting figure; while the uselessness of his life, and even his dandyism, may be forgiven when it is remembered that he was seldom cowardly in the face of danger.

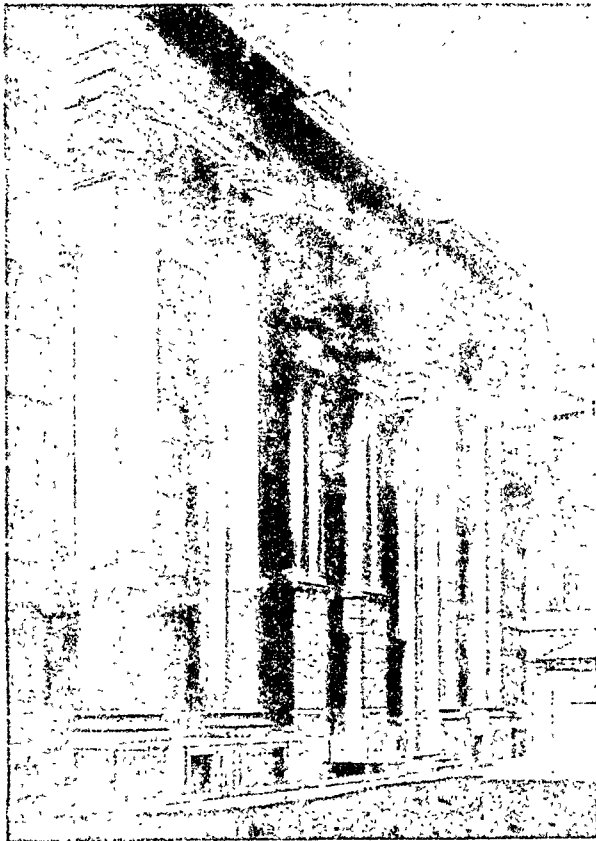
The typical man of fashion of the beau order rose at about nine o'clock in the morning; and having submitted himself to the ministrations of his barber and of his wig maker, he partook of a cup of chocolate and a morsel of dry toast before sallying forth for a stroll in The Mall, where he was sure to meet the men and the women of his world. The more energetic buck might rise earlier, and go for



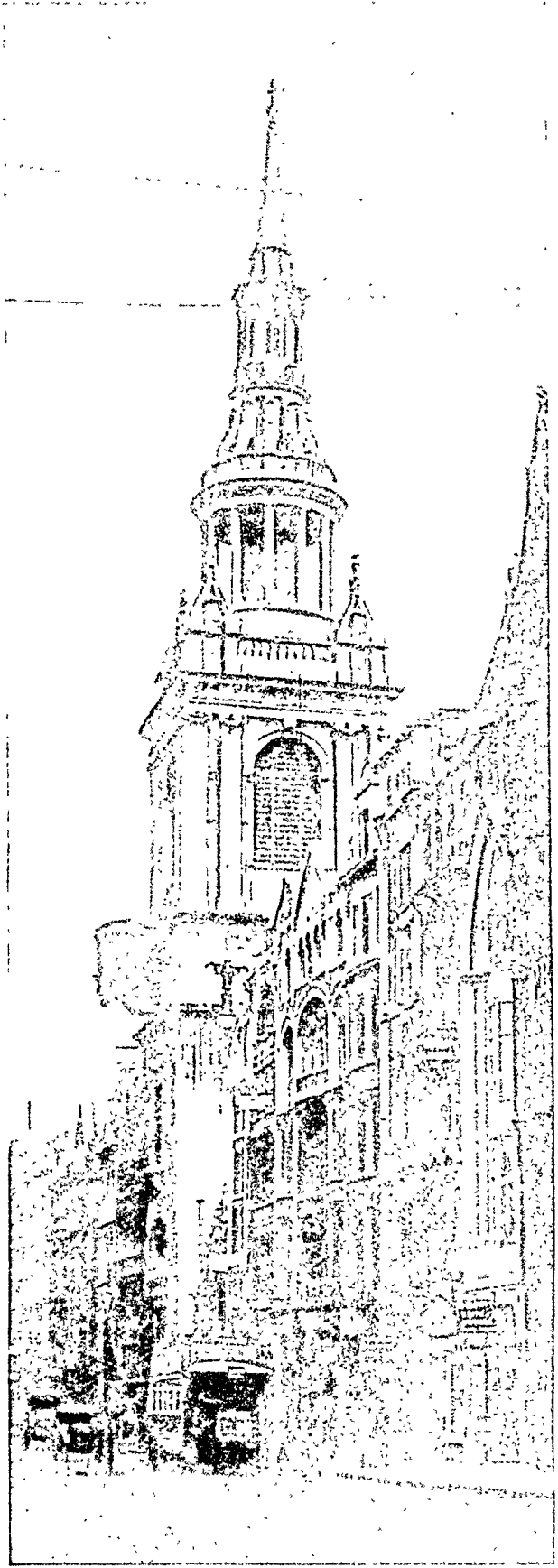
#### BEHIND THE SCENES IN THE GREAT WORLD: MY LORD'S TOILET

His toilet was the first serious concern of the man of the world under the Hanoverian Georges, the careful ministrations of his barber and perruquier taking up no little time and engaging the critical attention of his lady. This engraving after the 'conversation picture' of the process by Herbert Pugh is further valuable for its details of the furniture of the period (1771): tall mahogany bureau, flower-embroidered fire-screen, elaborate gilt mirror and rococo picture frames.

*Courtesy of H. Clifford Smith*



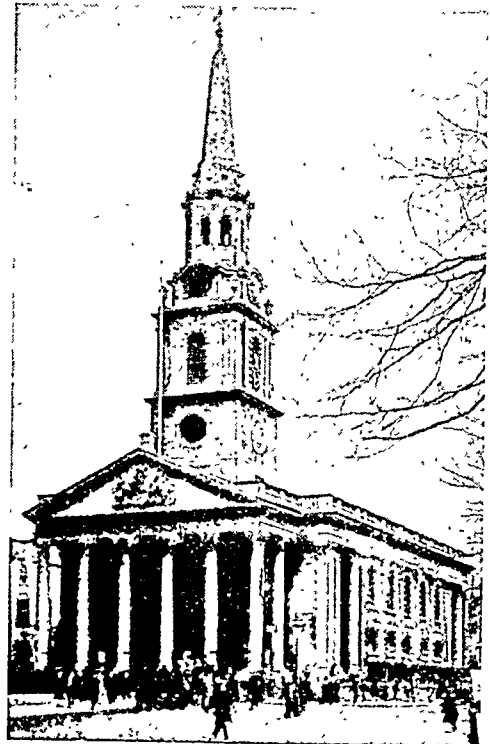
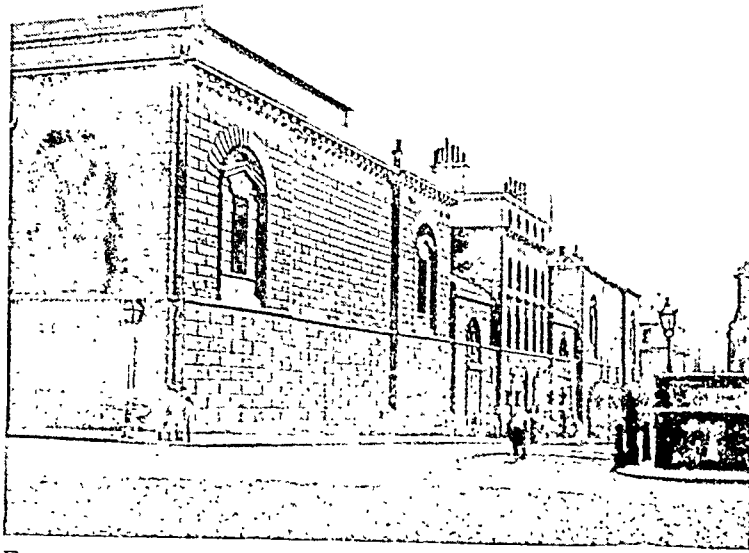
This view is of the noble eastward façade in the block of Greenwich Hospital that lies to the south of the painted hall; it is one of Wren's architectural triumphs. Below: A stately arcade in the interior of the hospital.



The architecture of Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) was still 'modern' when the eighteenth century opened. His genius in inventing striking designs for church spires is admirably demonstrated in the photograph (right) of the city church of St. Mary-le-Bow on the south side of Cheapside. In addition to S. Paul's (for which see page 3241), Wren designed fifty-two London churches.

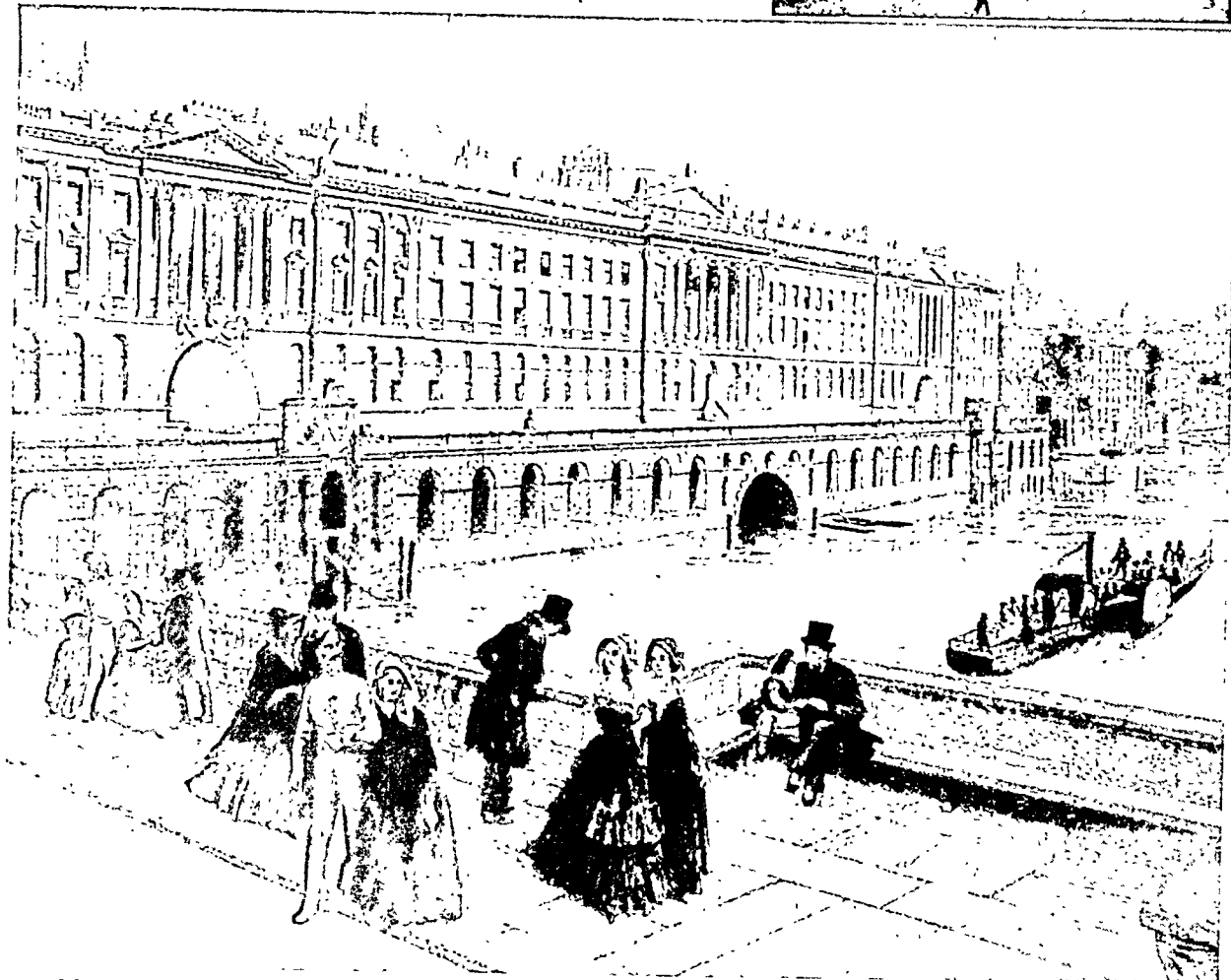
#### STately ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE DESIGNED BY SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN

*Photos, left, Will F. Taylor*



From 1783 until 1868 criminals were publicly hanged outside the gloomy walls of Newgate Gaol (above). It was built in 1770 to the design of George Dance, Junior, demolished in 1903 and replaced by the Old Bailey. S. Martin-in-the-Fields, whose fields went long ago, was built by James Gibbs, 1721-26.

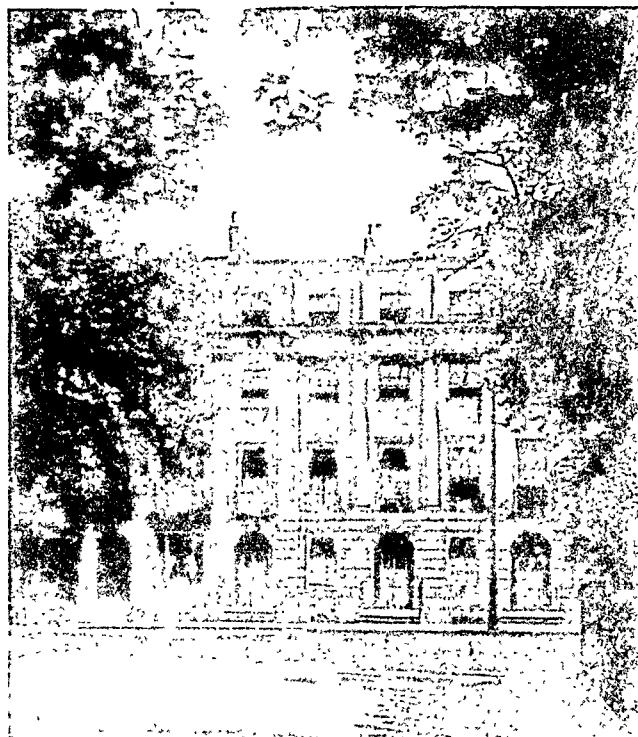
*Photos, York & Son and (right) W. S. Campbell*



Notable among the architecture of the eighteenth century were the designs of Sir William Chambers. His masterpiece is Somerset House in the Strand, built 1776-86 ; in magnitude of conception and perfection of proportion it is one of the finest examples of Palladian style. This print, dating as it does from about 1848, shows the river front after the building of Waterloo Bridge, but before the construction of the Victoria Embankment that so marred the dignity of Somerset House.

#### FAMILIAR LONDON LANDMARKS OF HANOVERIAN DAYS

*British Museum, Grace Collection*



There is a serene dignity about the Georgian town houses with their prim iron railings. One of the finest squares in the Bloomsbury district is Mecklenburgh Square (right), whose very name reveals the period in which it was built. Pillars—a favourite form of exterior decoration—adorn both these and the houses in Charlotte Square (left), whose name also commemorates the reigning dynasty.

*Photos, B. C. Clayton and (right) Underwood*



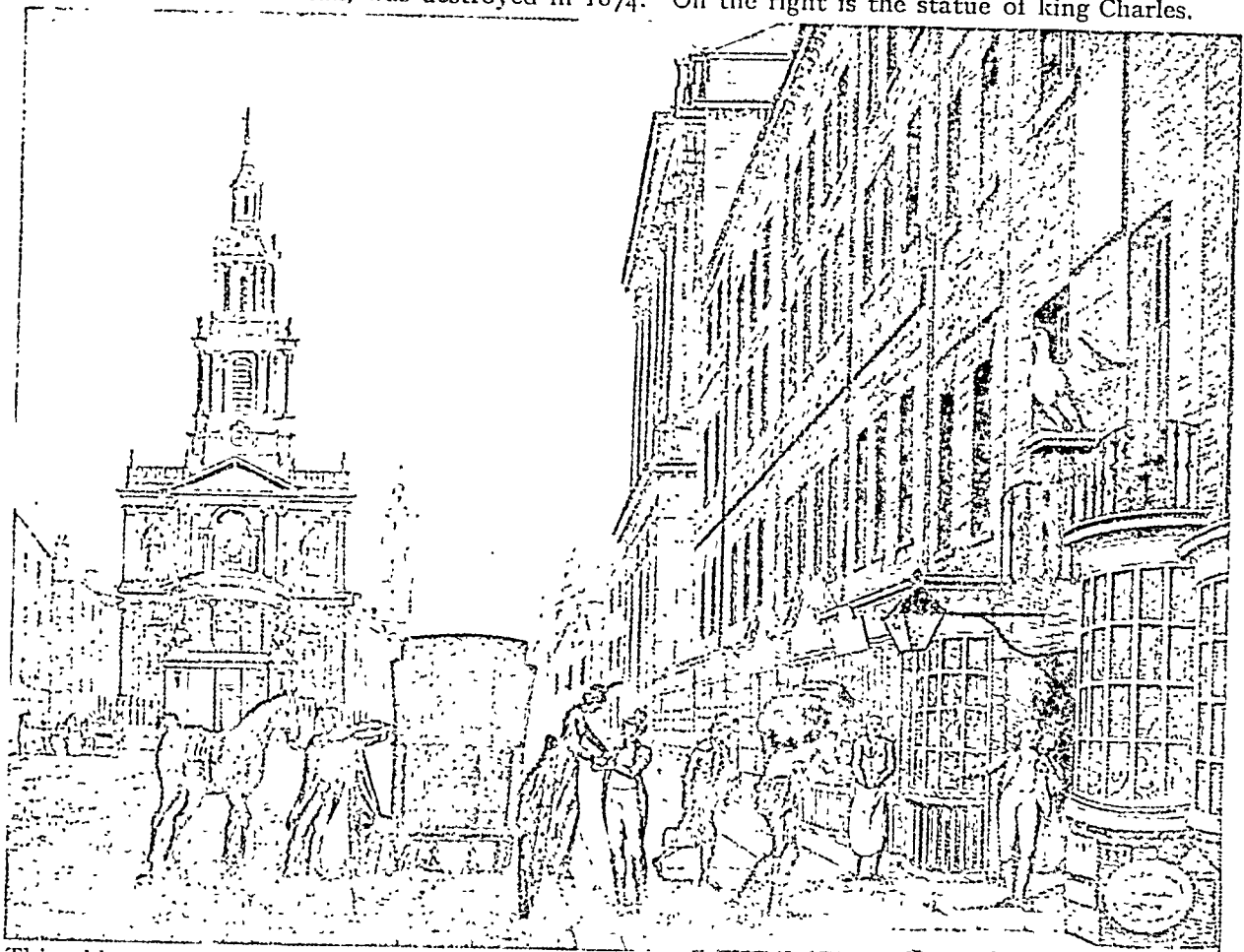
The old-world houses in Queen Anne's Gate present an aspect little different from the early eighteenth-century Queen Anne's Square, as it was then called. On the left is Queen Anne's statue, which marked the east end of the square until 1874. In that year the wall dividing the square from Park Street was removed. Left: A quaint old lamp post and extinguisher in Charlotte Street; the latter was for dousing the torches of the link boys after they had escorted his lordship home at night.

#### LONDON SQUARES BUILT IN THE REIGNS OF ANNE AND THE GEORGES

*Photos, B. C. Clayton and (right) Langfier*



Dr. Johnson observed of his London that 'the full tide of existence is at Charing Cross.' In his day Northumberland House, seen in this engraving after Canaletto's painting of 1753, stood where Northumberland Avenue now leads to the river. This splendid mansion, surmounted by a lion with outstretched tail, was destroyed in 1874. On the right is the statue of king Charles.



This old engraving of travellers arriving at the Eagle Inn, Strand, gives an excellent view of S. Mary-le-Strand church, built in 1714 by the architect James Gibbs, whose interiors are surpassed only by those of Wren. The church of S. Clement Danes, of which the tower can be seen beyond, was built by Wren in 1681, but its tower, by Gibbs, was added in 1719.

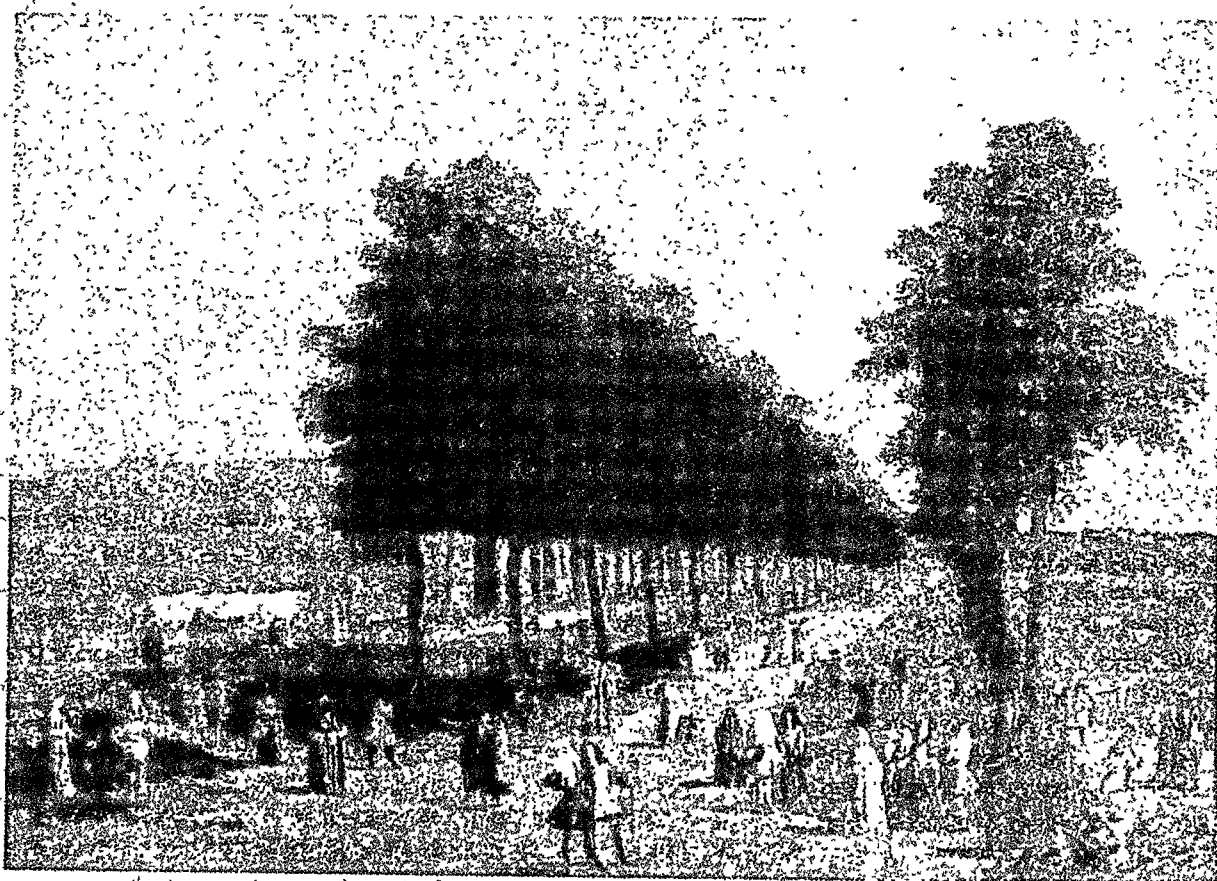
#### EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ASPECT OF TWO FAMOUS LONDON THOROUGHFARES

*Grace Collection, British Museum*

a ride before sitting down to a substantial breakfast; but, however the first hours of the day were spent, The Mall was the great meeting place of the society men and women of the time, for there even the king and the queen, accompanied by their children, and with but a small escort of Yeomen of the Guard, might be met strolling under the trees, and quite ready to chat informally with their people. Sparkling conversation—and conversation was extremely brilliant, if somewhat vacuous, in the eighteenth century—and the latest tit-bits of scandal whiled away the time, until the crowd dispersed for refreshment and further conversation to the various coffee houses and chocolate houses.

These places were extremely characteristic of the age; for each had its staunch supporters, all of whom were attracted to the particular house by some common interest. It might be politics, the arts or commerce that made the bond;

but, whatever it was, while sipping their chocolate they could spend an hour or two pleasantly before it was time to turn homewards for dinner, which was served at about three o'clock in the afternoon. Dinner was a serious affair, which accounted for an hour or two hours, or until it was time to dress for the real business of the day—the pleasures of the evening. The hairdresser and the valet of the true man of fashion were then kept busy for an hour or more while they were making the toilet of their employer. Clothes had to be selected with the most scrupulous care and forethought. Every detail of his attire was considered with an amount of gravity that was worthy of the tremendous decisions that were being made; for the slightest discord in the blending of colours would have been quite enough to ruin the temper and the pleasure of any gentleman who took a proper pride in his appearance, while a tactless

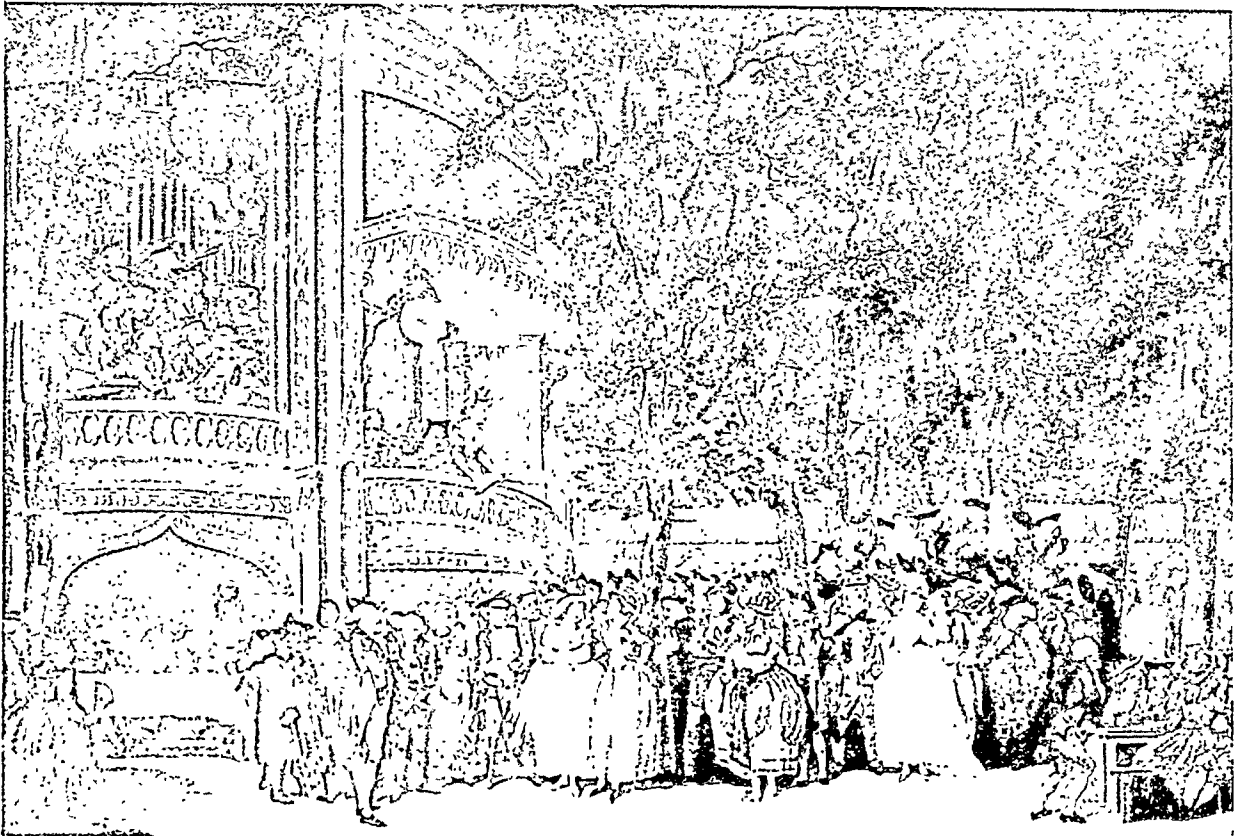


WHERE SOCIETY FOREGATHERED IN THE DAYS OF GOOD QUEEN ANNE

Marco Ricci, who died in 1729, painted the picture of which this view of The Mall is a portion. Le Nôtre, a French landscape gardener, laid out and planted The Mall in the reign of Charles II and, as mentioned by Pepys and Evelyn, it was a favourite resort of the Merry Monarch. It was made the scene of much action by the Restoration dramatists and remained the leisurely haunt of the world of fashion throughout the Hanoverian period.

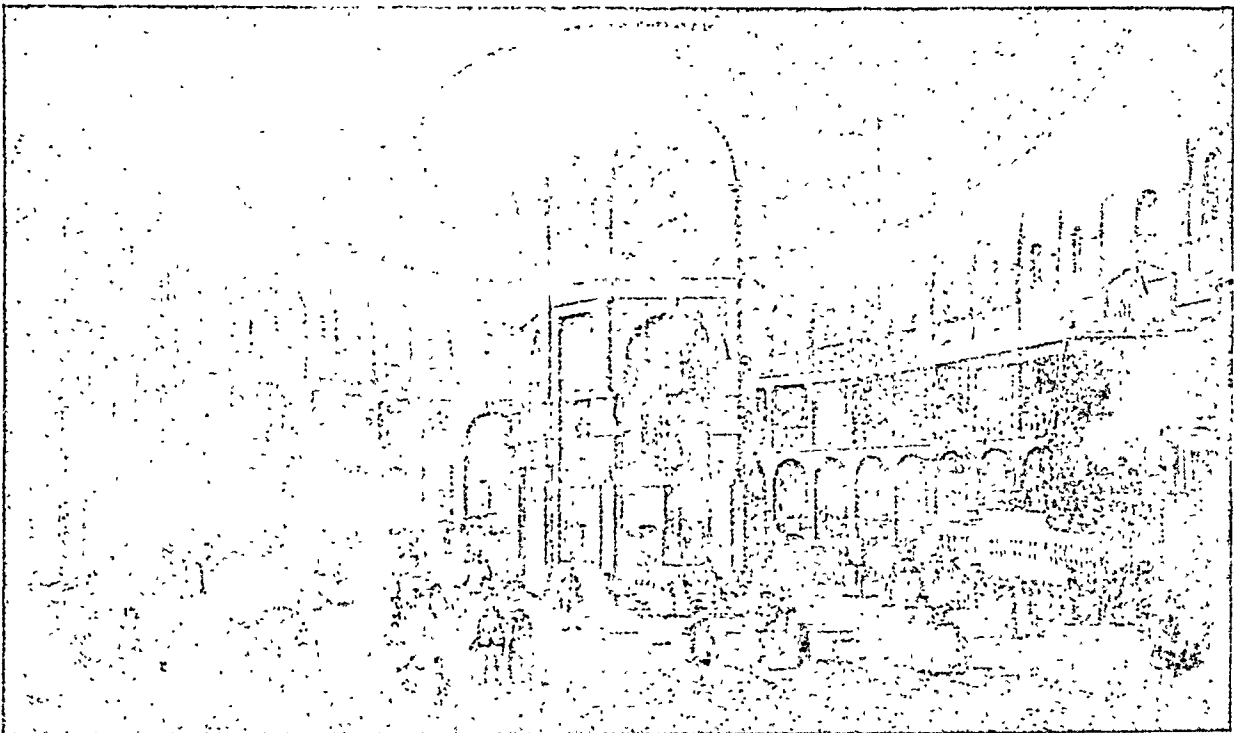
*Courtesy of the Hon. Geoffrey Howard*





Vauxhall Gardens were opened in 1661 under the name of the New Spring Garden, to distinguish them from the Old Spring Garden at Charing Cross. At first merely a pretty plantation with walks and arbours, the property was developed about 1732 by Jonathan Tyers into elaborate grounds with a rotunda where concerts were given, supper-boxes and pavilions and alfresco entertainments.

*Engraving by Thomas Rowlandson*



Lord Ranelagh's house and garden, to the east of Chelsea Hospital, was converted into a place of public entertainment in 1742, and until 1803 rivalled Vauxhall as a resort of the fashionable world. The principal building was the rotunda, 150 feet in diameter, set round with boxes where refreshments were served. The structure in the centre that supported the roof contained an open fire, and on one side was an orchestra with a large organ. This view of the interior was painted by Canaletto.

**WHERE THE WORLD AMUSED ITSELF IN HANOVERIAN DAYS**

*National Gallery, London*



suggestion would have been quite enough to earn a thrashing for the offending valet.

Gorgeously arrayed, the beau would saunter forth, either on foot or in a chaise, for the theatre or for the club. If he were going to the play, he would have to be ready by six o'clock, or thereabouts; and when Mr. David Garrick, Mrs. Siddons or Mrs. Woffington was appearing in a new piece it would be necessary to be at the door of the theatre betimes. At the club, several hours would be spent at the gaming tables; and the young gambler who sat down as the owner of broad ancestral acres, or of an ample fortune, might rise a ruined man.

In addition to these serious recreations there were such places of amusement as Vauxhall Gardens and Ranelagh to be visited from time to time; or the man of fashion who liked dancing and female society might be engaged to attend a ball or a rout. After that, at about eleven o'clock at night, it was time for supper, which was always an excuse for much wine-bibbing, to be followed by the playing of games for high stakes. Last of all, in the small hours of the morning, the exhausted reveller was often piloted to bed by the faithful valet whom he had thrashed earlier in the day.

The women in society led very much the same kind of life; but 'her Ladyship's levée' was a characteristic function that played a comparatively small part in the lives of the men outside the court circle. Having risen late, the lady of fashion placed herself in the capable hands of her maid, by whom she was sponged with scented water and gently coaxed back to an interest in life after the revels of the preceding night. Attired in a becoming negligée garment, Madame was then ready for her 'levée,' to which her intimate friends of both sexes were admitted; and while assembled company sipped chocolate—or perchance, if in a very extravagant mood, partook of a dish of tea—the lady's hair was elaborately dressed and her toilet

completed. If she numbered some literary light amongst her friends, the time might be beguiled by listening to the author while he read selections from his latest work; and while he was reading he received the frankest criticisms from his friends.

The remainder of her day was for the woman of fashion the counterpart of that of the men of her world. She did not resort to White's, to Boodle's or to Almack's in order to try her luck at faro or at baccarat; but, either in her own withdrawing-room or at the house of some friend, she met parties of congenial spirits, who were always ready to play for high stakes. Her day was generally far too fully apportioned to leave much time for



COFFEE HOUSE POLITICIANS

Coffee houses were the precursors of the clubs that became such a feature of eighteenth-century life, and individual establishments became associated with particular interests, political, literary, artistic or commercial. They were frequented, for the most part, about noon, for the exchange of news and ideas.

Engraving of 1733



THE POOR GOVERNESS

Teaching was almost the only profession open to impecunious gentlewomen until the middle of the nineteenth century. Even that was a thankless occupation, the majority of governesses being quite untrained and socially despised.

*From 'The Cowslip,' 1811*

the companionship of her husband or of her children; and it was only when the candles began to splutter in their sockets that the tired slave of fashion retired to rest between her lavender-scented sheets

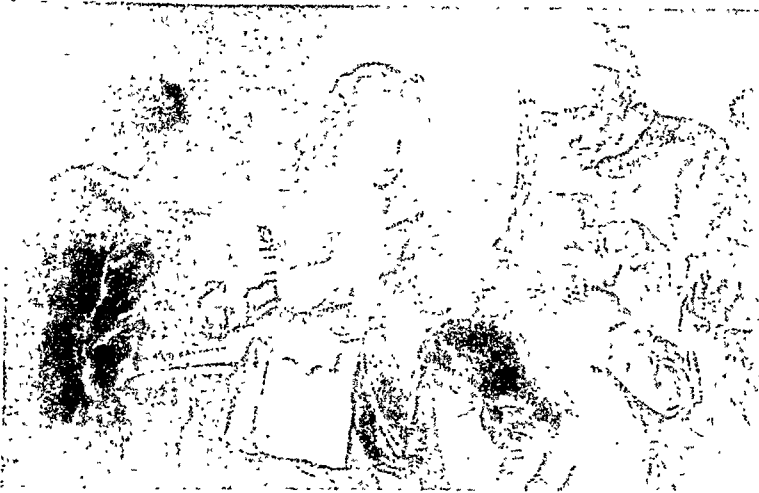
The lot of the children of the men and of the women who moved in the great world was not an enviable one; for since their parents had little time to give to them they were committed to the care of nurses until they were old enough to be placed under the jurisdiction of tutors or of governesses. Almost unlimited powers were entrusted to these custodians of the young, and the chances were about equal whether the boys and the girls found themselves at the mercy of a martinet, who ill-used them, or of an over-indulgent mentor who let them go their own way. The schools of the period to which boys were sent were frequently most undesirable places, for the small boys were entirely at the mercy of their fag-masters, who bullied them to such an extent that life became a misery. Elementary education was, on the whole, fairly sound; but the only subjects which were considered to be worthy of careful study in the upper forms were the works of the classical writers of Greece and Rome, and these eighteenth-century schools certainly pro-



'OCCURRENCES IN HIGH LIFE': HER LADYSHIP'S LEVEE

Fashionable women received their friends, of both sexes, in their bedrooms, and regaled them with chocolate, music and scandal while passing through the completing stages of their toilet. In this fourth plate of his pictorial novel *Marriage à la Mode* William Hogarth minutely records all the details of such a levee: the great lady in her peignoir, coquetting with her admirer lounging near, while her valet curls her hair, and around her a crowd of musicians, vapid fribbles and negro servants

*Engraved by S. Ravener*



PAINFUL WAYS OF LEARNING

Education was at a low ebb throughout England in the early eighteenth century, and even in reputable schools for boys the methods of teaching were crude and rather violent. This is how they appeared to Philippe Mercier, a French artist who was then working in England. T. Faber engraved the picture.

duced men who could read Latin and Greek with genuine enjoyment.

It was at this time that the continental tour, which afterwards became an almost indispensable part of a young gentleman's education, began to come into fashion. The boy and his tutor might spend a year or even two years abroad, travelling through France and Italy; and when the 'finished' young gentleman returned home he generally possessed a sound colloquial knowledge of French and of Italian. But unless the tutor was a man who was endowed with a rather unusual sense of duty, the boy was quite likely to learn a great many things which could not by any stretch of the imagination be described as ornamental accomplishments. Towards the end of the century there was a very marked improvement in the standard of the schools for boys; and the private enterprises which were so long known as 'schools for the sons of gentlemen' began to make their appearance.

Only a passing reference can be made to the education of the girls; for the eighteenth century was a

period during which learned women—or even well educated women—were eyed askance and with suspicion. Girls whose parents allowed them to continue their education after they were about fourteen or fifteen years of age—an age at which daughters were labelled 'marriageable,' and were frequently betrothed—were committed to the care of some formidable dame, irreverently spoken of as a 'dragoness,' who presided over a 'finishing seminary' for young ladies; but what 'finishing' the pupils received in these places has eluded

even such an intelligent observer as Fanny Burney. The girls acquired a smattering of what were called 'polite accomplishments' (playing upon the harpsichord, and singing perhaps) and a considerable knowledge of French (which became particularly evident while England was the refuge of the émigrés who fled from France during the Revolution) and skill in



A VISIT TO THE BOARDING SCHOOL

Deportment and polite accomplishments were the most important items in the curriculum of the seminaries for young ladies in late Hanoverian days. George Morland's painting of a great lady visiting her daughter at a school of the type clearly indicates the etiquette prescribed for such an occasion.

Wallace Collection

embroidery; but the most characteristic items of instruction in the seminaries—which a facetious commentator dubbed ‘cemeteries’—were deportment and correct behaviour in society.

It was deemed desirable to teach the girls how to act as ‘young ladies’; how to enter and how to leave a room, how to conduct a conversation when paying a call or when receiving a visitor, and how to manage their skirts and their hands, were subjects of great importance; while the girl who had reached the stage of being ‘broken,’ like a young filly, had to ‘take tea’ with the ‘dragoness’ upon occasion. It was a terrible ordeal; for the ‘visitor,’ who was sent outside the house as a preliminary, had to approach the door correctly, knock discreetly—‘not too loudly, my dear, and not too softly’—had to inquire in exactly the right tone whether the lady of the house was at home. Then she had to pass a miserable half-hour with her mistress, during which everything that she did, or left undone, and everything that she said, was mercilessly criticised by the standard



AN ORNAMENT TO HER SEX

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) was the most accomplished woman of her time, a great linguist, a satirical wit and a vivacious leader of society. Her literary reputation rests on her *Letters*, first published in 1763.

*Permission of the Earl of Wharnccliffe*



A FOCUS OF CULTURE

Dr. Burney lived in this house in St. Martin's Street, near Leicester Square, between 1774 and 1783. It was built by Sir Isaac Newton, and in his observatory on the roof Fanny Burney wrote *Evelina*. The house was pulled down in 1913.

*Engraving by C. J. Smith; Grace Collection, British Museum*

of what the etiquette of good society required; and it was with a sad heart, if not with streaming eyes, that the girl eventually made her escape from the presence of the tyrant.

Orthography was not a subject that was well taught at these finishing seminaries; and the eighteenth-century ladies, in consequence, could not spell even passably. But with feminine wit they invented, or were taught, a way of escape; for when they wrote a word about the spelling of which they were doubtful, they carefully underlined it. If it were wrongly spelt, their correspondents would look in vain for the *jeu d'esprit* that might lie concealed behind the vagary; while if it were correctly spelt by happy chance, the recipient of the letter puzzled over the emphatic underlining, and thought that she must be exceptionally stupid not to be able to see the hidden meaning.

Still, as the girl who was not married—or at the least betrothed—by the time



THE BURNEYS, FATHER AND DAUGHTER

Dr. Charles Burney (1726-1814), historian of music and musical virtuoso, here drawn by George Dance, knew all the leading people in the cultured world of his time and was the intimate friend of many of them. Dr. Johnson 'loved' him and was also an admirer of his daughter Fanny, who afterwards became Madame D'Arblay.

*Etching after E. Burney, and (right) National Portrait Gallery, London*

she had reached the age of eighteen was regarded as a social failure, her mental shortcomings were matters of but little account, especially as only very exceptional husbands desired educated wives. Nevertheless, with all the faults of the system of education, there were many brilliant women in the eighteenth century; for neglect did not stifle the genius of such women as Fanny Burney, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the other members of the blue-stocking coteries. They were clever, well educated women; and their one drawback was that, as they took themselves so terribly seriously, no room was left for the admiration and for the appreciation of others.

Such homes as that of old Dr. Charles Burney, in St. Martin's Street, London, were the exception. His family of remarkable sons and daughters led a very happy life in a home which was the resort of all sorts and conditions of men and women. Dr. Burney was the most fashionable-music master of his day; and to his house flocked the leaders of society, professional men and artists; while every musician of note who visited England was sure to be met and heard there. David Garrick might be seen stumbling over the housemaid's pail, when he went to pay an early morning call; and even the great Dr. Johnson

thought that it was worth while to tramp all the way from Gough Square in order to talk with the doctor and to play with his daughters, for Charles Burney enjoyed the unique reputation of being the only man to whom the great lexicographer had ever apologised.

Garrick was particularly fond of the Burney children; and when he arrived early in the morning, while the girls were busily engaged in preparing breakfast for their father before he set forth on horseback to visit the houses of his pupils, the great actor—he was prob-

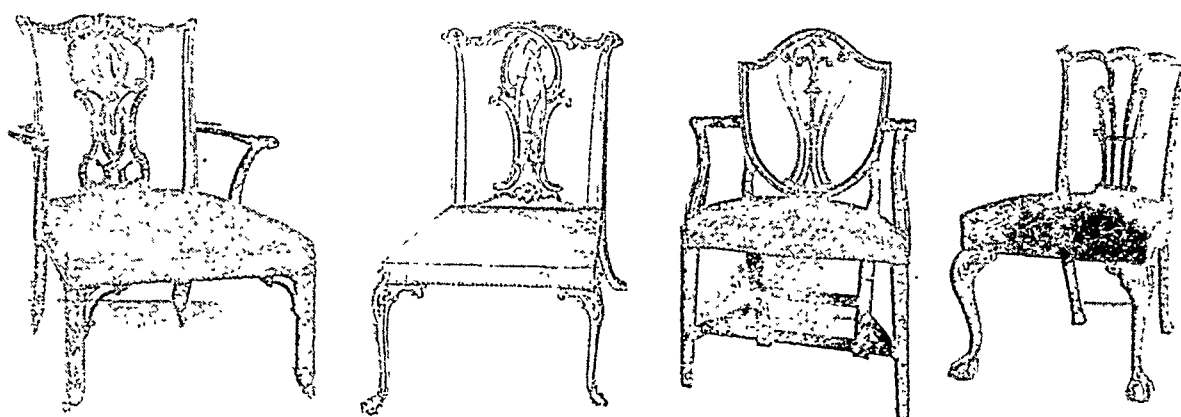
ably one of the greatest actors of all time—used to give little private performances such as frequenters of the theatre never saw. With his old, torn and discoloured scratch-wig, as he called it, set at a jaunty angle, Garrick delighted



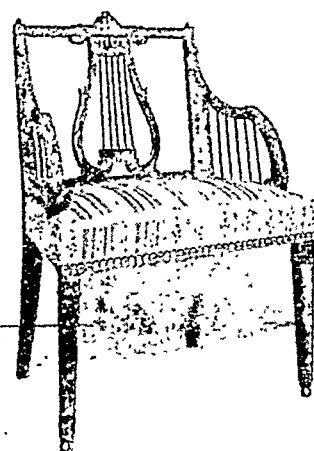
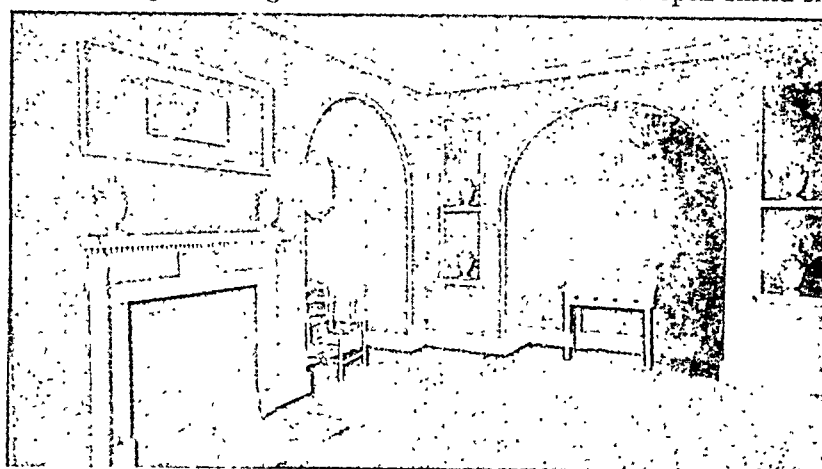
A FAMOUS ACTOR AND HIS WIFE

David Garrick was forty years of age when Hogarth painted this portrait. Versatile and witty, Garrick numbered among his friends many distinguished personalities of the day, including Fanny Burney and her father.

*Engraving after Wm. Hogarth*



Of these chairs the mahogany armchair (left) with pierced back and interlaced scrolls is Chippendale style ; next is one of Chippendale's own design from *The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Directory*, 1762 ; on the right is an early eighteenth-century mahogany chair, with curved claw-and-ball legs and scroll foliage carving. The walnut armchair with open shield-shaped back is Hepplewhite style.



Thomas Chippendale (d. 1779), George Hepplewhite (d. 1786) and Thomas Sheraton (1751-1805) were the foremost English cabinetmakers of their day. Fine specimens of their style are in this dining-room of Wren's home, the Old Court House, Hampton Court. Chippendale furniture was solid, with round or square legs; Hepplewhite favoured the curvilinear and less solidity; Sheraton adapted the Directoire style. Top: An Adams style room at Broadlands and a Sheraton style chair.

#### SPECIMEN ROOMS AND FURNITURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

*Photos (interiors), H. N. King; remainder, Victoria and Albert Museum*



himself and his companions by staring out of countenance the unfortunate hairdresser who was curling and frizzing Dr. Burney's wig for the day. With wide-open eyes and gaping mouth, he would fix the hairdresser with a stupid, stony stare, until the wretched man became so nervous that he did not know what he was doing; and when, at length, the doctor's wig had been neatly dressed, Garrick would snatch off his own tattered head-covering and request the trembling man to do his best with it. But this was a challenge which was never taken up; for the terrified hairdresser generally fled unceremoniously from the room and down the stairs, as though he were anxious to escape from some dangerous lunatic.

Special emphasis has been laid upon the light and the flippant aspects of the life of the time, because in a very artificial age these were the most striking characteristics of the modish world. They extended even to the homes of the men and the women who composed the society of the day; and they were revealed in the furnishing of the houses, as well as in the relations that existed between their occupants. What are commonly called idyllic marriages there were—unions that were based upon the only feeling that is calculated to stand the stress and the strain of daily intercourse; but even in most of these the influence of the home was not strong enough to prevent the men from living as their contemporaries lived—eating heavily, and drinking and gambling to excess.

On the other hand, marriage rarely induced the women to forgo the pleasures and the excitements of the social world in which they moved; and even the claims of motherhood, although large families were very common in the eighteenth century, exercised little more influence than matrimony over them. The true explanation of this state of affairs, which is

very clearly revealed in the memoirs, the diaries and the biographies of the time, was probably that marriages were very seldom based upon mutual love and respect. More often than not they were marriages of convenience, inspired by the desirability of uniting adjoining properties, or by the equally powerful attraction of money; and even when a 'delightfully romantic elopement' took place, it was more often inspired by caprice, or by a desire to escape from the constraint of an unhappy home, than by true affection. But in fairness to the unhappily wedded it must be explained that young men and maidens had very few opportunities of getting to know one another before they were married; for unchaperoned meetings—except sweet, stolen interviews—when the young of both sexes could mix freely and unwatched by censoring, calculating or scheming eyes were few.



THE THRILL OF ELOPEMENT

In a century when love marriages were exceptional and young people were rarely allowed to arrange their own matrimonial affairs, it was natural that some independent spirits should rebel, and, ignoring parental opposition, elope with one of their own choice. The young couple in this engraving after Morland's picture are effecting a wary escape by moonlight.

*Photo, Mansell*





PORTRAIT OF A HAPPY FAMILY

In striking contrast with the dissolute, dissatisfied lives led by many society people was the peace and happiness to be found in countless middle-class homes. This painting, *Married Life*, one of a series by Francis Wheatley, R.A., shows a woman sewing contentedly, with her husband and children beside her

Men and women who were, in reality, only boys and girls found themselves bound for life to partners about whom they knew very little, and it is not surprising that matrimony galled them when its glamour had worn off, and when they had seen more of the world.

All things considered, appearances were kept up wonderfully. But the dwellings in which the ill-assorted couples lived were prisons rather than homes, in spite of the beauty of their Chippendale, their Sheraton or their Hepplewhite furniture; and from this state of bondage there was no escape while life lasted; for to obtain the dissolution of a marriage was such a costly affair that liberation was regarded as a luxury reserved for the very rich, apart altogether from the stigma that divorce entailed.

Happily, it would give a totally erroneous idea of the condition of England to say that the ways of the reckless, the idle and the rich were the ways of

the majority. In every age what is called Society—or high society, at any rate—is a relatively small class. In England in the eighteenth century it consisted of the court circle, and of those who could claim a nodding acquaintance with the men and the women who made pleasure their goal; but by far the greater number of the people were hard-working men, who earned their livelihood either by the exercise of some profession or by engaging in commerce or business. So much was this so that England was regarded abroad as being essentially a commercial nation; and the sentiment of the Continent was unmistakably expressed by Napoleon when he said that the English were a nation of shopkeepers.

The strength of England lay in the counting-houses and in the offices of London, and of the other great towns; and the stability of the country was truly reflected in the solid comfort that prevailed

in the homes of the well-to-do middle classes. There life was regarded as a serious business, entailing a great deal of hard work and self-denial; but the merchant and the tradesman, no less than the professional man, knew how to enjoy themselves sanely and thoroughly. Their homes were havens of rest; and the contentment that was earned by honest toil was sensibly enjoyed. The well-being of these people was reflected in their attitude towards their families, and in the morality of those families; and it is no exaggeration to say that the most valuable members of the community—the men and the women who preserved the sanity of the nation in an otherwise irresponsible age—were the people who do not appear at all in the memoirs or in the stories of the time.

What a contrast there was between the town life and the country life of all classes of society during this century! Even the

poor in the little rural communities living under the paternal eyes of the squire, the parson and the doctor enjoyed relative luxury, but many of them could no more resist the lure of the cities than the moth can keep away from the flame of the candle that will destroy it. The squire and his family, who seldom travelled farther from their home than the nearest market town, were the dispensers of all good and the source of all wealth. Men and women were born on an estate, and worked there until they died; and although their lot was often hard, they were generally sure of two things—the interest of the occupants of 'the hall' while they were alive, and a decent interment when death found them still serving the employer for whose father their fathers had worked.

Means of communication were so bad during the early part of the century that there was very little inducement to travel for pleasure; and even at the end of the period the roads were still in a disgraceful

state—partly owing to their condition, and partly to their dangers. Except when travelling along the very few great highways, wheeled vehicles bumped abominably even in the best weather, while after heavy rain and in the winter roads became such quagmires that travellers were often bogged up to the axles of their carriages, and had to spend a night out of doors. It was preferable, therefore, to travel on horseback rather than to risk the chances of the way in a lumbering coach, but owing to the robbers who infested the roads few travellers cared to set forth alone upon a journey. It is not surprising that only urgent business could draw the country people away from their own firesides.

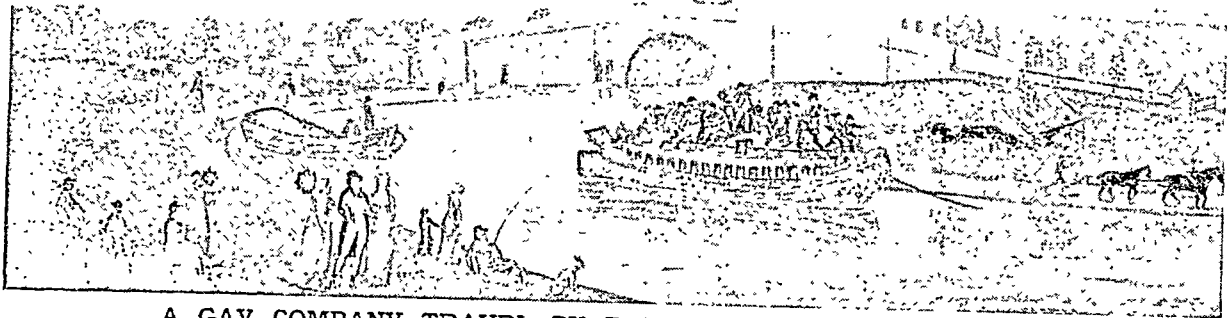
Towards the end of the century the roads improved. They were kept in a state of tolerable repair by private enterprise, the cost of maintenance being raised by the turnpike system. A contractor would undertake to maintain a stretch of



THE STATE OF THE ROADS IN 1790: TOLL GATE AT A SUTTON HALT

The danger of attack from robbers and the bad condition of the roads rendered travel in the eighteenth century both nerve-racking and uncomfortable. Towards the close of the century matters began to improve, but Fanny Burney, travelling to Brighton in 1790, found Regate 'a very old, half ruined borough'. This Rowlandson print shows the halt at Sutton where a postchaise is about to draw up outside an inn so that travellers may pause for rest and refreshment on their tiring journey.

British Museum



#### A GAY COMPANY TRAVEL BY BARGE ON PADDINGTON CANAL

The heavy tolls charged on the improved roads encouraged potential travellers to seek less expensive means of locomotion. For a time the canal boat enjoyed a vogue, its passengers escaping the jolts and jars of the lumbering coaches. An aquatint of 1801 shows the slow progress of a laden barge on its way down the Grand Junction Canal to Uxbridge. Behind it is the first bridge at Paddington. The popularity of this method of travel was short-lived, for the day of the railway was at hand.

roadway in good order, provided that he was allowed to erect a certain number of toll gates, at which every traveller would have to pay fees regulated according to the kind of vehicle in which he was travelling. At first the improvements were so great that wayfarers did not grudge the road dues; but eventually tolls became so heavy that a long journey—from London to Plymouth, for example—was a very

expensive undertaking. To enable travellers to escape from these burdens, and for the transport of heavy merchandise, canals were cut; and for a season the express canal boat, which travelled at about six, eight or ten miles an hour, became a very popular conveyance.

It was not only in the country, however, that the roads were bad; for even the streets of London were in a disgraceful



#### COBBLE-PAVED THOROUGHFARE OF THE CITY OF LONDON

Cheapside has long and interesting history. The scene of many tournaments and pageants, it was also an important centre of splendid shops. It was rebuilt after the Great Fire of 1666, and it is interesting to compare this view, published in 1813, with its former aspect, shown in pages 3568-9. It was still, at this date, the haunt of fashionable people who frequently drove there in their private carriages. The Queen Eleanor Cross shown in the earlier view was pulled down by Puritans in 1643.

*From Ackermann's 'Repository of Art'*

condition. The best of them were paved with large cobble-stones, over which the heavy private coaches lumbered with a terrible rattling and with much shaking; while the worst of them were merely muddy or dusty lanes, according to the state of the weather. The pedestrian in London was often offended by the unsavoury state of the streets: for, disregarding the fines that were imposed, inconsiderate householders continued to throw their refuse into the roadway, where the rubbish lay in heaps until rain or snow transformed it into filthy, slimy, slippery mud. When the porters of her ladyship's sedan chair were returning late from some

with her cane, or lash them with her tongue in language that would shock and pain the ears of modern men and women.

So bad were the streets of London that even in the eighteenth century the river Thames was still the great highway between the city and Westminster. Revellers going to the Vauxhall Gardens hired a boat and were ferried across the river; and the 'silent highway' was also most generally used between London and Greenwich, and London and Chelsea. The watermen were sturdy fellows, who worked hard; and a small party would be rowed by one man, who used a pair of sculls, while a larger number of passengers would



ROYAL PATRONAGE THAT POPULARISED A WATERING PLACE

The pursuit of health and distraction amid new surroundings drew numbers of fashionable people in the eighteenth century to such watering places as Bath and Scarborough. Weymouth did not compete with these better established resorts until later in the century, when George III's visit in 1789 made it popular. Gillray's caricature shows George III on the Weymouth esplanade.

*British Museum*

function after having fortified themselves generously for the journey, they not infrequently slipped and fell, causing their passenger great inconvenience. She might be only badly shaken, or she might be cut by splinters of broken glass—or, perhaps, if the door of the chair happened to fly open, she might be thrown out upon the muddy street. But whatever the nature of the mishap, the outraged lady was rarely at a loss; for she would straightway belabour the drunken wretches

engage a big skiff that was rowed by two men, who used oars.

It is strange to think of all the changes that have taken place since those by no means far-off days; for even at the end of the eighteenth century London was a relatively small town, with a population of about seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and Westminster was a separate city. When the century closed, Oxford Street, then known as Tyburn Road, was still lined by trees; west of Hyde Park

Corner there was open country, and the road to Kensington was a dangerous highway much infested by footpads; and the sportsman with his gun need have gone no farther afield than St. Marylebone to find hares, and rabbits, and even snipe.

Outside the capital the chief centres of fashionable life were the watering-places, whither the exhausted pursuers of pleasure went to recuperate, or for a 'cure'—and to hear the very latest scandal concerning the world in which they moved. Among these places were Tunbridge Wells, known simply as 'The Wells'; Cheltenham, Scarborough, Weymouth and, last but not most notable of them all, Bath. Thither society flocked, weary of one round of amusements, but eager to begin afresh amid new surroundings; and no account of the life of the time would be complete without a passing reference to the gaiety—often a rather tragically forced gaiety—which prevailed at Bath in the heyday of its fame. The uncrowned king of Bath was that most exquisite gentleman, Beau Nash, who found the place in a rather derelict condition, living on the fame which it had inherited from Roman times, and left it the most famous and the most fashionable resort in Europe.

Nash ruled his subjects with a rod of iron; and neither rank nor sex was accepted as an excuse for the infringement of the rules which he drew up—and some of these rules were distinctly curious.

For example, according to Rule Six, it was laid down 'that gentlemen crowding before the ladies at the ball show ill manners; and that none do so for the future—except such as respect nobody but themselves.' He also made hard-and-fast regulations concerning the costumes that were to be worn upon every occasion; and any offender against these iron laws was requested to withdraw from the Assembly Room—a sentence that was dreaded by fashionable society almost as much as expulsion from the king's court would have been.

Such were the characteristics of the curious society that flourished in the eighteenth century; and, brilliant, dazzling, sordid and selfish as it was, it was a society in which the men and the women who composed it were very much the same as the men and women of all ages have been. There is one respect, however, in which the eighteenth century differed from any that had preceded it—namely, that it marked the close of a very long epoch, during which changes had come about very gradually and very slowly. At the end of the century, as a fleet horse was still the swiftest conveyance, and as it was still necessary to await a favourable wind in order to leave the shores of England, men could travel no faster than in the days when the Romans invaded Britain, before the

name of England was known. But the dawn of a new and amazing era of change was at hand, although at the time no prophet would have dared to predict that in less than thirty years people would be travelling by trains drawn by steam-driven locomotive engines, and that they would be able to cross the sea regardless of the direction of the wind.

The eighteenth century, during which the seed of so many changes was sown, owes much of its interest to this: that with its close there ended an era which had endured not for a century, but for two thousand years.



PROCEDURE AT A SOCIAL FUNCTION

The drawings of the English caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) deal largely with various aspects of contemporary social life. His study of a corner of the Grand Pump Room at Bath is dated 1795, and the gentleman in the centre introducing a partner to a lonely lady is the Master of Ceremonies.

# *Ninth Era*

## THE WONDERFUL CENTURY

### 1815—1914

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**D**URING the century following the fall of Napoleon, the European states passed through three phases. In the first, all governments alike were anxious to avert international wars, while the absolutist governments were no less anxious to repress the ideas known as 'the revolution' generated in the course of the struggle, democratic and nationalist—both of which were seething among the peoples. For a time the monarchs succeeded. Then arose conflicts, popular or nationalist, with the result that the German empire and the Italian kingdom were created and consolidated, though at the cost of international wars, while the democratic idea was making great advances in France and England, and the British Empire was developing into a commonwealth of nations. The United States had fought out their own battle of unification; the South American states had become stabilised. The result was the third phase, that state of unstable equilibrium which was to issue in the Great War.

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Charles XIV (Bernadotte).<br/>1819 Germany: Carlsbad Resolutions or decrees issued to suppress revolutionary propaganda.<br/>1820 George III d.; acc. prince-regent George IV.<br/>Spain: Ferdinand VII forced to accept Constitution of 1812.<br/>France: Assassination of duc de Berri.<br/>Congress of Troppau, transferred to Laibach.<br/>1821 Greek rising in Wallachia is suppressed but followed by revolt of the Morea and of Ali Pasha of Janina.<br/>Italy: Revolution in Piedmont suppressed with Austrian help; Victor Emmanuel abd.; acc. Charles Felix. Revolution in Sicilies suppressed by Austrians.<br/>Napoleon d. in St. Helena.<br/>U.S.A.: The Missouri Compromise.<br/>S. America: San Martín from Chile takes Lima. Royalists defeated in north; Colombia declared independent.<br/>1822 Greece: Fall of Ali Pasha; massacre of Chios. 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America: Bolívar, from Colombia, takes Quito.<br/>1826 Ibrahim takes Missolonghi; suppression and massacre of Janissaries by Sultan Mahmud II.<br/>John VI d.; acc. Maria da Gloria, dr. of Pedro of Brazil. Her uncle Miguel regent.<br/>1827 England: Ministry of George Canning.<br/>Treaty of London (Great Britain, France and Russia) to impose peace on Turks.<br/>B. of Navarino. Egypt withdraws from Greece.<br/>Canning d. England neutralised.<br/>1828 Russia declares war on Turkey.<br/>Miguel usurps Portuguese crown; constitutionalist resistance.<br/>India: Lord William Bentinck governor-general. Suppression of suttee; introduction of Western education; beginning of suppression of thuggee and dacoity.<br/>1829 Russians take Adrianople; treaty of Adrianople. Greek independence under Capo d'Istria recognized. United Kingdom: Catholic emancipation.</p> | <p>1829 Germany: Prussia inaugurates the Customs Union or Zollverein, which gradually extends to all Germany except Austria.<br/>U.S.A.: Andrew Jackson president.<br/>1830 George IV d.; acc. William IV. Grey's Reform ministry.<br/>France: Occupation of Algiers. The 'July Revolution'; flight of Charles X; acc. Louis Philippe of Orléans.<br/>Belgian rising against Dutch supremacy. London conference encourages Belgian claims.<br/>Polish revolt.<br/>Sicilies: Francis I. d.; acc. Ferdinand II (Bomba).<br/>S. America: Bolívar 'the Liberator' d. By this time Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay are established as republics in the south, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador in the north.<br/>1831 Charles Felix d.; acc. Charles Albert.<br/>Leopold of Saxe-Coburg accepts Belgian crown.<br/>Polish rising crushed.<br/>Risings in Papal States; Austrians occupy Bologna, to support Papacy.<br/>1832 Otto of Bavaria made king of Greece.<br/>French troops occupy Ancona as a check on Austria in Italy.<br/>Poland made a Russian province.<br/>'Great Reform Bill' carried in England.<br/>Mehemet Ali conquers Syria.<br/>1833 Mahmud II cedes Syrian pashalik to Mehemet, but makes treaty of Unkiar Skelessi with Russia, whose ascendancy is established at the Porte.<br/>Spain: Ferdinand d.; acc. Isabella II, with her mother Christina as regent; supported by the constitutionalists, while the crown is claimed by her uncle Carlos. Beginning of Carlist wars.<br/>Leopold I recognized as king of the Belgians.<br/>British Empire: Abolition of slavery. First English Factory Act.<br/>1834 England: Poor Law Amendment Act.<br/>Portugal: Expulsion of Miguel by constitutionalists.<br/>1835 Austria: Francis II d.; acc. Ferdinand I.<br/>1836 Spain: Christina concedes 1812 constitution.<br/>Cape Colony: The Great Trek. Dutch farmers (Boers) emigrate over Orange River.<br/>1837 William IV d.; acc. Queen Victoria. Separation of British from Hanoverian crown, to which the queen's uncle Ernest of Cumberland succeeds under Salic law.<br/>Canada: Papineau's rebellion in Lower Canada.<br/>U.S.A.: Van Buren president.<br/>1838 England: The Chartist movement.<br/>Austrians and French leave Bologna and Ancona. First Atlantic crossing under steam only.<br/>S. Africa: Boer victory over Zulus (Dingaan's day)<br/>1839 Mehemet Ali again attacks sultan. Mahmud d. acc. Abdul Mejid.<br/>India: First Afghan expedition deposes Dost Mahomed. Ranjit Singh of Lahore d.<br/>First China War begins.<br/>Definitive treaty between Holland and Belgium.<br/>Carlos expelled from Spain.<br/>1840 Mehemet Ali checkmated by action of Palmerston. He surrenders Syria, retaining Egypt as hereditary pashalik. Ascendancy of Great Britain at Constantinople.<br/>Canada: Durham report produces Act of Reunion.<br/>New Zealand: Treaty of Waitangi with Maori.<br/>Prussia: Frederick William III d.; acc. Frederick William IV.<br/>1841 India: The Kabul disaster.<br/>U.S.A.: John Tyler president.<br/>1842 Second Afghan expedition restores Dost Mahomed. Treaty of Nanking ends China war.<br/>Ashburton Treaty (Great Britain and U.S.A.). British annex Natal; Boers withdraw to Transvaal.<br/>British annexation of Sindh.<br/>1843 Sweden: Charles XIV d.; acc. Oscar I.<br/>1844 U.S.A.: Polk president; annexation of California.<br/>India: First Sikh war.<br/>1846 Affair of the Spanish marriages.<br/>Pius IX elected pope; begins reforms.<br/>U.S.A. and Great Britain: Oregon Boundary dispute settled.<br/>U.S.A.: Mexican war.<br/>1847 Canada: Elgin introduces responsible government.<br/>1848 Sicilies: Constitution forced on Ferdinand II.<br/>France: The February Revolution.</p> |
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## Chronicle. XXIX

# THE AFTERMATH OF REVOLUTION: 1815—1848

THE French Revolution and the consequent wars had turned Europe upside down, and Europe required to have its equilibrium restored. The restoration was the business before the Vienna Congress, which had been rudely disturbed by the last episode of the 'Hundred Days.' Palpably it could be attained only by the common consent and continuous co-operation of the great powers—the four before whom Napoleon had gone down—together with their minor allies, and France herself; but primarily the four, Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia. France must undergo a period of probation before she could count fully with the others.

### Reaction after the Revolution

THEY reconstructed the map of Europe, primarily in their own interests. France retained her territory, as laid down in the peace of Paris, though an army of occupation was to remain for some years within her borders. Austria retained the Italian dominions she had acquired during the wars; what had been the Austrian Netherlands, henceforth to be known as Belgium, she resigned to William, the restored stadtholder of Holland and now king of 'the Netherlands.' Prussia resigned her claim to the grand duchy of Warsaw, acquired in the partitions of Poland and taken from her after Jena; she was compensated by acquiring the German provinces on the Rhine which had been annexed by Napoleon. The grand duchy became once more the kingdom of Poland—not annexed to Russia, but with the tsar as king. Great Britain retained the Ionian Islands and Malta.

The king of Sardinia was reinstated in Savoy and Piedmont, with Genoa added to his dominion; the States of the Church were restored to the pope; Ferdinand was reinstated in Naples, whence Murat, who had declared for Napoleon, was ejected. He tried to restore himself, but was

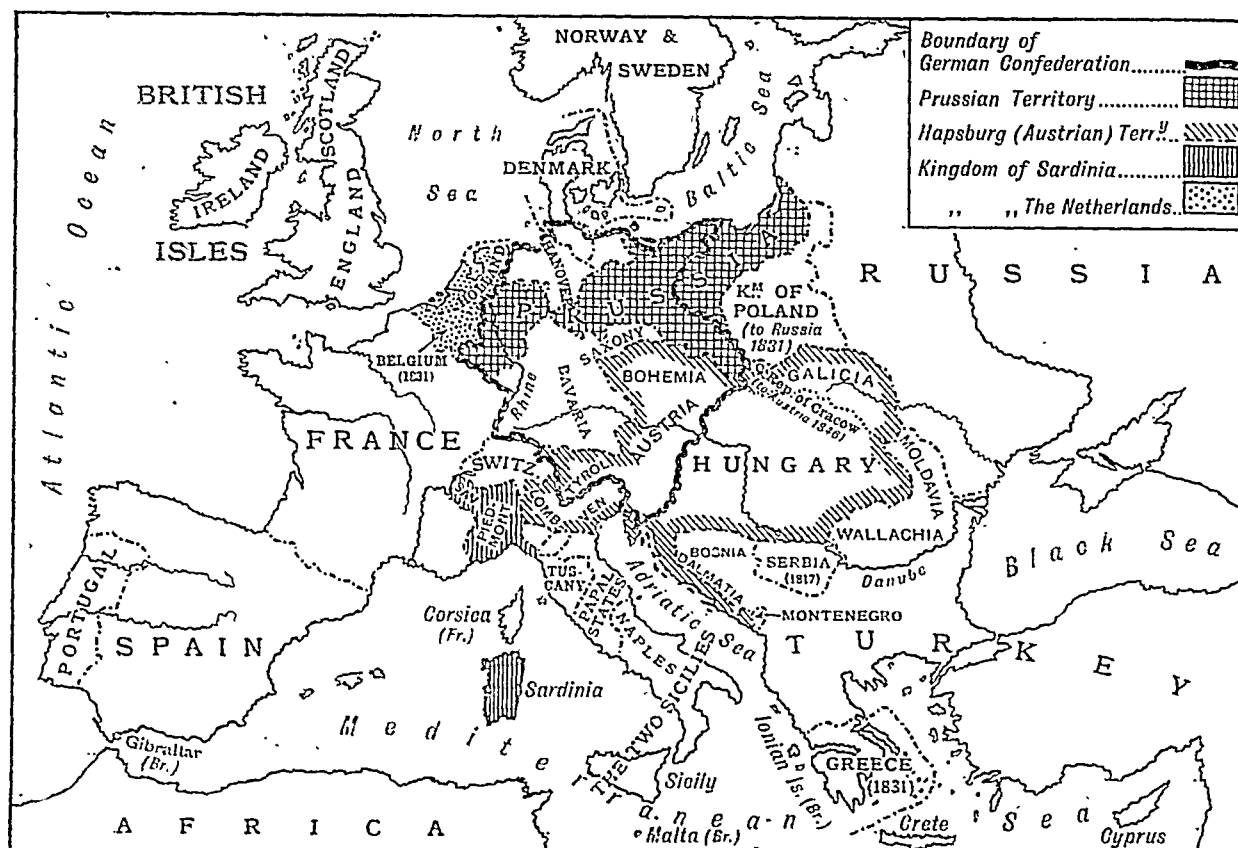
captured and shot. The Spanish Ferdinand, the son of Carlos IV, was reinstated in Spain; in Portugal the administration, in the name of Queen Maria, was placed in the hands of the English chief of the army, Field-Marshal Beresford, the royal family remaining in Brazil. In the north, Norway was transferred from Denmark (in accordance with a previous compact between the tsar and Bernadotte) to Sweden—not an incorporating union, but a union of crowns—by way of compensation for her loss of Finland to Russia.

In Germany the absorption of innumerable minor principalities by their bigger neighbours was accepted; the Holy Roman Empire had disappeared, and the surviving states including Austria were joined together in the German Confederation, with the Austrian emperor as its president. The close accord between Prussia and Austria, so long as both were really directed by the Austrian minister Metternich, prevented the rivalry between them for ascendancy in Germany from coming to a head as yet. Metternich was the guiding spirit in both governments for another generation. In the reconstruction of the map, it occurred to no one to consider any but dynastic interests; populations were transferred from one dynast to another without consulting their wishes. The autocrats were determined to 'make the world safe for autocracy'—that was their answer to the Revolution which had declared war on autocracy.

### Holy Alliance of Christian Princes

THE dynasts were restored unconditionally; but Tsar Alexander was an idealist, whose conviction that princes were rulers by divine authority and responsible to none but the Almighty was qualified only by an intense sense not of the claims of his subjects upon him but of his own duty towards them as a Christian prince; though he, of course, was the sole judge of what that duty might be. He was a great

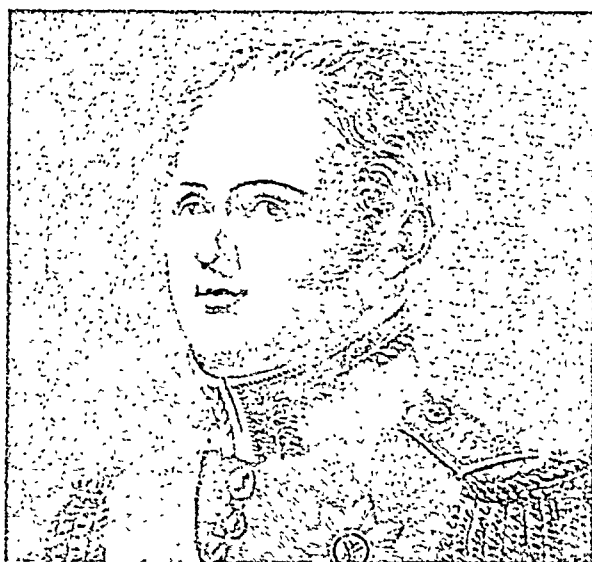
## Chronicle XXIX 1815-1848



### TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The settlement of Europe effected at the Congress of Vienna was dictated almost entirely by dynastic considerations; but beneath the surface was a craving for national independence from alien dominion that manifested itself in the revolutionary movements of the succeeding era. In 1831 Belgium achieved her independence of Holland and by the same year Greece, having defied her Turkish overlords, had become autonomous. By 1848 Italy still remained a 'geographical expression.'

admirer of liberty, but of the liberty which the benevolent father concedes to his children, to be withdrawn if abused, and



### FOUNDER OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE

The subject of this engraving is Alexander I (1777-1825), idealist tsar of Russia. The so-called Holy Alliance of Christian Princes was his creation.

From Seidlitz, 'Porträteerk,' Brückmann A.G.

certainly not to be claimed as a right. He credited other despots with a similar idealism, and promulgated a Holy Alliance of Christian Princes, all pledged to pursue the ideal—which for the time included the granting of (revocable) constitutions to their peoples—and all pledged to support each other in the spirit of Christian brotherhood. All, except for obvious reasons the sultan, were invited to join; practically all did join, except the pope, who regarded the tsar as a heretic, and the king of England, who had become hopelessly insane, while the prince regent was conveniently precluded from joining by the Constitution. Nor was there a single one among them whose subsequent course of action was affected by a hair's breadth.

The Holy Alliance was a dead letter from the beginning, because it rested on the assumption that princes in their own dominions were accountable to no one except the Almighty, from whom they had received their authority—not even to

## The Aftermath of Revolution

other princes. On the other hand, the great powers agreed together, not as individual princes but as the powers in whose hands the peace of Europe was reposed, to hold periodical congresses for the settlement of international questions and agreement upon a joint action when required.

In restoring the Bourbon monarchy in France the powers had insisted upon the provision of a constitution, a course to which Louis XVIII was agreeable, though his brother Charles of Artois and not a few of the émigrés were not. Louis was perfectly aware that what the ultra-royalists wanted was a restoration of the pre-revolution class privileges, and also vindictive action, which, as he knew, would inevitably bring about another revolution; even with a constitution it was difficult enough to keep the 'ultras' under control, and the government in the hands of moderates. There were German states in which the princes took a similar view; and Alexander gave the Poles a constitution. Elsewhere, however, such constitutions as the rulers chose to grant conveyed no real power to the assemblies, and the princes were as despotic as ever. The Diet of the German Confederation was itself a diet of princes ready to encourage each other's despotism, all dreading 'the Revolution,' none of them with a German national as opposed to a state consciousness, and all dominated by Metternich, the arch-enemy of popular power and of national consolidation.

But the French Revolution had created everywhere a demand for popular liberties, and the national revolts of Spain and then of Prussia against a foreign domination had developed the sentiment of nationalism among peoples on many of whom the Vienna settlement had riveted the domination of foreign rulers more firmly than before. The Sicilies detested the Bourbon

dynasty; Hungary, Lombardy and Venetia detested the Austrians, Poland the Russians, Belgium the Dutch, and the Greeks their slavery to the Turks. Neither nationalism nor popular liberties were compatible in fact with the absolutist theories of Alexander the idealist or Metternich the materialist; whereas both appealed strongly alike to French and to British sentiment, although both in France and in Great Britain there was still a widespread and lively dread of 'Jacobinism' at home.

It must be remarked, however, that the demands of nationalism—the spirit of



REACTIONARY EUROPEAN RULERS

The spirit of national liberty that flourished widely in post-Revolutionary Europe was ruthlessly suppressed by despots like Ferdinand II, whose rule over the Two Sicilies has been described as the 'negation of God.' Goya's painting (right) shows Ferdinand VII of Spain, another monarch who repressed popular liberties.

national liberty and national unity—were not always immediately reconcilable with the democratic demand for popular and civic rights and liberties. In Germany, for example, the only organ of national unity was the monarchist Diet of the Confederation; and to strengthen its central control would strengthen the control of the several princes over their subjects, diminishing the subjects' chances of extracting popular concessions from their rulers. German 'liberalism' was nationalist in the abstract, but in the concrete it was apt to concentrate upon the demand for popular liberties; though at the same time a real unification with a real central control was still, as ever, the last thing desired by the dynasts.

The reaction then was everywhere predominant. The two Ferdinands in Spain and in the Sicilies and Victor Emmanuel in Piedmont suppressed the popular liberties. The Spaniards during the Peninsular War—when they refused to recognize the king set over them by Napoleon—had set up the 'Constitution of 1812,' which Ferdinand on his return accepted and then promptly overturned. The country at large had, in fact, been quite ready to accept Ferdinand; but he set himself to restore all the worst features of the old system, to persecute everyone who had been concerned with the 1812 constitution, and to establish an unqualified tyranny. Ferdinand of Naples followed a similar course, less aggressively and more gradually. In neither country was there any pretence of a tolerable government, in which the benevolent despot had a thought for the welfare of his subjects. In both countries the tyranny begot active revolutionary movements, with the result that both monarchs in 1820 were compelled by military insurgents to accept the Spanish 'Constitution of 1812,' while Ferdinand of Naples appealed to Austria.

Even in England the dread of Jacobinism led to severe restrictions on rights

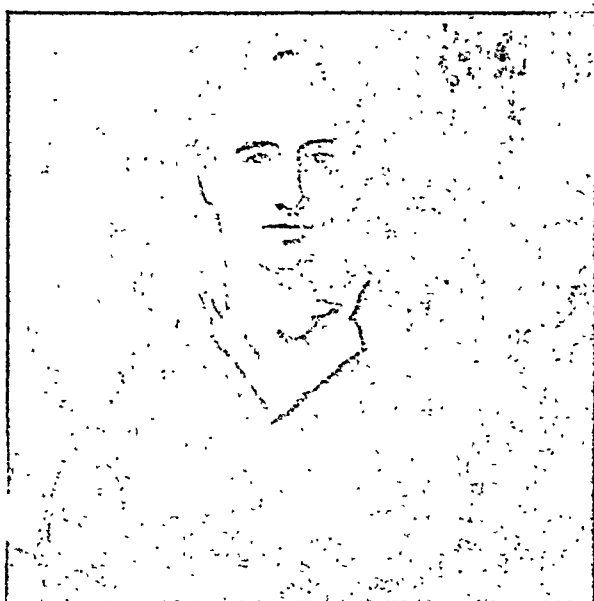
of assembly, free speech and free criticism. In France, however, after the first outbreak of vindictiveness on the part of his brother Charles and the royalist ultras, Louis procured an assembly in which the majority supported the 'moderate' ministers of his own choice, under whose regime stability was reached so rapidly that in 1818 a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle withdrew the army of occupation and admitted France to the Quadruple Alliance—mainly owing to the insistence of the tsar and of Wellington on behalf of Great Britain. But the increasing strength of the 'liberals' in the Chambers, and the assassination of the king's nephew the duc de Berri, alarmed the moderates and gave the reactionaries the upper hand, which, by a change in the electoral law and a renewed repression of free speech, they were able to retain for a decade.

### Diverse Views on Intervention

THE French government, but not the French people, deserted the attitude of resolute non-intervention in the troubles of other states which Castlereagh, and after his death in 1822 George Canning, maintained steadily. The main difference between those two British ministers was that Canning more emphatically insisted that there was a right of intervention to prevent intervention—that if other powers intervened on one side, Great Britain would have warrant to intervene on the other.

Alexander, who had begun with an enthusiasm for liberal movements emanating from the autocrat, regarded them with horror when they emanated from the people, and became in effect no less a champion of the reaction than Metternich; while Frederick William followed Metternich's lead with no less docility than his nominal master, Francis II.

Within Germany during the five years after Waterloo liberal movements had been repressed, and their repression had been effected through pressure exercised by Austria and Prussia, notably by the Carlsbad decrees repressing free speech and comment. England and Russia recognized that those two powers were so directly affected that their intervention in the affairs of the states of the German



**VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH**

After the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, Viscount Castlereagh (1769-1822), the British foreign secretary, pursued a policy of non-intervention. His brain gave way under intensive hard work and unpopularity, and he died by his own hand. *Painting by Sir T. Lawrence; National Portrait Gallery, London*

## The Aftermath of Revolution

Confederation was warranted, without compromising the principle of non-intervention by 'the powers' in the domestic affairs of particular states.

Portugal was in a somewhat peculiar position. The royal family had taken refuge in Brazil, not from revolutionary subjects but from Napoleon's intrusion. Practically Portugal itself was under British protection during the war, and when it was over the British field-marshal, Beresford, became regent, while King John, who succeeded to the throne in 1816, remained in Brazil. In 1820 the Portuguese insisted on their king's return. He came (leaving the crown prince Pedro in Brazil), to find himself faced with a constitution which he accepted without demur; while Pedro, in Brazil, was preparing for a declaration of Brazilian independence as the 'Empire of Brazil,' which took effect two years later—a separation that was inevitable; for Brazil, after being the seat of royalty, would not return to dependence on the government in Lisbon, and Portugal would not accept the position of an appanage to her own colony. These, however, were matters in which foreign intervention was obviously out of the question.

Finally, the restoration of the Spanish monarchy had brought to a head the disaffection of the Spanish colonies in South and Central America, where revolts became general; Spain was obviously incapable of coping with her transatlantic revolutionists; and Ferdinand was eager to appeal for European support.

### Interventions in Italy and Spain

SUCH, then, was the situation in 1820, when the tsar rejected Metternich's proposal that Russia and Austria should take the Spanish and Italian questions into their own hands, and the Congress of Troppau, presently transferred to Laibach, was called to deal with them. The tsar had come definitely over to the view that it was the business of the powers to suppress 'the Revolution' wherever it raised its head. France was already inclining in that direction. Castlereagh rejected the doctrine, but admitted Austria's right as an Italian power to intervene in Italy.



**BRITISH REGENT OF PORTUGAL**

William Carr Beresford, who entered the British army in 1785, was distinguished for his military valour. He did good service in the Peninsular War by reorganizing the Portuguese armies, and later became regent of Portugal.

*Painting by Rothwell; National Portrait Gallery, London*

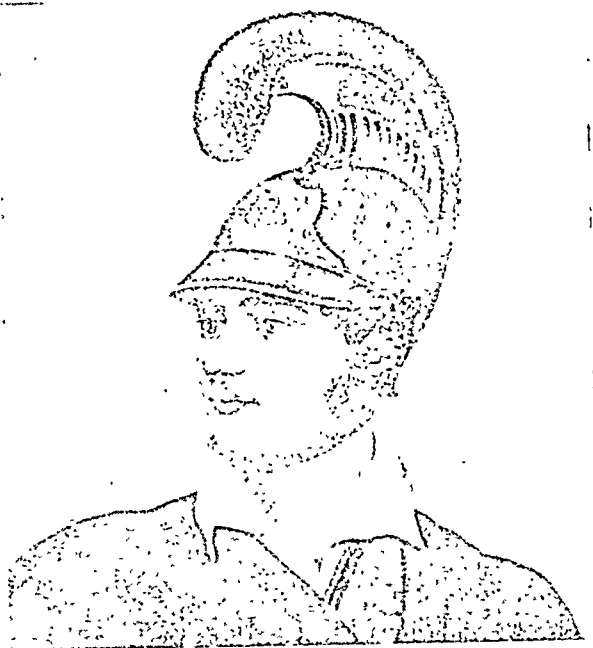
Austria restored Ferdinand in Naples, where he gave full rein to his vindictiveness. Then Piedmont rose; the king yielded, accepted a constitution, and abdicated. His brother, Charles Felix, who succeeded him, was an uncompromising reactionist; for a moment his cousin and heir-presumptive, Charles Albert, seemed likely to head the revolutionists, but preferred to follow second thoughts, and the insurgents were crushed by Austrian troops (1821). Austria virtually dominated Italy.

The tsar wished to intervene in Spain; Metternich did not want Russian forces in the west. France put in a claim to be the agent of the powers in Spain in virtue of her own Spanish interests; but the proposal met with emphatic protest from England, which also had Spanish interests. Another congress met at Verona in 1822, the insurrectionary movement having now developed in the Balkan peninsula. The powers, in spite of the British protest, demanded a modification of the Spanish constitution in favour of the crown; the Spanish ministry declined; the French

troops which had already massed on the border entered Spain (1823) and restored Ferdinand, who had been virtually held a prisoner. The savage vindictiveness with which he exercised his restored powers excited the protest of the French themselves. Canning, now the controller of British policy, retorted by acknowledging the revolutionary governments in South America as the de facto sovereigns.

In Portugal the reactionaries, headed by the queen and by King John's second son Miguel, procured the fall of the constitution and the restoration of absolutism. The king, who preferred constitutionalism, found himself powerless in the hands of his wife and son, from whom he escaped on a British ship. Here it was in fact the ultras who were attacking the reigning monarch with the people on his side. John was restored without difficulty and with a constitution, and Miguel, though pardoned, was banished—for the time.

MEANWHILE, however, Greece was becoming the storm centre. The Turk in the Ottoman Empire was the military master of subject Christian populations—those of his subjects who had embraced



BYRON AS GREEK LIBERATOR

The courageous struggle of Greece for independence from Turkish rule aroused great sympathy among lovers of liberty in Europe. Byron was among the volunteers in the cause of Greek freedom and died at Missolonghi in 1824.

*Engraving after sketch made in Greece*



TSAR NICHOLAS I

Brother of the visionary Alexander I, Nicholas I (1796-1855) succeeded to the Russian throne in 1825. As sternly autocratic as he appears in Krüger's painting of him, he concentrated on advancing Russian interests by practical means.

*From Seidlitz, 'Porträtwerk,' Brückmann A.G.*

Islam being alone on an equal footing. The Turkish idea of government scarcely went beyond that of extracting for the masters as much as possible from the subjects. The sultan, theoretically the master of all, was in practice very much in the hands of the imperial guard, the Janissaries. The Turk, having no conception of administration, employed Christians as administrators. Serbs, Bulgars, Rumanians, Albanians, Greeks and Macedonians were the heterogeneous mass of his subjects in Europe.

The Greeks, among whom some sense of the traditional glories of their race had recently been spreading, began a revolt in 1821, under the impression that the tsar would come to their aid; but Metternich, who did not want to see Russia in control of Turkey, persuaded him that the Greek insurrection was merely another manifestation of the Revolution. The Albanian Ali Pasha of Janina revolted; the Greeks, a maritime people, won successes at sea; the Turks retaliated by massacres of the Christians who were in their power, and the Greeks retorted in kind. Janina fell and Ali Pasha was killed; but although the Greeks were fighting without any common organization, and the massacres

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and atrocities committed by the Turks were on a bigger scale, the successes on the whole were on the side of the Greeks. The Congress of Verona declined to intervene, though in England and France there was a vast amount of sympathy with the Greeks, whom Canning officially recognized as belligerents.

In 1825 the sultan invited the co-operation of his great vassal, the pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali. The Egyptian troops, under Mehemet's son Ibrahim, and the Egyptian fleet turned the scale; in two years it was evident that without intervention the Greeks would be hopelessly crushed, in spite of the help they received from British and French volunteers.

**A**ND meanwhile Alexander I died; his next brother and heir, Constantine, flatly refused the crown, which the third brother, Nicholas, was obliged to assume. Nicholas was the incarnation of rigid autocracy, in whose eyes resistance was the worst of crimes; but he was no visionary like Alexander; he concentrated whole-heartedly upon the advancement of Russia and Russian interests. Intervention in the Balkans would advance Russian interests, and the sultan did not count as a Christian autocrat ruling by divine right. Before long it became evident that he would intervene.

By this time there was not much remaining of the idea of unity among the powers. Metternich, with Prussia in his wake, was opposed to anything in the shape of Russian intervention in Turkey, whereas Nicholas was bent on intervening. Canning, whose sympathies were entirely with the Greeks, as were those of France, hesitated to break through the principle of non-intervention, but could not leave Russia to intervene by herself. The result was an agreement between Russia, France and Great Britain to bring joint pressure to bear for the acceptance of agreed terms; and then, when the sultan rejected their proposals, to enforce an armistice. The French and British fleets entered the bay of Navarino where Mehemet Ali's fleet was lying, a shot was fired which the British admiral interpreted as an attack, and the Egyptian fleet was promptly sunk (1827).

Some weeks earlier Canning had died; Wellington, now at the head of the British government, was above all things anxious to avoid war; but to resent action on the part of Nicholas after this incident was obviously impossible. Mehemet Ali, seeing that there was nothing to be gained by fighting, readily withdrew; Russian troops invaded both European and Asiatic Turkey, with varying success; diplomacy was endeavouring to arrange for a Greek principality, autonomous but tributary, when in 1829 the Russian general Diebitsch settled matters by capturing Adrianople with a small force, which he represented as the advance guard of a quite imaginary main army—and the Porte submitted.

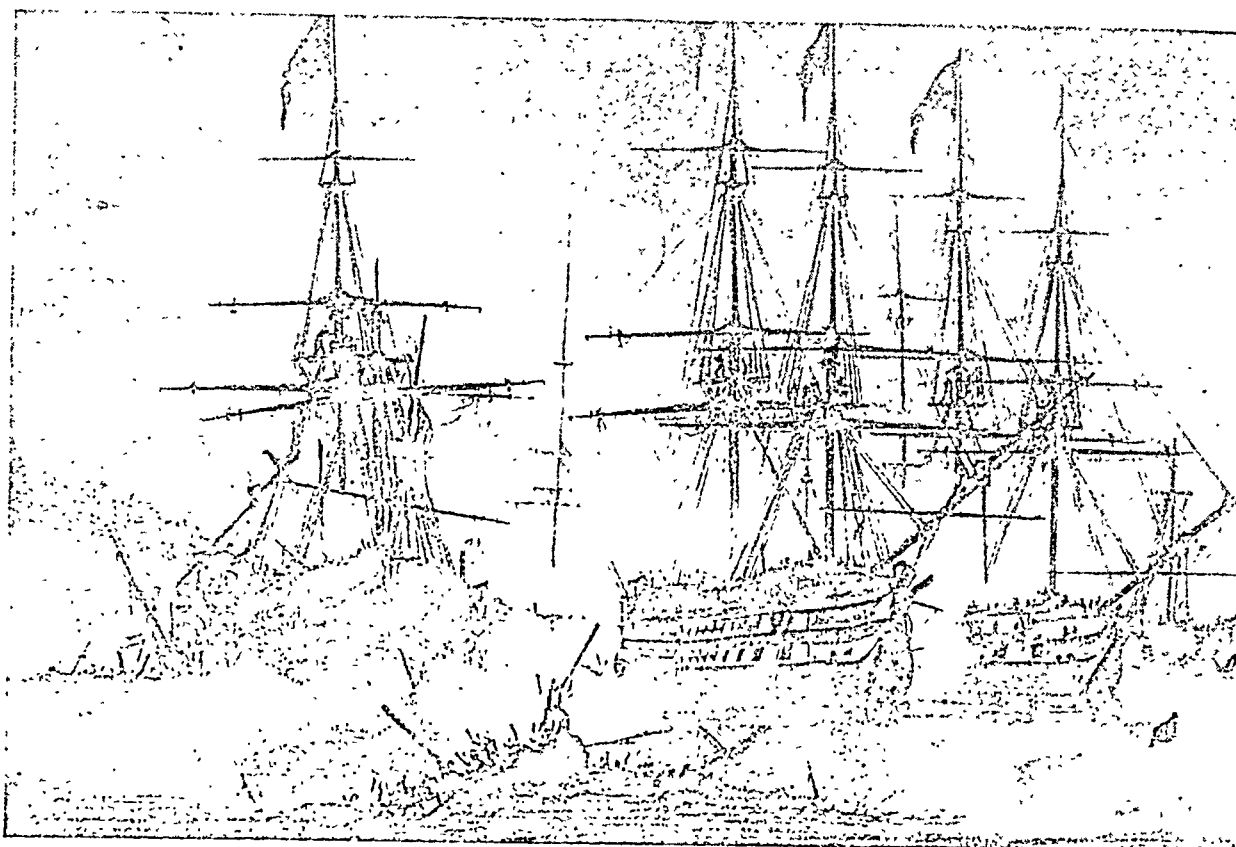
The treaty of Adrianople (September, 1829) was in effect a Russian triumph. It created an autonomous Greek republic—under the presidency of Count Capo



KING GEORGE IV

After acting as regent during his father's insanity, George IV (1762–1830) became king of England in 1820. He had the vices of his age and his rule was neither successful nor popular.





#### DESTRUCTION OF THE TURCO-EGYPTIAN FLEET IN NAVARINO BAY

By their decisive victory over the Turks in the naval battle fought at Navarino on October 20, 1827, the Allied powers (Britain, France and Russia) secured for the Greeks the autonomy they sought. The Ottoman fleet, supported by an Egyptian squadron, was destroyed in the space of two hours. In the centre of this print illustrating the action is Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Codrington's flagship *Asia* engaged with the Egyptian flagship (right) and the Turkish flagship (left).

*Macpherson Collection*

d'Istria, once a minister of Tsar Alexander—till the powers should succeed in providing it with a prince, under Turkish sovereignty; it opened the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to merchant shipping, and it gave autonomy to the trans-Danube provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, but under Russian protection. The effect was to give Russia a predominant influence within the Turkish empire, precisely what both Metternich and Canning had wished to avoid. But in 1831 Capo d'Istria was assassinated—his bureaucratic methods, though well intentioned, had been very unpopular; Louis Philippe, the 'citizen king,' was on the French throne; Palmerston, Canning's disciple, was at the British foreign office; Metternich had always held that sovereign independence for Greece, from the Austrian point of view, was an alternative undesirable in itself but preferable to a tributary autonomy which made her look to Russia as her protector; the Porte had no objection to a bargain; and Prince Otto of Bavaria became king of Greece in 1832 with a

ready-made constitution provided for him. This time it was Russia that had been out-manoeuvred. Nicholas' attention had been distracted by affairs in Poland.

**A**LEXANDER I, until he was mastered by his dread of the Revolution, was ever anxious to propagate liberal ideas and practices. In Russia he had endeavoured to mitigate the system of rural serfdom, which had come into being under the earlier Romanovs, by inducing the nobles to emancipate their serfs; but the emancipation was attended by educational and disciplinary regulations the novelty of which caused them to be hardly less resented than the serfdom. In Poland he intended to create a constitutional Utopia, and when its success was demonstrated to restore again to Poland the districts his grandmother had annexed to Russia. The Poles' idea of liberty was anarchical rather than Utopian, and the Russians did not want their tsar's other kingdom to develop into a powerful and highly organized neighbour. As early as 1820

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Alexander found himself obliged to tighten the grip of the autocrat upon the Constitutional Diet of Poland; with the result that repression bred disorders; more repression, more disorders—so that Nicholas on his accession found on his hands not a Utopia but a country ripe, but quite unorganized, for revolt against any restraining authority, but immediately and above all against Russian rule. His elder brother, Constantine, who had refused the tsardom, was placed in command at Warsaw, while Nicholas made preparations to deal with the rebellion he anticipated.

The rebellion came. In 1830—a few months after the successful 'July Revolution' in France—it broke out in Warsaw, from which Constantine beat a hasty retreat. The moderates tried to direct the Warsaw revolution, while Nicholas marched a Russian army against the rebels. Its approach wrecked the moderates and brought in the extremists, who proclaimed the deposition of the Romanov king. The two powers, France and Great Britain, which had maintained the doctrine of non-intervention on behalf of an

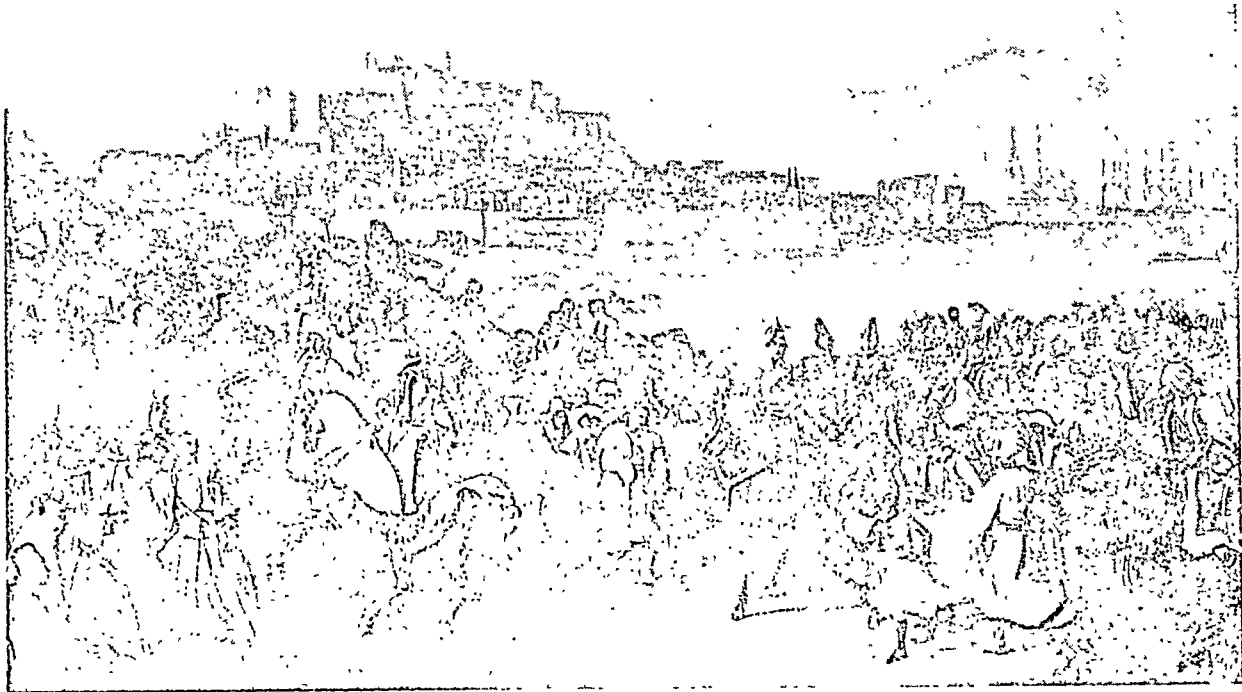
autocrat when his subjects were in rebellion, could not claim a right of intervention on behalf of revolutionists, though they might enter mild protests. The



### PROMINENT BRITISH STATESMEN OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

George Canning (top), oratorically posed in this portrait by Lawrence, became foreign secretary in 1822, and premier in 1827. He maintained Castlereagh's policy of non-intervention but favoured the Greek cause against the Turks. The duke of Wellington (left), portrayed by Count d'Orsay, became premier in 1828, and deprecated Canning's Greek policy. Lord Palmerston (1784–1865) vigorously supported liberalist movements against reaction and repression. J. Partridge painted this portrait of him.

National Portrait Gallery, London



OTTO KING OF GREECE ENTERS NAUPLIA

In 1832 the Convention of London declared Greece to be an independent kingdom under the protection of Great Britain, France and Russia, and Prince Otto, son of Louis I of Bavaria, became its king. His rule was not popular, for his ideals were despotic and his advisers Bavarian. A painting by Peter Hess gives an impressive idea of Otto's entry into Nauplia in 1833. Nauplia, then the seat of the administration, was superseded by Athens as capital of Greece in 1834.

*Pinakothek, Munich*



CHARLES X OF FRANCE

The count of Artois, younger brother of Louis XVI and Louis XVIII, succeeded to the French throne in 1824 as Charles X. His determined attempts to restore the old absolutism met with failure and he abdicated in 1830.

*British Museum*

Polish revolutionary government had many leaders but no leadership; it went to pieces, and for the same reason its army did likewise. When the Russians arrived at Warsaw a desperate resistance was maintained for three days, and then the end came. The Poles by thousands were deported to Siberian or Caucasian regions or fled into exile, while those who were left cherished a burning hatred for the Russians; and Poland became a province of Russia, in the year when Greece became an independent kingdom.

**I**N France we have seen that the judicious moderation of Louis XVIII could not prevent the royalist reaction which followed the assassination of the duke of Berri in 1820. Hence the intervention of France in Spain in 1823 and the reinstatement of Ferdinand as an autocrat, proceedings which would have found no favour with a ministry of moderates. When Louis died in 1824 and was succeeded by his brother Charles (of Artois) X, there was no longer any doubt that the crown intended to get rid of the constitution and recover its old-time unqualified absolutism, although on the

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Greek question the government was disposed to act with England, where, we may observe, the liberal movement was travelling along a different course. There the reaction was at its height in the first years after Waterloo, but as the Jacobin bugbear faded the movement towards constitutional reform, which had been rudely checked by the French Revolution, revived, and gained ground during Canning's ministry. While the French government was growing increasingly repressive, the British government was relaxing restrictions, restoring the liberties which had been suspended, and tending to further reforms broadening the basis of popular representation in parliament.

But in France the reaction was preparing its own downfall. Its first ministerial chief was Richelieu, who had for some time been the chief of the moderates. Richelieu was still too much of a moderate for the party, and was succeeded by Villèle. When Charles X succeeded his brother, Villèle, under pressure from the extremists and the king, pressed forward measures for additional compensations to the returned émigrés, and for gagging the press, which in Paris grew increasingly critical of the government. When the gagging measure was rejected by the Chambers, the desired effect was attained by a royal ordinance. Outside Paris, the



ENGLAND'S 'SAILOR KING'

William IV, who succeeded George IV in 1830 and reigned until 1837, was deeply attached to the navy in which he served. In 1832 he sought to obstruct the first Reform Bill, although he was a Whig before his accession.

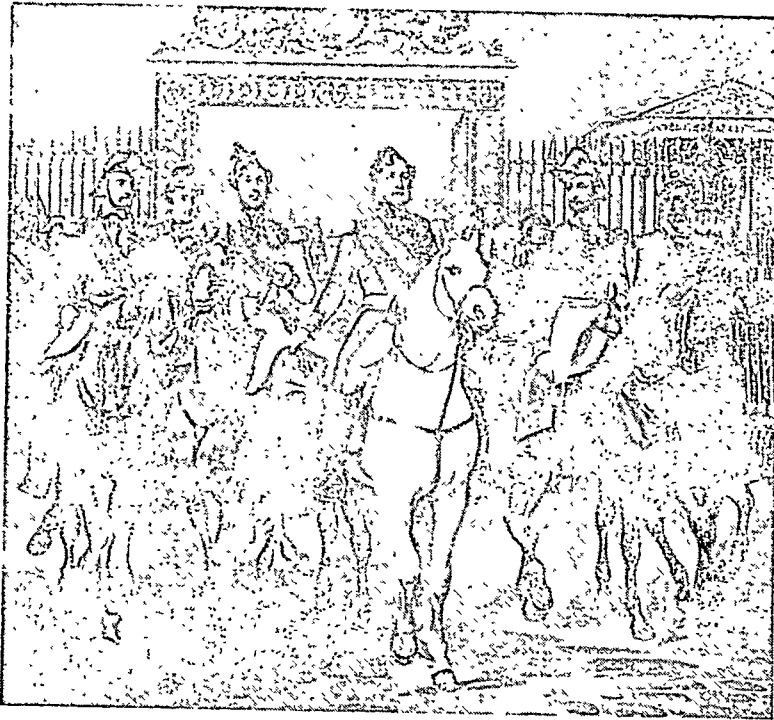
*Engraving by J. Cochran after Henry Dawe*

country was not excited by domestic politics; the measures adopted under the moderate regime had made it prosperous, and it was pleased by the 'vigorous' foreign policy of intervention in Greece; the government began to pin its faith to the achievement of popularity



NOTABLE FRENCH MINISTERS UNDER LOUIS XVIII AND CHARLES X

The duc de Richelieu (left, after Lawrence) was too moderate long to retain the position of first minister under the ultra-royalist monarchy of Louis XVIII. He was displaced by the extremist Villèle (centre), a minister after the heart of Charles X, but whose unpopularity forced him to retire in 1828 in favour of the more moderate Martignac. In 1829 Martignac was superseded by the reactionary Jules de Polignac (right), under whose unpopular ministry the Bourbon regime came to an end.



LOUIS PHILIPPE RIDING WITH HIS SONS

The 'Citizen King' Louis Philippe (1773-1850) was raised to the French throne by the bourgeois constitutionalists in 1830. His position was extremely difficult and, failing to please all parties, he fled the country in 1848. Horace Vernet painted this equestrian portrait of the king and his sons.

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Alinari*

in this direction. But in the Chambers the opposition grew stronger instead of weaker. Villèle retired. For a moment prudence prevailed, and the king chose the moderate Martignac as the head of a new ministry; but it was not long before Martignac was displaced by the advanced reactionary Polignac (1829).

Polignac had a scheme for the absorption of Belgium, which detested its subordination to the Dutch under the system which had transferred it to the kingdom of Holland. Polignac's scheme, however, was promptly vetoed by Prussia. The country was insufficiently soothed by the success of an expedition sent to quell the arrogance of the Dey of Algiers. The Chambers grew more restive. The king found that he must either yield to them or break them. He tried to break them by royal ordinances renewing the press-gagging law, and so changing the electoral law as to secure subservient Chambers (July 26, 1830). The ordinances were in flagrant violation of the Constitution; they meant in fact an absolutist revolution. But no preparations had been made to

deal with a counter-revolution. In less than a week, Paris had deposed Charles and declared his cousin, Louis Philippe of Orléans, king in his place. Charles found himself powerless, abdicated in favour of his legitimate grandson and heir, the young comte de Chambord (whose claim was ignored by the French provisional government), and retired to England; and for eighteen years after this bloodless 'July revolution,' which was placidly accepted by the country, France enjoyed a constitutional monarchy, the 'Orléans monarchy,' the triumph of the bourgeoisie.

There was a moment when the rising in Paris threatened to take on a Jacobin character; but in fact the revolution was simply the defeat of the absolutist reaction by the middle-class constitutionalism to which Jacobinism was no less abhorrent. So long as the Bourbons should prove loyal to constitutionalism France had been ready to keep them. When their loyalty failed, they gave place to that branch of the family, the house of Orléans, which had taken the popular side in the great Revolution. When Louis Philippe later showed a tendency towards reaction, coupling therewith an unpardonable dullness, the house of Orléans followed the senior branch of the Bourbons into exile. But when that time came it owed its exile to ennui more than to passion.

THE 'July revolution' encouraged the reform movement in England, the movement which transferred parliamentary predominance from the landed interest to the professional and commercial classes. The lurid vision of Jacobinism had been losing its terrors only by slow degrees; but the ease and orderliness with which France effected her second revolution went far to dissipate middle-class fears. Two years after the



## The Aftermath of Revolution

cession of Charles X the British parliament passed what was known for the next half-century as the Great Reform Bill—under the impression that with it democracy had reached its limit.

In 1833 nationalism and constitutionalism had won the day jointly in Greece; in Germany both had been depressed; in Italy both had been defeated, though the July revolution had encouraged an unsuccessful attempt at constitutional emancipation in the Papal States which were under the temporal dominion of the pope. There the revolution was put down by the intervention of Austria, while French troops occupied Ancona more as a precaution against the development of an Austrian protectorate than with intent to actual counter-intervention. Constitutional reform in Great Britain, constitutional monarchy in France, both seemed to be successfully established as against absolutism on one side and a proletarian democracy on the other. But both Spain

and Portugal were in the throes of a constitutional conflict.

In Portugal the death of King John in 1826 left his elder son Pedro I, the emperor of Brazil, his heir. Barred by the Brazilian constitution from holding both crowns, Pedro transferred his rights in Portugal to his little daughter Maria da Gloria. Meanwhile, his brother Miguel was to act as regent, and was presently to become king by marrying the child when she was old enough. Miguel did not choose to wait; he seized the crown; Pedro came to Europe to protect his daughter's interests. Neither party could master the other till the support of Palmerston began to turn the scale on the legitimist and the constitutionalist side; and even then a definite decision seemed remote.

In Spain, Ferdinand had proved himself a reactionary and a clerical of the worst type. His heir presumptive was his brother Carlos—another of the same type. But Ferdinand, thrice a childless widower,

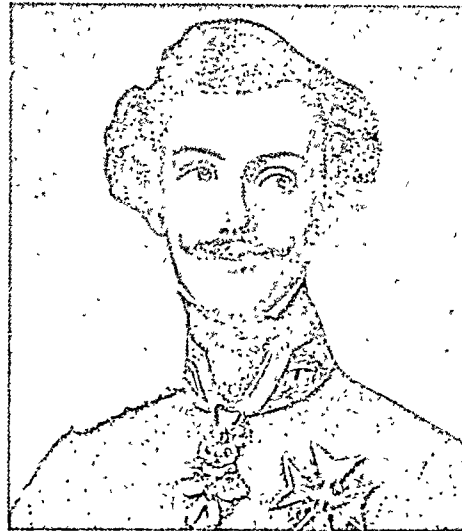


**A MOMENTOUS JOURNEY : LOUIS PHILIPPE SETS OUT FOR THE HOTEL DE VILLE**

The July Revolution of 1830 which overturned the reactionary monarchy of Charles X was the opportunity of Louis Philippe, duke of Orléans. Elected lieutenant-general of the realm, he decided to test popular opinion of his acceptance of the office by going through Paris from the Palais Royal to the Hôtel de Ville, the headquarters of the Republican government. Vernet's painting shows the beginning of his perilous journey which, despite ominous signs, was successfully accomplished.

*Musée de Versailles ; photo, Neurdein*

married a fourth time, and had a daughter Isabella. Setting aside the recent constitutional enactment which had adopted the 'Salic' law of succession, he issued a 'pragmatic sanction' declaring that his daughter, not his brother, was heir. To Carlos this was an unwarrantable invasion of his own rights. Ferdinand died in 1833; Isabella was proclaimed queen with her mother the queen-dowager Christina as regent, with the support of the constitutionalists, to whom the idea of Carlos was intolerable; and as a matter of course the two uncle-pretenders in Spain and Portugal made common cause against the two little queens who were their respective nieces.

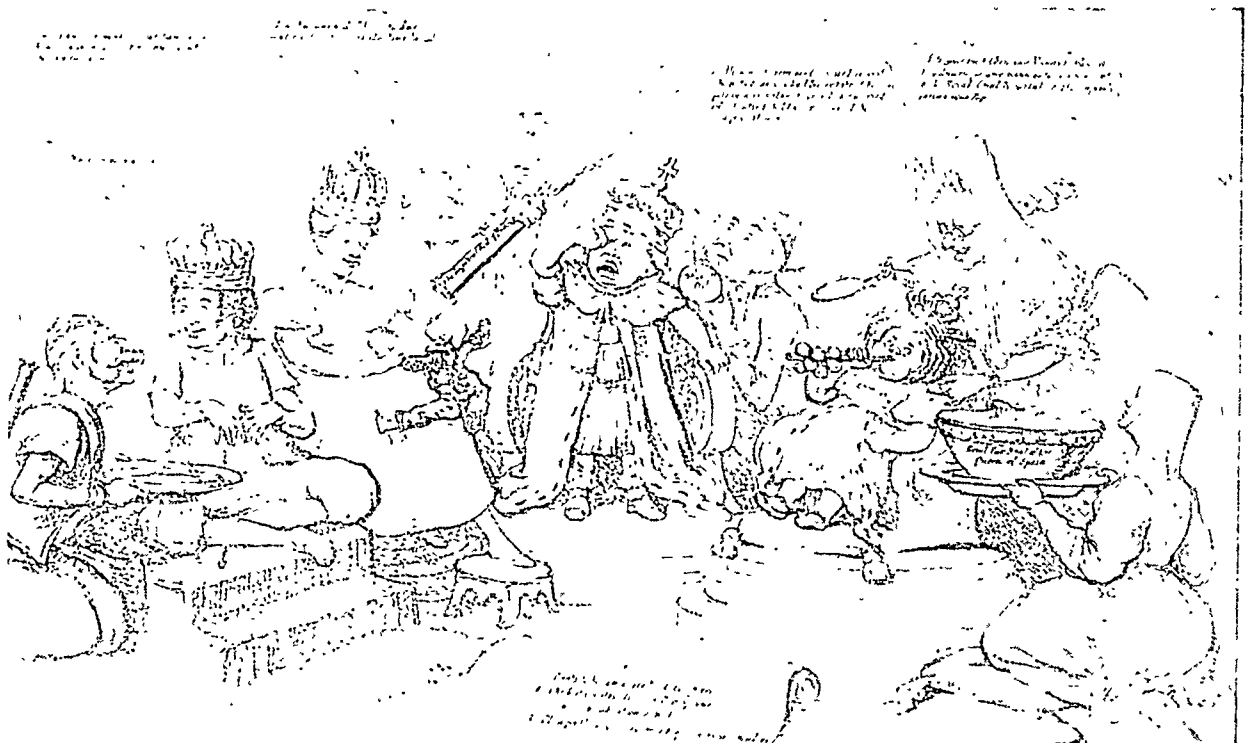


A SPANISH CLAIMANT

On the death of his brother Ferdinand VII, king of Spain, in 1833, Don Carlos claimed the throne, but a decree of the late king named the infanta Isabella as queen. Don Carlos took the field but lost his cause.

Actually, however, when the two official governments also made common cause, with the moral support of France and Great Britain, in 1834, Miguel abandoned the struggle; though it was not till 1839 that Carlos followed his example, and the Carlists were finally suppressed in 1840.

In yet another quarter the example of the July revolution had produced its effect. Belgium, the 'Netherlands' of the eighteenth century, resented its subordination to the Dutch in the 'Kingdom of the Netherlands' which the Vienna Congress bestowed on the house of Orange. Its absorption by France was not to be thought of, from either a British or a Prussian point of



INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF INFANT ROYALTIES

This satirical print was published in 1833 when constitutional conflict was disturbing several countries whose sovereigns were of tender age. Isabella of Spain (right) was only three when her proclamation as queen led to the first Carlist war. In Portugal, Dom Miguel claimed the crown of Maria II, aged fourteen. Otto (left), shown as a boy of twelve, was king of a newly independent Greece; and the imperial crown of Brazil overweighs the head of Pedro II, five years old. (Two of the cartoonist's ages are inaccurate: Otto was eighteen and Pedro, five at his accession, was eight at the date of the print).

British Museum



## The Aftermath of Revolution

But, failing to gain constitutional equality, the Belgian constitutionalists asserted their national independence. To the tsar, any departure from the Vienna settlement was intolerable; all the powers were bound by it. But it had been made over Belgium's head, and at least two powers, France and Great Britain, could not ignore that fact. To forbid Belgium her independence would be a monstrous tyranny. France declared that if Prussia, another champion of the Vienna settlement, intervened on behalf of the king she would intervene on the other side.

The moment was inconvenient for Nicholas, owing to affairs in Poland. Metternich's preoccupation was with Italy. A conference was sitting to deal with the Greek question, in London, where France and Great Britain made joint proposals for the settlement of the Belgian question. The first terms put forward were rejected by the Belgians, but they accepted amended terms. The essential point was that Belgium was to be an independent monarchy, a king having been found for her in the person of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. She had offered the crown to a French prince, but that was inevitably vetoed. William rejected the proposed terms; Dutch troops invaded Belgium, Leopold appealed to France, French troops entered Belgium, and the Dutch retired; but it was not till the British fleet moved that they evacuated Antwerp (1832). Nobody wanted to fight, but it was not actually until 1839 that Holland was induced to sign the peace, to which France, Prussia and Great Britain were parties, which guaranteed the borders and the neutrality of the Belgian kingdom. Great Britain, with France and Prussia, had for the first time broken through the fetish of cast-iron permanence in the Vienna settlement which had been an axiom of the tsars and of Metternich.

### Problems in the Near East

MEANWHILE, the Near Eastern problem was passing through another phase. The sultan Mahmud, who had been forced to concede Greek independence, was not popular with his Mahomedan subjects.



FIRST KING OF THE BELGIANS

Belgium was established as an independent state with a constitutional and hereditary monarchy in 1831. The crown was offered to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and on June 4, 1832, he was proclaimed as Leopold I, king of the Belgians.

*Engraving by T. Blood*

He had surrendered territory to the infidel, and he was a reformer; reform meant, among other things, bridling corruption. He had removed one source of imperial weakness in 1826 by the suppression of the Janissaries, who were as dangerous to the sultan as the Praetorian Guard had been to so many Roman emperors; but he had not created an equivalent military organization under his own control. And he had irritated the most powerful of his viceroys, Mehemet Ali of Egypt, by refusing to convey Syria to him—the reward he was to have received for the subjection of the rebellious Greeks, which he had failed to effect. In 1832 Mehemet, after the fashion of English medieval barons, marched an army into Syria merely in order to deliver his honoured suzerain from the evil counsellors who were leading him astray.

Mahmud's troops fled before Mehemet's redoubtable son, Ibrahim. Mahmud appealed to the powers. The powers, Russia excepted, had more pressing engagements. Russia offered her benevolent aid. Mahmud hesitated; Ibrahim

advanced. Mahmud accepted Russian aid; Russian troops advanced. Britain and France woke up and sent fleets to the Dardanelles, urging Mahmud to make concessions. Mehemet would be satisfied by the cession of the Syrian pashaliks. So for the moment the problem was solved. But Russia had proved herself the friend in need, and with Russia Mahmud concluded the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (1833), which virtually made Turkey a Russian protectorate.

Now there were four powers interested in the near east: Austria for the single reason that Russian domination in the Turkish Empire would be a menace to herself in Europe. Russian domination there had been the dream of every tsar from the days of Peter the Great. France, since Bonaparte's Egyptian adventure, had hankered for Egypt, whether for itself or as a stepping stone to India. Great Britain did not want France in Egypt; she did not want Russia to develop a great Mediterranean fleet; she had learnt to suspect Russia of ulterior designs upon India; and Russia was the one power to whose armies, as distinguished from fleets, India might prove accessible. To Great Britain, even more than to Austria or to France, Russian control of the Dardanelles and Russian domination in western Asia were

to be resisted at all costs; and still more because Russian domination was creeping over central Asia, submerging Turkistan and threatening to swamp the buffer states of Persia and Afghanistan. The persistent rise of the Russian tide in Asia, drawing ever nearer to the British borders, was from this time onwards for the rest of the century the factor which made an accord between Britain and Russia impossible, and forced upon Britain the conviction that the Turkish Empire must be preserved not only from conquest but from domination by Russia.

In 1833 all the diplomatic gains in the Near East went to Russia; the supreme influence at the Porte was undoubtedly hers. But in 1838 Mehemet again challenged Mahmud by withholding the Egyptian tribute. Mahmud had been reorganizing his army; he took up the challenge, denounced Mehemet as a rebel, dispatched a force to invade Syria—and died, leaving a sixteen-year-old heir, Abdul Mejid. He was hardly dead when Ibrahim routed the Turkish troops, and the Turkish admiral, with the Turkish fleet, declared for Mehemet. All the powers wished to stay the advance of Mehemet; France wished him to be recognized as independent sovereign of Egypt and Syria; Nicholas at this stage, reckoning his own ascendancy in Turkey



PROMINENT PERSONALITIES IN THE DRAMA OF THE NEAR EAST

The strife between the Turkish sultan Mahmud II (centre) and his ambitious viceroy Mehemet Ali of Egypt (left) was of interest to Europe in view of Mahmud's appeal for Russian intervention on his behalf, since the westward advance of Russia was regarded with growing concern by the European powers. In 1839 Mahmud was succeeded by his sixteen-year-old son Abdul Mejid (right, engraving by W. J. Edwards), in whose reign the great powers intervened to protect Turkey against Mehemet Ali.

## The Aftermath of Revolution

secure, wished the Turkish empire to be preserved in its integrity—and he wished to break the always uneasy alliance of the French and British governments. Great Britain and Austria, too, wanted to preserve Turkey. On the initiative of Nicholas, the three powers, with the Porte, jointly offered generous terms to Ibrahim; he rejected them. The British fleet settled the business without waiting: it seized Acre; the Syrians rose against Mehemet—and he submitted, surrendering all claims upon Syria, while his position as hereditary pasha of Egypt was confirmed. France was included with the other powers in the final Treaty of London, in 1841. But palpably it was Great Britain this time, as in 1833 it had been palpably Russia, to whom the Porte was indebted for the defeat of Mehemet's designs, and British instead of Russian influence became predominant at the Porte.

**I**N the British Isles the industrial revolution had now reached its second stage, the rapid development of steam transport both on land and on sea. The parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832, which transferred to the commercial, manufacturing and professional classes the preponderating political influence hitherto enjoyed by the aristocracy and the landed gentry, had been immediately preceded by the opening of the first passenger-carrying railway; it was followed by a period of active industrial legislation restricting the hours of labour for women and children and reorganizing the methods of poor relief, and, in the next decade, by the development of free trade on the principle that the sole legitimate purpose of taxation was the provision of revenue—a doctrine which



QUEEN VICTORIA IN CORONATION ROBES

Born May 24, 1819, daughter of the duke of Kent, Alexandrina Victoria became heir presumptive to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland in 1830 and ascended the throne June 20, 1837. This portrait painted by Sir George Hayter presents her in the dalmatic robes worn at her coronation, June 28, 1838.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

was soon found to be convincing in a country whose manufacturers could defy competition. Otherwise the political event of the most profound importance was the accession of the young Queen Victoria in 1837. For the next heir, her uncle the duke of Cumberland, was a reactionary of the most pronounced type, whose accession might even have been fatal to the monarchy; and at the same time the crowns of Great Britain and Hanover ceased to be united, that of Hanover passing to the male heir. Cumberland's departure from England removed all



FREDERICK WILLIAM IV

The liberal party in Prussia eagerly welcomed in 1840 the accession of Frederick William IV, here shown as crown prince in a lithograph by Krüger; but he disappointed their hopes of reform. In 1857 he became insane and died in 1861.

serious risk of a democratic revolution in England, though he signalled his arrival in Hanover by abolishing the constitution enjoyed by that kingdom under his predecessors.

GERMANY generally enjoyed a material prosperity, while political agitation, whether of nationalists who dreamed of German national consolidation, or of liberals who craved for constitutional governments, was gagged by the official suppression of free speech and comment, which was resented chiefly by the educated middle classes. In Germany, as in the British Isles, there were angry undercurrents of dissatisfaction, but no widespread revolutionary fervour.

The prosperity of North Germany was largely due to the development of the Prussian Zollverein or Customs Union, removing the trade barriers between the states which were members thereof; and the Zollverein at the same time tended to produce among these states a closer union under the hegemony of Prussia, a more definite consciousness of community of interests, which gave Prussia a clientèle of her own in the Confederation. The fact was not conspicuous so long as Prussia did

not enter upon a conscious rivalry with Austria—and neither Prussia nor Austria was desirous of a German consolidation; but it was to prove of no little importance after the death of the old king Frederick William III in 1840, and the accession of his elder son Frederick William IV—though not immediately even then. The hopes of the liberals were also excited by the new king's accession and his promise of a new Prussian constitution, until on its promulgation in 1846 it appeared that actually it was to be ignored at the monarch's convenience.

Motives to revolution were strongest in the Austrian empire and in Italy, which was almost an Austrian protectorate; but all the organization was in the hands of the governments, while there was nothing to co-ordinate the diverse aims of the diverse revolutionary groups. Austria proper was German; the imperial government was a German government which was imposed upon Czechs in the north, Magyars in the centre, Slavs in the south and Italians in Venetia and Lombardy. If each one of these fundamentally different nationalities resented the German domination, they were only a shade less antagonistic to each other. Metternich held them all in his grip, and continued to do so after the death of the old emperor Francis II and the accession of his son Ferdinand I in 1835.

#### Austria's Mailed Hand on Italy

IN Italy, Charles Felix of Sardinia and his successor, Charles Albert, in Piedmont, were comparatively free from Austrian domination and made no tyrannical use of their despotic power. But Austrian bayonets had established the pope's authority in the Papal States. Ferdinand II at Naples was scarcely an improvement upon his father Francis, and his strength rested upon the knowledge that he too had Austria to lean upon. From end to end of Italy Austria was the force behind the despotisms and the force which was supremely interested in prolonging the disunion of an Italy that had never known unity—and in the unification of Italy lay the sole hope of expelling the Austrian. And the idealist

## The Aftermath of Revolution

prophet of a united Italy, Giuseppe Mazzini, driven from Piedmont, from Switzerland, from France, was issuing his propaganda from a garret in London. Only a gleam of light seemed to have appeared when Pius IX. elected to the Papacy in 1846, alarmed and shocked Metternich by inaugurating liberal reforms in the Papal States. Yet—a liberal movement headed by the Papacy was almost a contradiction in terms.

France had attained a constitutional monarchy, a bourgeois monarchy, under her citizen-king Louis Philippe, the son of Philippe 'Egalité' of Orléans, who had voted for the execution of Louis XVI. The government was of a drab respectability, playing for safety. It had been able to congratulate itself on the restoration of French prestige by its share in the establishment of Belgian independence. It had been cold-shouldered by the powers in the settlement of the Eastern question in 1840. It had preserved a superficial entente with Great Britain, but in a fashion which France generally interpreted as perpetual surrender to Palmerston. It had found a base for developing an African empire in Algiers, but enthusiasm on that head was somewhat forced. It had intrigued in Spain and in Switzerland, with besmirched credit in one case, and nothing gained in the other. And, on the other hand, French imagination had been fired by the skilful revival of the Napoleonic legend, the tale of France's glories under the great conqueror's leadership. France was being bored to extinction by the Orléans monarchy and ministries; while the monarch and the ministers remained placidly self-satisfied and unconscious. And below the boredom, in the industrial population created by the Industrial Revolution, Jacobinism had come to life again, though no one yet suspected that Paris was to be the starting point of a new revolutionary convulsion.

### The World outside Europe

THE history of Europe as we have traced it in this Chronicle is the account of the aftermath of the great upheaval of the preceding six and twenty years, which had consciously unsettled the foundations

of the entire political and social structure among the peoples of Europe and unconsciously revolutionised its economic bases. The history of the world outside Europe during the same period is upon different lines, for it is very largely the story of the birth, infancy and adolescence of new communities, new states, under conditions differing widely from those of Europe.

In Asia the British were creating an empire of a kind for which there had been no precedent since the Roman expansion ceased—the whole process was one which now, since the exclusion of the French, touched the history of the outside world at very few points, and so the subject is given separate consideration in Chapter 167. Russia was expanding there also, but with a difference, thrusting her way southward between the Caspian and the Aral Seas, and establishing a footing that dominated Khiva on the Amu Darya, as well as on the Sir Darya—the Oxus and Jaxartes of the Greeks; and a new contact was beginning to be established between Europe and the farthest East.



CONSTITUTIONALIST MONARCH

The wise reign of Charles Albert greatly strengthened his kingdom of Sardinia, which he ruled from 1831 until his abdication in 1849, after being defeated by Austria. In 1848 he granted his people a liberal constitution.

Painting by Vernet; Pinacothek, Turin

## Chronicle XXIX. 1815-1848

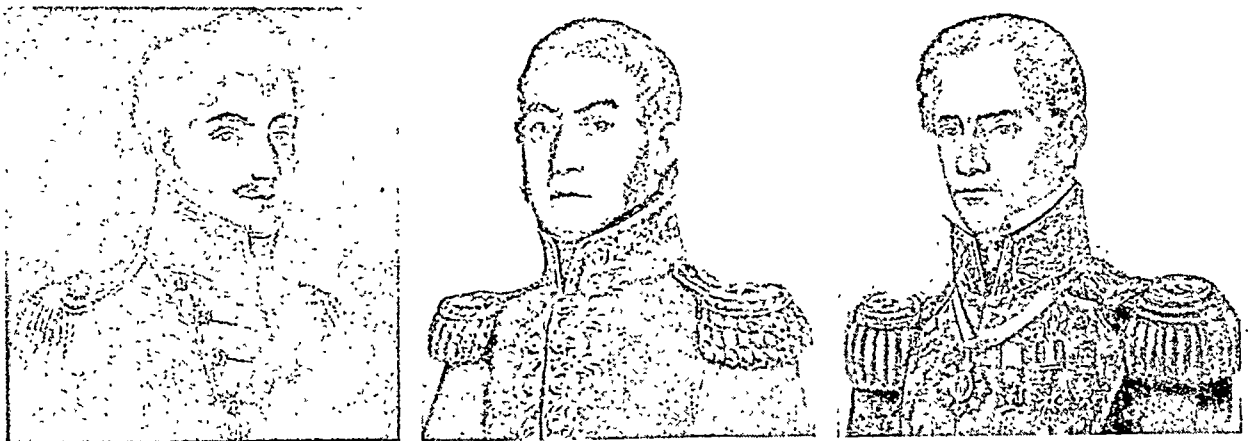
Japan still remained in the isolation she had chosen for herself, behind the gates which were barred and bolted against the admission of Europeans. China was less successful in maintaining her exclusiveness. The European demand for a commercial entry was not to be gainsaid. In 1793 the emperor Ch'ien Lung received with extreme politeness a British embassy intent on procuring a commercial treaty; but he conceded nothing. Emperor and provincial governors were ready enough to call in the aid of British warships for the suppression of the pirate fleets that infested the China seas, but remained resolutely deaf to all invitations to facilitate commercial intercourse, until in 1839 they provoked an actual collision followed by reciprocal demands for compensation that could have only one issue. In 1842 the Chinese government gave way and signed the Treaty of Nanking, which, besides conceding substantial damages, ceded Hong Kong to the British. The door was not flung open, but it was ajar. Nor was it only the British who now set themselves to widen the opening.

### South America wins Independence

**I**N South America we have seen that Brazil formally separated herself from her European parent state, Portugal, in 1822, retaining the prospective head of the royal house as her own emperor, while in due course his daughter succeeded to the Portuguese crown. The rest of South

America and Central America broke away from the Spanish connexion, but only after a prolonged struggle, and in the form not of one but of several states—not of course hereditary monarchies, but nominal republics which were in fact controlled, so far as they were controlled at all, by military dictators who for the next half century only held power until they were dismissed or eliminated by the next military pronunciamiento.

The movement which culminated in the total loss of America to Spain in fact had its rise when Napoleon dispossessed the legitimate monarchy in Spain and set up his brother Joseph as king. The Spaniards in America declined to recognize the new authority and claimed to set up their own governments in place of the existing system, generally professing loyalty to the legitimate but dispossessed dynasty. The struggle went on over four areas—the Mexican and, in South America, the northern, southern and western. It was only in Mexico that there was anything in the nature of a racial conflict between Spaniards and the indigenous population; elsewhere it was between American Spaniards and Spanish Spaniards. The demand for independence developed only when Ferdinand VII was restored in Spain, abrogated the constitution, and set about reviving the old despotism. The Creoles had no chance of having their claims recognized; the crown obviously intended to re-establish the old system, and the

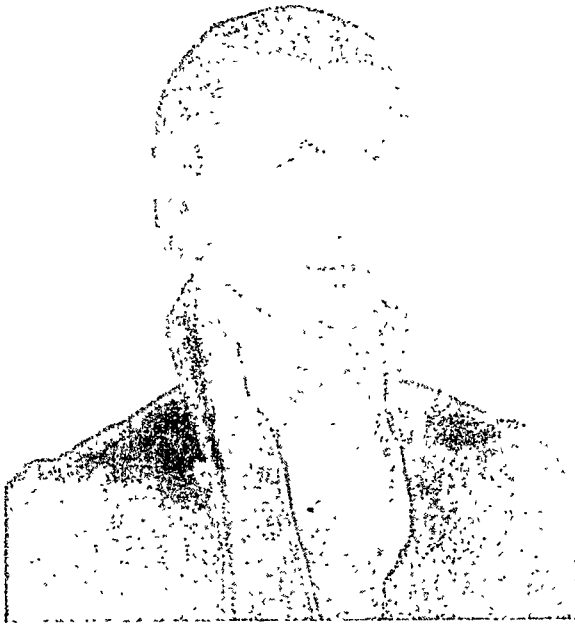


LIBERATORS OF SOUTH AMERICA FROM SPANISH DOMINATION

Simon Bolívar (1783-1830)—left—led Venezuela's fight for independence and in 1822 became first president of the republic of Colombia, in which Venezuela was incorporated. José de San Martín (1778-1850)—centre—freed Italy from Spanish rule in 1818, and then secured that of Peru with the aid of Bolívar as dictator. Antonio López de Santa Ana (1795-1876)—right—was a principal agent in the liberation of Mexico in 1833 and served several terms as president of that republic.



## The Aftermath of Revolution



**AUTHOR OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE**

James Monroe (1758–1831) fought in the American War of Independence, served in France and Britain as American minister, and from 1817–1825 was president of the United States. The Monroe Doctrine is his international monument.

*Engraving by J. Vanderlyn.*

struggle was soon translated into one between royalists and republicans. There were leaders who proposed to create constitutional monarchies under nominated European princes (the plan first adopted in Europe for Greece and Belgium), but those schemes did not materialise.

Argentina in the south was the first to organize a government before Ferdinand's restoration, and the first (1815) to declare its independence when the restored monarchy showed its reactionary character. In that quarter royalism had no chance, though Argentina failed to incorporate Uruguay and Paraguay. In the northern quarter the 'liberator' Bolívar was defeated by the arrival of Spanish troops under Morillo, a capable leader who in 1816 seemed to have established his authority. Royalism was strong in the west, but forces from Argentina under San Martín helped Chile to release itself without completely freeing Peru (1817–1820). In the north again the insurgents found a successful leader in the peasant Páez—thereby preventing Morillo from intervening in the west. The successes of Páez brought Bolívar into the field again; and the retirement of Morillo

virtually ensured the independence of Colombia (1821).

The resources of Spain were in fact wholly unequal to the attempt to restore the Spanish supremacy; and when it appeared likely that the European autocrats might intervene on behalf of Ferdinand, the action of President Monroe in America and of Canning in England, insisting upon the principle of non-intervention, was decisive. America was left to fight out its own salvation. San Martín in Chile left Bolívar to complete from Colombia the overthrow of the royalists in Peru. But the northern provinces refused to amalgamate; and by 1830 South America had resolved itself into a collection of independent states—the Brazilian Empire, the several republics of Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay in the south, of Chile and Peru in the west, and of Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela in the north. Mexico had followed a separate course. After prolonged struggles between rival faction leaders, it had declared itself an independent republic in 1823 under the dictatorship of Santa Ana, with a paper constitution modelled on that of the United States. The development of the new states may be studied in Chapter 162.

### Developments in the United States

THE story of the United States during the period has two main aspects—their relations with Europe, the European powers, and especially with the British Empire in America, and their internal development and expansion from the Alleghenies and the Mississippi basin to the Pacific. Their unhappy conflict with the British had terminated in 1814 during Madison's presidency; the eight years' presidency of his successor James Monroe (1817–25) was notable primarily for the promulgation in 1823 of the 'Monroe Doctrine,' the doctrine that European powers as such have no concern with America. Spain's right to fight for her possessions in America could not of course be called in question, but the right of other powers to intervene was emphatically repudiated—following upon the recognition by the United States themselves



of the independence of the South American states in 1822. Any such intervention then or in the future would be regarded by the United States as an 'unfriendly act' which would be resented, if necessary, by force. The actual pronouncement came at the moment when Santa Ana had established his own dictatorship in Mexico.

The doctrine having once been established and practically recognized in Europe, questions of foreign policy in the United States were in effect only such as arose between them and Mexico on the south or Great Britain on the north. These again were mainly concerned with boundary disputes, begotten of the inadequate definitions of earlier treaties. These came to a head during the ministry of Peel in England, when Palmerston was for a time displaced from the Foreign Office; and they resulted first in the Ashburton Treaty of 1842 which practically conceded all the American claims, to the intense annoyance of the British colonists whose rights or supposed rights were shelved by the home government. But three years later the westward expansion of the United States led to the Oregon boundary dispute which, in the exigencies of a presidential election, threatened to issue in an armed collision, but actually resulted in a partial settlement more accordant with the British than with the American claims, continuing the 49th parallel of latitude as the line of demarcation from the Rocky Mountains to the coast facing Vancouver Island. About the same time the whole of Texas and California was absorbed by the United States (1848) as the result of a conflict with Mexico.

#### Antagonism of North and South

THE two internal questions which rent the great republic were those of state rights as against the powers of the federal government, and, intimately associated therewith, the question of slavery. The southern semi-tropical 'plantation' states were dependent upon negro slave labour; the northern industrial and agricultural states were not. Consequently the South was firmly convinced of the moral justifi-

cation of slavery, while the North was not. The North, eager for its own industrial development, favoured the exclusion of foreign goods. The South, producing raw materials, wished to buy its manufactured goods in the cheapest market. Thus there was a double antagonism of interests between the northern and the southern states. The northern were the more numerous and therefore the more powerful in the federal government; the South was in constant fear that its own interests would be over-ridden by the federal government in favour of those of the North.

#### State Rights and Slavery

IT followed that the South was zealous first to assert state rights and secondly to multiply 'southern' states in the westward expansion and to resist the multiplication of 'northern' states. The North accepted the view that there should be no interference with slavery in the states where it was already established, but whether the establishment of slavery in new states should be permitted was another matter. As the expansion went westward, and the newly settled districts attained a population standard which warranted their recognition as separate states, the question whether they should be slave or non-slave states became vital. The class questions which agitated Europe had no place in America; there were no swarms of operatives dependent upon capitalist employers, no peasantry dependent upon landlords, and no body of men enjoying hereditary privileges.

The most serious question was disposed of for a time by the Missouri Compromise of 1821, which fixed the line drawn westward from the southern boundary of the State of Missouri as the boundary between slave and non-slave states, Missouri itself being acknowledged as a slave state.

Meanwhile, as set out in full detail in Chapter 171, the three areas of British colonial development, in North America, in South Africa and in Australasia, were progressing not indeed upon identical lines, but unconsciously towards an identical goal. In the course of less than a century the Second British Empire was to become a commonwealth of nations.

# CONDITIONS OF LIFE IN EUROPE

Reaction and Readjustment to changed Conditions  
in all the Nations party to the Napoleonic Wars

By ELIE HALEVY D.-ès-L. D.Litt.

Professor at the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques, Author of A History of the English  
People in the Nineteenth Century

MEN live at peace ; but their minds are troubled by a number of difficult problems, both national and international, which they do not know how to solve on amicable terms. War begins : it brings with it its usual train of slaughter and financial ruin and starvation. Men yearn for peace, 'peace at any price,' as if peace meant salvation from all the evils under which mankind labours. Peace comes at last ; and no sooner has it been concluded than men become once more the grumbling and discontented beings they were before the war began.

A quarter of a century had passed since France had made her 'Great Revolution.' The French Revolution had been answered by a general European coalition against France, but the danger had been overcome, and victorious French armies had repelled, to the sound of the Marseillaise, the onslaught of slaves and traitors, priests and kings. Victory, overreaching itself, had carried the French armies into almost all the capitals of Europe ; and the inevitable reaction had set in. The name of France had become a symbol no longer of liberty but of military oppression ; and the wars which had been waged under the guidance of 'kings and priests' during the four fateful years 1812-1815 had become 'wars of liberty.' The Allies had conquered, and, as a result of their victory, Europe was once more at peace.

Peace of course ; but was it peace with liberty ? As soon as peace had been made, discontented people in all countries, both in the victorious Allied powers and in defeated France, wondered whether they had not been duped by the 'kings and priests' under whose leadership they had fought Napoleon, and whether they were not being turned into 'slaves' again,

after having been used to destroy not the spirit of French imperialism but the very spirit of the French Revolution itself. And it looks at first sight as though the Opposition, all through Europe, was swayed by the same ideas and the same feelings. In England, old Bentham, the patriarch of law reform, complained that 'not of France alone, but of Britain with her, was the conquest consummated' on the plains of Waterloo. The word 'liberal,' born in Spain, was almost immediately adopted in England. The word 'radical,' coined in England, spread to the rest of Europe. Tricolour flags, copied from the flag of Valmy, were unfurled at revolutionary meetings in England and Italy.

But were the same words and the same symbols really used to express the same thoughts and states of feeling on both sides of the Channel ? The fact is that they were not. Though

England is frequently compelled, by the pressure of her own vital

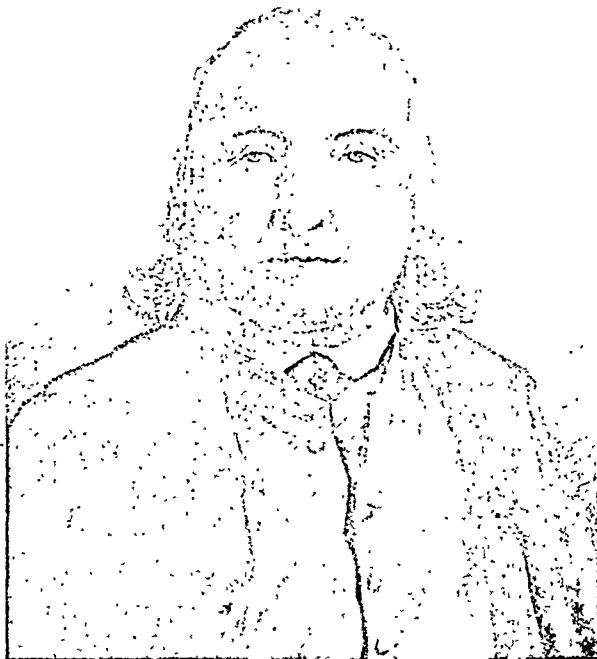
Conditions of Life  
in England

interests, to take part in Continental wars, her spiritual history is only loosely linked with that of the Continental nations. To understand, therefore, what were the conditions of life—both spiritual and material—in Europe after 1815, we shall consider first England apart from the other nations, and then the Continental powers, beginning with the leading Western power, France.

There undoubtedly existed in England a body of men who were as deliberately anti-Christian and irreligious as anybody had been on the other side of the Channel during the years which preceded the revolutionary outburst of 1789. We have already mentioned the name of Bentham. Now, in the years that followed Waterloo,

Bentham, surrounded by a group of devoted disciples, was busy writing a series of queer and violent books, directed not only against the Church of England, but against Christianity as a whole; not only against Christianity, but against religion as a whole. Robert Owen, the founder of Socialism, had made the great discovery that the source of all social evils was religion—religious ethics, the notion that man is personally responsible for his actions, whereas man is the product of circumstances, and the only scientific way to make him better is to make him happier through a better ordering of his social environment. Young Shelley had been expelled from the University of Oxford for having written an apology for atheism; and he had fled to Italy, where he had joined Byron, who posed as a kind of arch-rebel, a Satan upon earth, and whose every word and action was intended to look like a defiance of Christianity—Byron, who had inaugurated what might be called a poetical school of blasphemy.

Were Bentham and Owen, Shelley and Byron, portents of a coming Revolution? The problem is, What was, in fact, the



**ANTI-RELIGIOUS WRITER**

Famous utilitarian philosopher and law reformer, Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) was one of those post-revolutionary writers who vehemently attacked religion. William Derby painted the portrait from which this engraving was made.

*European Magazine, 1823*



**PRACTICAL PHILANTHROPIST**

Robert Owen (1771–1858) believed religion to be the source of social evils. His strong humanitarianism led him to make an experiment at the New Lanark Mills (shown in page 4400) where his employees worked under favourable conditions.

*Engraving after portrait by W. H. Brooke*

type of established religion against which these bitter attacks were presumably directed? The church in the bosom of which these men had all been brought up was not the proud and despotic church of Dominic and Ignatius. It had no celibate priests, whose only aim in life was to dominate the laity. It had no monks, it had no nuns, wasting their lives in closed monasteries. Neither was it the harsh Scottish kirk, prying into and meddling with private morality. It was the lax, smiling, happy, gentlemanly Church of England, whose parsons were merely slightly clericalised squires. They were Tories, and so were their flocks of farmers, with their wives and children, all over rural England. All that was asked of them was that they should behave as decent gentlemen were expected to behave; and there was nothing in the tradition of a gentleman to forbid dancing and flirting while they were young, hunting and hard drinking when they grew older. Their simple-minded theology was a kind of Christian Utilitarianism, borrowed from the works of Paley. How could they insist upon their parishioners

being strict observers of the rites of the Church when it often happened that on a Sunday the doors of the parish church remained closed? Perhaps the vicar enjoyed the income of several parishes, and found the distance between them too great if the weather was bad; and because he did not come his flock gave up coming. There is indeed something comical in the bitterness of the writers whom we have just quoted, when one sets against it the tone of the church that they attacked: the least fanatical, the least 'clerical' of all the churches in the world.

The Church had, in fact, to face the attacks of far more dangerous enemies upon another front. Ever since the middle of the preceding century her very laxity had aroused a strong movement of protest and indignation. The movement had indeed lost some of its juvenile energy with the passing of years: one never met, in 1815, any of the followers of Wesley and Whitefield (see Chapter 158) evangelising multitudes at the cross-roads. But they had founded powerful communities, whose numbers were constantly increasing. There were Wesleyan Methodists and Calvinistic Methodists. There were a new Methodist Connexion, a body of Primitive Methodists and a body of Bible Christians. These sects could boast of a large and growing staff of self-appointed ministers, under whose orders there served a still larger number of lay preachers. The movement spread to the older denominations of Congregationalists and Baptists, who, after a century of latitudinarianism, were touched by the fire of faith, made converts, and spread over the country a net of newly built chapels.

Old-fashioned Tories looked askance at the revival of Evangelical Non-

conformity; and because the movement sprang from outside the pale of the Church, and was free from any kind of state control, they were inclined to shun it as something very much akin to Jacobinism. They were still more alarmed—Tory squire and Tory parson alike—when they saw Evangelicalism permeate the Establishment itself, and clergymen of a new type, with solemn faces and sallow complexions, disciples of Simeon and friends of Wilberforce, finding their way into one living after another. But how absurd the feeling really was! There was no danger either for Church or State in the new movement, and the new Evangelical Dissent inherited none of the republican spirit that had inspired Cromwell's soldiers. The idea of republicanism was now associated with that of atheistical Jacobinism; it instinctively repelled an Evangelical Christian. In so far as Evangelicalism, within and without the Church, invaded both the Whig and the Tory party, it made not for revolution but for conservatism.

There was, on the other hand, a vigorous group of politically minded rebels, who demanded an immediate and sweeping



THE CHURCH AND THE CHASE

Surrounded by yelping hounds, the 'sporting parson' in this caricature of 1800 represents a type of ecclesiastic all too common at that time. More familiar with the hunting field than with their parishes, such clerics earned the wrath of the revivalists and prompted zealous evangelical campaigns against laxity in the church.

British Museum

democratisation of the constitution: universal suffrage, annual parliaments and the ballot. At the head of this group we again find Jeremy Bentham, an old and enthusiastic reformer who had started in life as a political conservative, until the resistance of the Tory party, and of all kind of vested interests, to his plan of prison reform made him disappointed and bitter and turned him into a democrat. But neither Bentham nor the little band of friends who were beginning to cluster round him had been endowed by nature with the gifts which make the born popular leader.

The democratic leaders of the day, the founders of English 'radicalism,' were men of quite another type. Sir Francis Burdett, an aristocratic demagogue who sat for the popular constituency of Westminster, had roused a formidable mob in the streets of London when, a few years before, the House of Commons had ordered him to be sent to the Tower for an alleged breach of privilege. The mob had succeeded in preventing him for several days from being arrested, until the government had sent into the capital an army as large as the whole Peninsular army. William



#### PROMINENT RADICAL LEADER

James Northcote painted the portrait of the aristocratic Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844), from which William Sharp made this engraving. Burdett was Radical M.P. for Westminster from 1807-37, during which period he twice suffered imprisonment on political grounds.

*Courtesy of James Rimell & Son*



#### A FEARLESS ENGLISH JOURNALIST

In January, 1802, William Cobbett began the weekly publication of his famous *Political Register*, which greatly furthered the spread of socialist doctrines. He became a fierce critic of the government, one of his articles resulting in a sentence of two years' imprisonment.

*Engraving by Bartolozzi, after J. R. Smith*

Cobbett, a brilliant and pungent journalist, week after week in his widely read *Political Register* was bespattering with mud the regent, the ministry and the whole tribe of politicians, those who were 'out' as well as those who were 'in.' Henry Hunt, 'the man with the white hat,' was a man of a more vulgar type, who ran about the country addressing public meetings and preaching rebellion, until he was sent to prison. Here were all the signs of a revolutionary or pre-revolutionary movement; and the average English Tory, remembering what had happened in France less than a quarter of a century before, naturally felt anxious about what the immediate future kept in reserve for England, now that war was over and France on her knees; so that it was no longer possible to keep the democrats in order by the threat of French ascendancy.

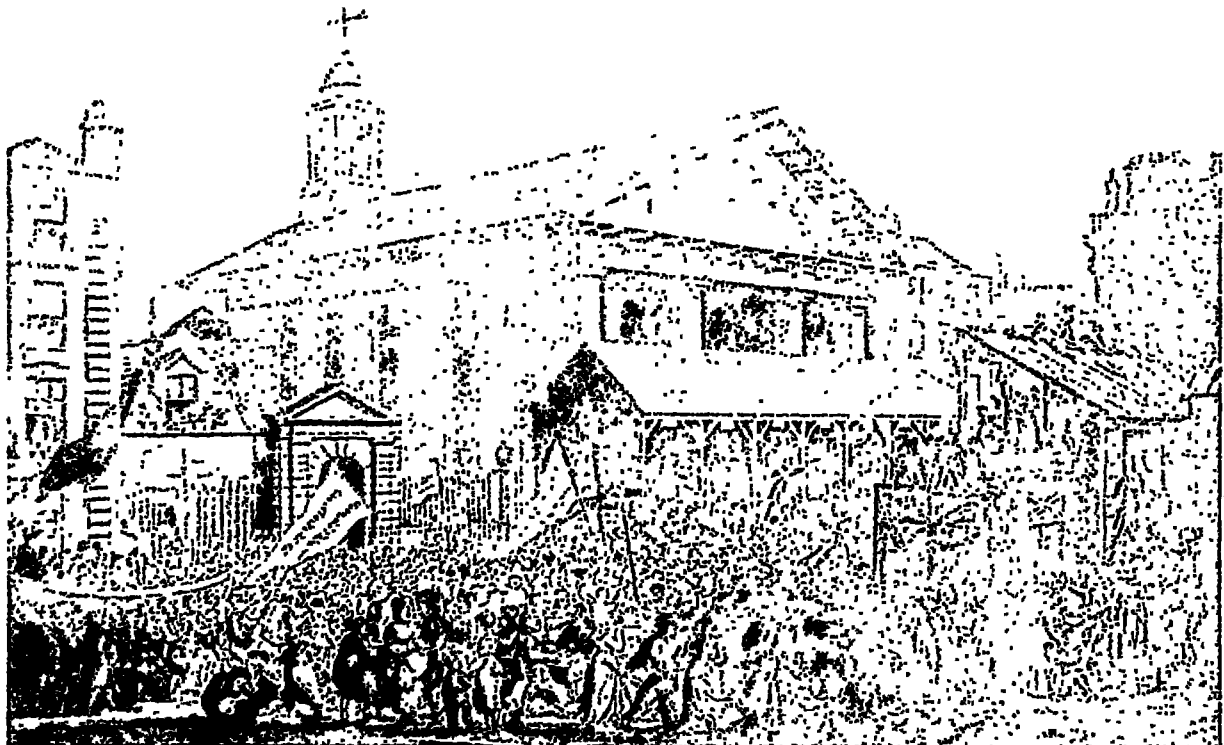
But here again we must ask ourselves: What enemy were the English democrats fighting? Was it an absolute king with a large standing army and a powerful

bureaucracy behind him? The King was a poor old madman, hidden away at Windsor; and the regent who reigned in his name was an effeminate beau, thoroughly despised rather than hated. For there can be no hate where there is no fear. He had no large standing army at his disposal, and England had no bureaucracy. The country was governed not by a king, but by an aristocracy.

Nor was the ruling class itself a close corporation, since A popular aristocracy bankers and traders of many kinds found their way into its ranks. Thorough-going democrats might, of course, complain that Parliament did not represent the people, and that the preponderance of the aristocracy and gentry in the House of Commons made the British constitution a farce. But how many thorough-going and conscious democrats were there in England? Was it not rather true that there were many who, while they called themselves liberals, and felt themselves in sympathy

with democratic ideas, were really in their hearts, and except for occasional bursts of passion, well satisfied with the political institutions of the country as they then existed?

Nobody could deny that the electoral system, narrow as it was, oligarchical though it was in some places and corrupt in others, had on the whole, all through the last half century, faithfully reflected the movements of the public opinion. The electorate, in complete accordance with public opinion, had opposed Lord North, overthrown the Coalition, approved of William Pitt's reforming Toryism and declared in favour of war with France. Thanks to its very incoherence, the British constitution gave an outlet to the passions of the multitude: there were constituencies, known as 'popular constituencies,' which sent demagogues into the House. Even a mob, such as that which had protested against Sir Francis Burdett's arrest in 1810, should not be considered a new feature in English



SCENE AT AN ENGLISH ELECTORAL CONTEST IN COVENT GARDEN

English elections were riotous affairs, though generally conducted without serious ill feeling. This print shows the uproarious crowd, jostling each other amid waving banners at the famous Westminster election of 1784, which returned Charles James Fox in opposition to the Tory candidates supported by George III. On this occasion considerable merriment was afforded by the canvassing of the duchess of Devonshire, who purchased votes for the Whig candidate in return for kisses.

British Museum

history, or as an imitation of a French 'émeute.' Nothing of the kind. It was the traditional London mob of eighteenth-century England. In fact, every contested election was and had always been a violent though fairly good-humoured affray. The affray was a sign of the affection which every true Briton felt for an electoral contest under the existing system; just as the way in which the ruling aristocracy and gentry accepted a good deal of rough handling from the multitude showed clearly the absence of any deep feeling of distrust between the rulers and the ruled.

The difficulties—and they were very real and very grave difficulties—under which England laboured during the opening years of the nineteenth century were not religious or political at all, but economic.

They say,' complained Cobbett bitterly, the King's Army, the King's Courts, the King's prisons. But they do not say the King's Debt; they say the National Debt. Everything is supposed to belong to the King, except the Debt. The Debt belongs to the Nation.'

The problem of the debt had been a source of anxiety to British statesmen all through the eighteenth century, and William Pitt had just settled down to redeem it methodically when the work which required years of peace had been interrupted by a new war with France. The first half of the debt had been contracted in attempting to curb the pride of the Bourbons, and now the second half was contracted in order to restore the Bourbons to their throne. In 1815 the debt amounted to nearly £900,000,000. The payment of the interest absorbed half the yearly revenue. The evil was to some extent mitigated by the fact that the greater part of the debt was internal, but the very existence of so many fund-holders in England helped to bring about a class war between them on the one hand and the whole body of tax-payers on the other. Demagogues ascribed the huge increase of stock-jobbing in the City to the increase of the debt, and declared that the increase of stock-jobbing had led in turn to the

disproportionate aggrandisement of the capital, a town of do-nothings, who lived upon the fat of the country. The City, London, was what Cobbett liked to call 'the Wen.' When he asked for a radical reform of the electoral system, it was not in order to satisfy some vague and Utopian craving for equality, but in order to make the revolt of the electorate against the debt more effective. He demanded the partial or total repudiation of the debt.

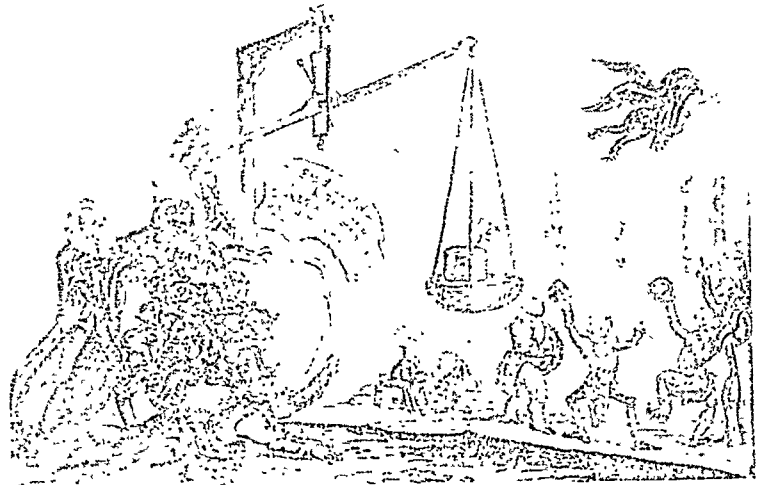
It was, of course, impossible for the government, just after a victorious peace, to make such a confession of bankruptcy. But the problem of how to pay the interest on such a huge war debt remained, even if all idea of redeeming the debt itself were abandoned. There seemed only one way of solving the problem, and that was to go on levying in time of peace the taxes which had been levied, year after year, for the purposes of war. But as soon as such an idea was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, the whole body of tax-payers rose in arms. How very different in this respect the England of the nineteenth century from England in the twentieth! Nowadays, England is proud to tax and overtax herself, and to make a display of what Frenchmen call 'vertu fiscale,' fiscal virtue. A hundred years ago the English people loathed the very idea of taxation. England had rebelled against the Stuarts because she did not want to be taxed; North America had rebelled against the house of Brunswick for the same reason. Taxation, whether in the form of customs duties, excise duties or income tax, meant oppression, with inquisitorial powers given to government agents to pry into the affairs of every private individual. The war cry, the popular war cry of the Opposition as soon as the war was over, was, 'Down with taxation!' And they found eager and sympathetic listeners on the back benches of the government party. Tax after tax had to go, beginning with the hated income tax.

But then, if England did not want to be taxed, what of the nation's debt? One hope was left. Perhaps, owing to



the progress of industry and the consequent increase of wealth, even reduced taxation would bring in more money, and allow the country not only to pay the annual interest on the debt, but also, in the course of time, to pay off at least part of the capital. A new world was in the making, far away from London, in what had once been the wilderness of Lancashire. Things were happening which would have seemed incredible a century earlier, and which portended great and revolutionary changes. Factory after factory sprang up: large buildings ruled with an iron hand by one capitalist giving orders to men and women, adults and children, not by the dozen but by the hundred. They were first built along the rivers which flowed from the Pennine hills westwards towards Lancashire, eastwards towards Yorkshire, southwards towards Derbyshire. At that time water power was used to move the 'mills,' as the factories were called long after the original meaning of the word had been forgotten. Then steam came to be used instead of water; and the fact that there were extensive coalfields in Lancashire allowed the practice to spread all over the district.

Poets might well deplore the soiling of the rivers, the cutting down of the forests; well might they loathe the squalor of the new towns—if 'towns' is not too grand a word for shapeless tracts of mean and dreary buildings. But there hung round the district a halo of power and strength which was not without its ghastly beauty; Lancashire, the first home of modern capitalism, attracted the attention of the world, as soon as the downfall of Napoleonism gave people time to think of something else than battles. Here wealth was being created on a scale which would have been unthinkable a short time before. Why should this wealth not be enough to overcome financial difficulties



SATIRE ON THE TAXATION QUESTION

George Cruikshank's caricature, *The Scales of Justice Reversed*, was published in 1815 when the popular outcry against taxation reached its height. The taxation imps crushing John Bull are represented as outweighing the loaf, price 1/6. The property tax, just repealed, takes the form of a fleeing imp, whose departure the landed interest hails with joy.

whose magnitude, in the days of Lord Chatham, would have been equally unthinkable? Of course, the progress of wealth was occasionally interrupted by crises and gluts, by sudden waves of bankruptcy on the masters' side as of unemployment on the side of the workmen. But the new school of political economy explained that these were passing evils, bound to readjust themselves rapidly. Supply was bound to find, after a time, a corresponding demand. Supply created its own demand.

There were people, however, who objected that this theoretical optimism was not in accordance with the facts. Some of them even belonged to the camp of the political economists, and themselves took part in building up their dogma. In answer to the French theory of indefinite progress, Malthus had tried to prove that such an optimistic view of society had no foundation in nature; that man was, so to speak, bound to the soil, compelled, under whatever circumstances, to get his food from land limited both in quantity and fertility, so that it was impossible for an indefinitely increasing number of individuals to draw from the land unlimited means of livelihood. Mankind increased, if one accepted Malthus's pseudo-scientific formula, in acceptance with a law of geometrical progression;

but food and means of subsistence only increased in accordance with a law of arithmetical progression. There was, therefore, a constant pressure of mankind upon the means of subsistence—a pressure which could only be relieved through the operation of such causes of death as starvation, or pestilence, or war.

In spite of its success as a refutation of a Jacobinical Utopia, Malthus's book, when it first came out, was probably thought by many people to be rash in its conclusions, since the leading idea clashed with the then generally accepted opinion, that the population of England was rapidly decreasing.

**Malthus's views  
on Population**

But when, from 1801 onwards, a census began to be taken regularly every ten years, it became evident that the views of Malthus were confirmed by facts. Decade after decade population and poverty, as well as wealth, went on increasing; and the heavy expenses incurred by England through the working of the Poor Law were just as great a source of anxiety to the average Englishman as was the weight of the debt. 'Pauperism' was a new word coined to mean 'poverty' as a permanent feature of the new industrial society. Was there not some connexion between these two facts? And had not Malthus discovered the connecting link? Industrialism had given rise to a wave of unthinking optimism, founded upon the proved aptitude of man to create an unlimited quantity of mechanical products. But man is not a machine, to be fed upon the product of machines. Man is, and remains, a thing of flesh, living upon vegetables and animal food. Now, agriculture does not follow the laws of industrial production; as a reward for every additional dose of human effort, agriculture gives a diminishing return. Of course, the law worked still more harshly in a country where the land-owners had succeeded in artificially limiting the supply of corn by means of duties on food imported from abroad. But even if the corn duties were to be done away with, the evil was sure to recur after an interval, since it had its root in the very nature of things. In order to find enough food for the nation, the population had

constantly to be kept within bounds, if not by the action of starvation, pestilence or war, as prescribed by young Malthus's sombre philosophy, at all events by the practice of what Malthus, in the last editions of his book, called 'moral restraint.'

There was another school of pessimists who found ground for their pessimism, not in the peculiar characteristics of agricultural production, but in the very structure of industrial society. Without denying the enormous increase of wealth which had accrued to mankind as a whole as a result of the birth and rise of the 'great industry,' they asked whether, under the capitalist system, the same advantages necessarily accrued to the working class, as apart from the rest of mankind. What did the system, in fact,

amount to? The making of profit was the motive which impelled employers of labour to introduce new processes into their factories; but these processes were only profitable in so far as they were 'labour-abridging' processes, and allowed the employers to obtain the same return from the sale of the finished produce, while employing a smaller number of workmen. It continually happened, therefore, that a number of workers were automatically thrown out of work as a result of the new system. Even at the time we are trying to describe, the introduction and rapid spread of the power loom in the textile industry brought about the decay of the very large class of hand-loom weavers who had been the aristocracy of British labour, and who were now gradually sinking into the depths of the semi-starving plebs.

But there was no security even for the workmen who managed to find employment in the new factories moved by machines. Profit being the difference between the price fetched by the finished product upon the market and the cost of materials together with money laid out by the manufacturer in wages, it was impossible for the labouring class alone to absorb the whole produce of its labour, since it could not pay back more than the wages that it had received, without

**Opposition to the  
capitalist system**

which there would be no profit for the capitalist, and therefore no motive impelling him to introduce new processes into his factories and thus making for industrial progress. Now, the produce of the 'great industry' consisted of objects of common use, only fit to be consumed by the lower class. Hence the national market alone, under the new system, could not absorb the whole produce of that system.

The only way of escape for capitalistic industry lay in the search for new markets—foreign markets, whether in the old or in the new world. But every new market had to be glutted in its turn. In fact, the whole system was absurdly unbalanced and so constituted as to involve its own destruction. It was not true to say that gluts were temporary disturbances which one could afford to neglect. They belonged to the very essence of the system; and it was rather the adjustment of supply to demand which was a temporary phenomenon destined to be followed immediately by a new and more serious maladjustment. The facts

of the economic situation seemed well made, immediately after 1815, to bear out such alarming prognostications as these. Crisis succeeded crisis. Crowds of unemployed workmen stood staring at stores full of the produce of their work, which found no buyers. It was then that the 'radical' demagogue got his opportunity, and that multitudes rushed to listen to Hunt's ravings. Of course, as soon as the crisis had subsided, the workmen who had not emigrated to America found work again in such factories as had weathered the storm, and the radical leaders lost their following. But if the return of prosperity was really only a passing lull, was it not inevitable that the lull should be followed by a new and worse storm? Robert Owen sounded the alarm; Sismondi heard him, and cautioned the nations of the Continent against adopting the British system of industry; Karl Marx was later to build up a new philosophy upon the basis of Sismondi's critical observations, and argue that the capitalist system as it existed in England was

self-contradictory and bound to destroy itself, and that it could only give place to a new and regenerated society after a series of revolutionary convulsions.

The situation in Continental Europe was very different. The financial troubles were slight compared with those which puzzled British statesmen. It is true that in France, the chief

country of western Europe after England, the last years of the Empire had been ruinous, and that, ever since the second occupation of Paris by the Allies in 1815, a war indemnity had been levied upon the defeated country. But the war indemnity, huge as it seemed at the time, was a small affair compared with the war indemnities with which we have grown familiar in another century; in a very few years France got rid of the whole burden. Neither was the legacy of the costly Russian, German and French campaigns of 1812, 1813 and 1814 a financial burden of the kind which weighs upon the shoulders of generation after generation. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that until 1811, thanks to war (in spite of what dogmatic pacifists may assert), the French treasury had never been in need of money; the huge army which was the mainstay of the Napoleonic regime lived upon the invaded nations. It was not enough to say, as men had said in the seventeenth century, that war feeds war, 'la guerre nourrit la guerre'; war fed the Napoleonic regime itself. As for the other nations, one thing only was clear after the peace, and that was that they were now free from the financial burden of a foreign occupation. They were beginning to exist again, they could write the figures of their first peace budget on a clean slate. The finance ministers of Continental Europe had no really critical problems to solve.

Neither had Continental statesmen to face the troubles which the birth and growth of the factory system had brought about in England, for the simple reason that there was no factory system on the Continent. Whereas at the beginning of the twentieth century the result of another great war has been to intensify the progress of industry in every belligerent

country, and thereby to destroy the industrial ascendancy of Great Britain, the war of a century before had exactly the opposite result: it created a contrast, which seemed likely to remain permanent, between a score of rural or semi-rural countries on the Continent and an industrialised Great Britain. But can this contrast be explained merely by the fact of a war which sapped the productive energies of Europe, while England maintained only a comparatively small army and remained safe from invasion? We

have seen what a heavy burden of taxation England had to shoulder in order to keep up the fight against Napoleon. This was a burden which French industry had not got to bear. Some Continental countries were, moreover, free from invasion during the Napoleonic period. This was true of the whole of France, which included (since 1793) Belgium and the entire left bank of the Rhine; and of the whole of Italy, under French rule since 1801. These countries were in fact progressing, although they were still naturally far behind England; for England had had a long start, and her rivals had a great deal of ground to make up. Facts are too complicated to be accounted for merely by a 'pacifist' indictment of war.

We must first consider that, even before 1789, England was very much ahead of France in everything that concerned industrial inventions and their successful 'mise en oeuvre.' Arkwright and Watts and Crompton belong to the eighteenth, not to the early nineteenth century. Then came the Great Revolution, which, quite apart from all the evils which may be ascribed to war, and before France began to be embroiled in hostilities with the whole of Europe, had swept the fragile fabric of nascent French industry to the ground. Thus the recuperative work of Napoleon, first as consul, then as emperor, merely consisted in bringing France back to the point of prosperity which it had reached about 1788. The real reason why industrial England was so far ahead of the rest of Europe was that feudalism was still so strong in every other country, whereas in

England it was more than a century since this stage of Western civilization had passed away. In France it required so violent a convulsion to shake off its shackles that the whole structure of trade and industry fell into ruins. As for central Europe, it was still under the spell of feudalism, except in so far as it had been influenced by French Jacobinism. After the victory of the Allies, however, it looked as though the period of French influence had come to an end. The German countries seemed to be falling again into their happy, not unpoetical, medieval slumber.

Another point should also be considered. Modern industry means the application of science—mathematical and physical science—to the creation of wealth. Now, as far as the sciences were concerned, England was certainly not ahead of France at the end of the eighteenth century. The age which begins with the middle of the eighteenth and ends with the middle of the nineteenth century has been the real 'grand siècle' of France, if we think not of art and letters but of science. Lagrange and Laplace, Cauchy and Poisson, Cuvier and Lamarck, Lavoisier, Fresnel, Ampère—what other country could show so splendid a list of great names? Why, then, was this outburst of speculative discoveries not followed by an outburst of practical inventions? The fact is that Lavoisier was the head of a whole school of chemists who brought French chemical industry quite up to the level of British industry; England borrowed from France the use of chlorine for the bleaching of cotton goods.

But there was one invention which was of British birth and growth. The steam engine—the pivot of the British industry—utterly failed in France, and a fortiori in all the other Continental countries. The first French steam engine—a 10 horse-power engine—was set up in Alsace in 1812; the next one in Belgium (then part of France) in 1813. Why was the progress of the steam engine so slow as compared with what was happening in England? Contemporary writers say that it was on account of the lack of cheap coal and

the cheapness of labour, which made it unnecessary for the French to adopt machinery from motives of economy. We doubt if the first reason here alleged is valid: there certainly was cheap coal in Flanders. But the other one is well worth weighing. It is an interesting problem how far the demands of the working class have acted as a hindrance and how far as a stimulant to the progress of industry. Events in western Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century go far to prove that the creed of such modern capitalists as see no hope for their factories except in the reduction of wages rests upon a superficial and lazy philosophy of industry.

Not that the Continental nations in general, and France in particular, were without their troubles. But the troubles were political, they were religious; they had their roots not in the economy of industry, but in the great upheaval of the French Revolution.

In order to understand them, let us begin with France and try to make our readers realize what was the state of affairs when the Allies had restored to the throne of his ancestors that gouty and cynical old gentleman, Louis XVIII.

The old nobility came back with him. It had been abolished a quarter of a century before; the noblemen had lost all their feudal privileges, they had been forbidden to bear their titles; those who had remained, chiefly members of the provincial and rural 'petite noblesse'—what would be called in England the gentry—had hidden themselves in remote corners of the land, and had done their very best to be forgotten; others had stirred up rebellion in the departments of the west or had fled to Coblenz to fight against the revolutionary government of their country. Then the Napoleonic era had come, and not only had Napoleon created a new nobility of military upstarts and titled officials, he had at the same time encouraged the émigrés to return and be forgiven; he liked to see them at his levées; he liked to order them into his army and into his civil service. But the number of those who had made their peace with a man who was for them nothing but the

Revolution in disguise was very small. And now the time had come for those who had never bowed to Napoleon, whether they lived in France or persisted in living in exile—whether, that is to say, they were 'émigrés de l'intérieur' or actual 'émigrés'—to take their revenge and come back into their own. But after the first period of hopeful illusion, how great was their disappointment and anger!

The 'Restauration' had really nothing to do with the 'ancien régime'; the intervening Revolution had done its work for Administration of ever. The time had the New Regime passed when the government of the country was a congregation of close corporations, the court and royal family, the Church, the nobility, the courts of law, or Parlement. Instead, there was a centralised bureaucracy, recruited to a large extent by co-option, but in the last instance by the choice of the executive, and this system made things so smooth and so easy for the chief of the executive that not even the king of France, seated once more upon his throne, could be tempted to exchange the new conditions for the system which had prevailed under Louis XVI. The members of the old nobility had to put up with a state of affairs in which no distinction was made, as far as access to office was concerned, either between themselves and members of the new nobility, or between a noble of any kind and a simple bourgeois. In fact, it soon became clear to the king that he could not do without the help of the trained soldiers and officials who, during a whole generation, had harshly but efficiently ruled not only France but the whole of Europe.

The quarrel between 'conservateurs' and 'libéraux' was mainly a quarrel between the party which did and the party which did not want to see Louis XVIII choose his councillors outside the circle of those who had remained loyal to their king through the years of the Revolution and the Empire. Members of the old nobility had to abandon all hope of ever again becoming the privileged military order of the country. Under the new military law, the army remained a Napoleonic army, a conscript army, in which nobody could become a non-commissioned or commis-

sioned officer except in accordance with very strict rules of promotion, and where two-thirds of the sub-lieutenancies were reserved for non-commissioned officers. The *Chambre des Pairs* was only a mock imitation of the English House of Lords. All its members were nominated at one block by the king, who reserved the right to create, in the future, an unlimited number either of hereditary peers or of life peers.

As for the *Chambre des Députés*, a very narrowly circumscribed electorate, under the influence of the first shock which followed the bankruptcy of Napoleonism, began by giving a huge majority to ultra-conservatives. But the new electorate, however narrowly defined, was nevertheless a bourgeois majority, and it is probable that most of its members, if you traced back the history of their careers, were profiteers of the great upheaval. If the legitimist deputies made themselves too absurd they were in danger of losing their seat. As a matter of fact, they would probably have been safer under a system of universal suffrage with uneducated peasants marched to the ballot-box by landlords and curés.

In the same way the Church made a big mistake if it thought that the Restoration meant the *Troubles of the Gallican Church* whatever influence and power it had lost—and it had lost a great deal, although not perhaps quite as much as the nobility. One of the first moves of the French Revolution had been to remodel the constitution of the Church from top to bottom, making all bishops and parish priests elective officers, responsible to their flocks. The experiment had failed badly, and after a time another and more utopian experiment had been tried by Robespierre, acting as high priest to the cult of 'L'Être Suprême.' Finally, the Roman Church had asserted itself again, and Bonaparte had signed a treaty of peace, a 'concordat,' with the pontiff of Rome. But the Church did not get back the endowments which it had once possessed; and as long as the Empire lasted the members of the French Catholic clergy, in accordance with the terms of the concordat itself, were kept,

like all other French subjects, under a strict system of government control. The elementary schools had indeed been given over to the priests, but not the secondary schools, the 'lycées' and 'collèges.' The bourgeoisie as a whole remained sceptical in religious matters, and a French bourgeois with any intellectual self-respect would have blushed at the idea of being seen going to Church on a Sunday morning.

The Church itself was rent by an internal quarrel, more acute than anybody realizes at the present day. After Calvinism had broken down in France it had reappeared within the French Catholic Church itself under the garb of Jansenism (see page 3866). The new movement had all the leading features of Calvinistic Christianity; the belief in justification by faith, a sense of semi-republican pride, a puritan view of life and a large measure of 'gallican' detachment towards the see of Rome. Its disciples were responsible for the 'Constitution Civile du Clergé' in 1791, and they made themselves thereby responsible, in the eyes of the majority, for the excesses of the Revolution. From that time onward pious Catholics were, as a rule, inclined to cling to the most extreme upholders of papal power and Roman orthodoxy. But the Jansenists still were a solid though small party, believing in parliamentary methods and giving a moral tone to the moderate wing of the opposition, when it denounced the intrigues woven in court and government circles by the Jesuits and by the body which was a little later mysteriously spoken of as 'la Congrégation.'

Let us not be misled into believing that the royalist party had no intellectual value. It could boast of vigorous doctrinaires such as De Maistre and De Bonald. Chateaubriand was the most brilliant—dazzlingly brilliant—writer of his day. The new 'romantic' school, in France as in Germany, was royalist and catholic; young Lamartine and young Victor Hugo began their political careers as bards of the Throne and Altar. On the other hand, the chief thinkers of the Opposition were Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant, both more Swiss than French and both given to a vague kind of

'religiosité' utterly unlike the clear-cut orthodoxy of the Roman Catholics and the clear-cut anti-catholicism of the followers of Voltaire. They belonged to the moderate Opposition, whose work had been to provide France with a free constitution after the Literary bias of the parties British model. But the question whether this constitution was not a very fragile product of circumstances still remained unsettled. As for the genuine democrats, they stood forward, in the literary world, as the defenders of the classical tradition, and as the professed admirers of whatever bad poetry and bad drama was written in servile imitation of Corneille and Racine. This spirit of opposition to the government found expression in the bitter libels of Paul-Louis Courier and in the satirical songs of Béranger, neither of whom was a writer of the first rank. But they voiced the feelings of the more active part of the middle classes; the spirit of the time moved with them.

I remember the stories which I was told as a child about my great-grandfather, a well-known architect, who in spite of the fact that he built a church in Paris was an unflinching 'Voltairien.' I remember being told how he arranged with his friends, behind carefully closed doors, periodical evening meetings, when they sang in chorus the songs of Béranger, songs of love, of liberty and Napoleon. I remember being told how his daughter, a little girl of ten or twelve, was dressed in deep mourning, as became a Liberal child, when Talma, the great classical actor who had been a personal friend of Napoleon, died, and how the black gown was torn to pieces by the royalist girls of the school which she attended. Then another story comes back to my memory of how, towards the end of February, 1848, my father, a boy of fourteen, was sitting in his grandfather's room when they observed a man, on the opposite side of the street, sticking up a big white poster. The boy is sent down to see what is happening. He comes back, flushed and excited: 'Grandpapa! La République!' But the old gentleman falls back into his armchair, with trembling limbs. 'La République! Ah, mon garçon, tu ne sais pas ce que c'est!'

I do not know to which of the reactionary parties he then belonged, whether he became a Bonapartist or, as is more likely, was an Orleanist. But I keep on the shelves of my library the set of the *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire* which belonged to him, and I know how, when he was more than eighty years old, he made it a duty to read through all the works of his favourite author, and did it, beginning with page 1 of Volume I and ending with page 422 of Volume XLIV. Such was the sturdy, unmythical Parisian bourgeoisie which made and unmade governments from 1815 onwards, through a whole half-century.

I try to realize what an average provincial town must have looked like during the first years of the century which began after Waterloo. There, behind closely fastened doors, are herded together a small knot of elderly gentlemen, local noblemen, priests, perhaps occasionally a bishop or at least one of his canons, if the town happens to be a cathedral town. They are out of touch with the age; they are conscious of it, and hate the age all the more



#### BARD OF THE FRENCH OPPOSITION

There is both satire and sentiment in the songs of Pierre Jean Béranger (1780-1857), author of the popular *Souvenirs du Peuple*. His writings express the antagonistic attitude of the French middle classes towards the government.

Drawing by Daniel Maclise in *Fraser's Magazine*



for it. And, at the same time, here is the café, which is the regular resort of a little group of professional grumblers, disappointed place-hunters, shopkeepers whose pride is daily hurt by this or that member of the local gentry. It may be that their quarrel with the Church or with the nobility has an economic basis. To one of them perhaps belongs a plot of

land which has been plundered—legally plundered—from the 'biens du clergé,' or from the confiscated estates of the émigrés. But, worse than that, there may be blood between them. Only a quarter of a century ago a 'tribunal révolutionnaire' was sitting in the little town; heads fell from the guillotine, and those of the reactionaries who escaped had to flee for their lives. Who knows whether the grumbler at the café is not the son of one of the revolutionaries, or whether he has not been a revolutionary judge himself?

These are, of course, not memories which the local liberal politicians like to see revived. But now there steps into the café another set of grumblers, men with a soldier-like demeanour, officers who, after having fought in the glorious wars of the Empire, have been put on half-pay in order to allow the army to be reduced and to find room for the scions of the aristocracy, with no better title than that of having fought against their country and of having returned to it 'dans les fourgons de l'étranger.' These men belong not to the period of Robespierre and the guillotine, but to the period of Napoleon and victory—Napoleon, that is to say equality made safe through the strict maintenance of order, with no voluntary shedding of blood, unless it be the blood of the foreigner. Perhaps he loved war too much; but was he not forced into war through the wicked tricks of kings and emperors and perfidious Albion? If only he had been allowed time to breathe, he would have given France and Europe peace and order. Had he not, during the Hundred Days, between Elba and Waterloo, summoned to his councils republicans and lovers of freedom, and promised to make France safe for constitutional monarchy? Were not his generals, Foy

and Lamarque, the chief spokesmen of the advanced Opposition in the Chamber of Deputies? Was he not, at St. Helena, posing as the misunderstood hero of progress and liberty? So that after a short space of time (the memory of war and of the suffering which war implies fades away very quickly indeed) a French liberal might be aptly defined as an admirer of Napoleon and an enemy of the Jesuits. The Napoleonic legend was in the making. Discontented civilians and discontented soldiers put their heads together and founded the 'parti du drapeau tricolore,' which would eventually, they believed, in the course of time, avenge Waterloo, revise the Vienna treaties, free France from the yoke of king and Jesuits, and help all the peoples of Europe, at the cost of a revolutionary war, to shake off the yoke of their own kings and Jesuits.

The first nation which had to be freed was undoubtedly Spain—of all the European countries the one which had most suffered from the war. War had not been for Spain a Results of the passing catastrophe as it War in Spain had been for southern

Germany and Austria in 1805 and 1809, and for northern Germany in 1806; it had lasted for years. Perhaps it was just because they were only a semi-civilized people that the Spanish had so savagely resisted the French, year after year; and now that the French had been defeated and expelled they were a more uncivilized people than before; their bridges were broken, their roads out of repair and their villages ruined. England had helped them with men and money, but she still insulted Spanish pride from her stronghold of Gibraltar, and she was helping the Spanish Americans to rise against their mother country. A Spaniard with patriotic feelings had indeed much cause for bitterness! But how could he hope to find a leader in a bigoted and ignorant king, surrounded by priests who had come back into possession of their wealth and power and had even succeeded in getting the Inquisition re-established?

The Spanish liberals had learnt one thing at least from their French conquerors: they knew that it was possible for an administration which was not

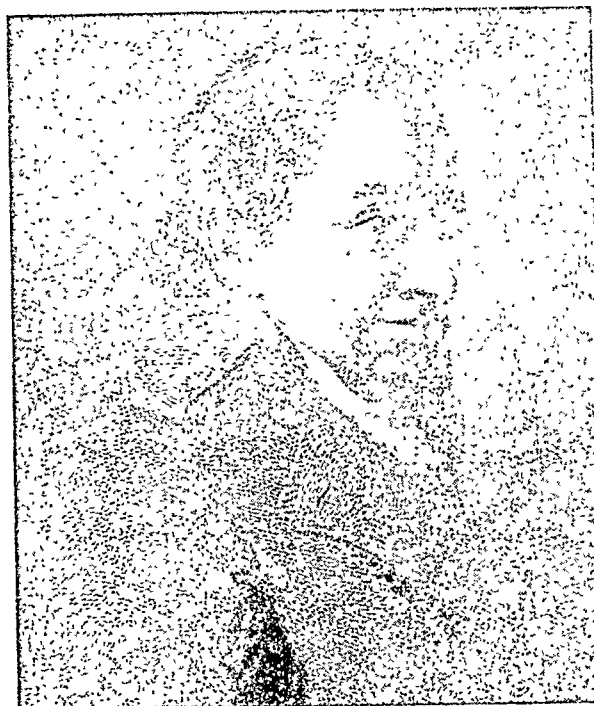
priest-ridden to be efficient. In Cadiz, while they were besieged by the French army, the Spaniards had learnt from their English allies the value of parliamentary institutions; year after year in the besieged city the Cortes had been sitting. And since the leaders of the resistance to the French conqueror had been military officers, the army became the rallying point of all the discontented elements in the country. In Spain, as in France, liberalism was closely allied with patriotism. Military officers were the professional 'Liberales.' They created what was to become the peculiar Spanish form of Spanish rebellion: the use of the army as a revolutionary force, the military pronunciamiento.

In central Europe, Metternich, as prime minister of a despotic emperor, was triumphant; his astuteness and

patience had won the day against Napoleon's genius and recklessness.

Public opinion in Central Europe And when he thought only of the provinces of the empire of Austria and of the kingdom of Hungary, he felt fairly safe; neither the Slavs nor the Hungarians had as yet been seriously permeated by the revolutionary spirit of the time. But he felt more concerned when he looked westwards towards Germany, a political confederation of which Austria was the predominant partner, or towards Italy, a large part of which had been reannexed to Austria, as a result of the victory of the Allies, in 1814 and 1815.

Germany was not quite the same country as it had been before 1792. The spirit of the French Revolution had made itself felt everywhere. Ecclesiastic princes had disappeared. Small principalities had been absorbed into larger ones. The left bank of the Rhine had been freed by the French from feudalism, and had been brought once for all under the regime of the French civil code, which guaranteed liberty equally to all men without reference to the accidents of birth. The southern states of Germany had followed suit, and when Baron von Stein reformed the administrative system of Prussia he had certainly been actuated by the desire to show his fellow subjects that they did not require the help of the French



FAMOUS GERMAN PHILOSOPHER

In his *Addresses to the German nation* in 1807 Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) revealed his intense patriotism. Bury's painting gives a vivid impression of this earnest thinker who died before his country's final triumph over Napoleon.

Engraving by A. Schultze

conqueror for the purpose of modernising their institutions.

In spite of this, five kingdoms and thirty-eight other independent states were far from satisfying the needs of modern German opinion. The different states of Germany were too often ruled in an illiberal spirit, and neither the romantic school nor the historical school had an appeal for the younger generation. The princes had once more cut Germany into pieces, each prince taking a piece for himself, and they denounced the longing after a unified Germany, which threatened their little thrones, as something democratic and Jacobinical, and were prepared to fight it by every means at their disposal. The countryside was happy and quiet; there was no industrial proletariat to give trouble to governments. But in every town there was a noisy and dangerous body of discontented lawyers, teachers and students.

Fichte, their great philosopher, had died before the hour of final victory; but, ardent patriot though he was, he had already complained, while goading his countrymen on to victory, that they should be

condemned to fight under the orders of such unworthy leaders: why not rather some French soldier of fortune, another Bernadotte, with at least a touch of democratic efficiency? Now that the victory had been won, and that the reactionary princes were only too firmly seated upon their thrones, teachers and students felt as he had felt. There were teachers of law who looked once more towards the French democratic doctrines as something more wholesome than German romanticism. The student's hero was no longer Palmer, the Leipzig bookseller, court-martialled for having attempted to kill Napoleon, but Sand, a student like themselves, beheaded for having actually murdered the Russian agent Kotzebue.

They were queer fellows, the revolutionary students of these days, bareheaded, with shaggy hair and naked breast. Their god was Wotan rather than the God of the Bible; their prophet, Arminius rather than Luther. The book which more than any other reflected their ethical code was probably the *Germania* of Tacitus, with its contrast between the purity of barbarian Germany and the effeteness of Roman civilization. They reminded one, when one reads descriptions of their pageants, of Italian Fascisti rather than of young English undergraduates attending a Liberal Summer School. But, after all, if they were nationalist in feeling, so were the French liberals; and, if one of their war cries was 'Up with Germany,' another, here as in Paris, was 'Down with Kings and Priests! Fatherland and Liberty!'

Italy raised still more troublesome problems for Metternich. The problems had nothing to do with social organization. Southern Italy, as uncivilized as Spain, had not been impoverished by the war as Spain had been, and its inhabitants lived a happy, thoughtless life in their primeval squalor. Northern Italy was highly civilized. The two parts of continental Europe which were generally looked on as models of good agriculture were Flanders and Lombardy; and Sismondi has left us an almost idyllic picture of the conditions which prevailed on the Tuscan agricultural estates. But

there was even more political and religious bitterness here than there was in Germany.

Napoleon had combined the several parts of the Italian territory into a smaller number of big units, which were, all of them, either directly or indirectly subordinate to the powerful influence of France. The Allies cut them to pieces again, and the pieces were distributed among princes who too often were not natives, like the German princes, of the country where they ruled. France had, in a somewhat brutal fashion, done a good deal towards modernising the country: the new potentates were anxious to unmodernise it. The king of Sardinia destroyed the Botanical Garden in Turin and very nearly blew up the bridge across the Po, because both the garden and the bridge were creations of the French Empire. The pope forbade his subjects to have anything to do with that 'French' invention, vaccination, and destroyed the lamps which the French had hung across the streets of Rome: so that the pontifical government was both physically and morally an obscurantist government.

Now there was one part of Italy—once more fallen into the power either of the emperor of Austria or of the pope—which had been for a time styled the 'Kingdom of Italy,' with Napoleon as its king and as its flag a green, white, red tricolor. Well might Leopardi, expressing in his poems the feelings of a large proportion of his countrymen, inveigh against Napoleon for having sent so many Italians to be slaughtered on all the battlefields of Europe. But, in spite of this, many young Italians of the nobility and of the bourgeoisie—young men of the type of Fabrice in Stendhal's *Chartreuse de Parme*—began to wonder whether the small Napoleonic 'Kingdom of Italy' might not some day or other be the nucleus of a united Italy, and whether Napoleon—who was, after all, a kind of Italian—had not been the first to dream what was bound to come when the time of priests and kings had passed by. Freemasons and Carbonari fraternised on both sides of the Alps; soldiers conspired on both sides against the anachronistic monarchs whom Waterloo had dumped upon all

the European nations. A unified and secularised Italy became part of a political ideal which was at once liberal and Napoleonic.

In Russia also there were enthusiastic freemasons and plotting officers. But ought Russia to be counted as part of Europe? We have completed our survey of Europe—properly so called—and we hope that we have given a sufficiently clear idea of the conditions of life, both

spiritual and economic, which prevailed there. In England, the politico-religious world was free but orderly, and the history of the past seemed to guarantee stability in the future. In the industrial world, on the other hand, there were new and alarming features which seemed to be making for reckless production, unequal distribution, anarchy and revolution. On the Continent, which knew nothing of the troubles of what has been called the Industrial Revolution and which had as yet barely discovered the existence of the steam-engine, there were no social upheavals to be feared. All the trouble was political and religious, priests and kings having become close allies against the rise of democratic and liberal ideas.

Now, the nineteenth century has seen the rise of a new philosophy of history, called by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who invented it, the materialist, or economic, conception of history. According to this conception, the phenomena of economic life, of agricultural and industrial production, are the deeply laid foundations underlying every human society; the phenomena of religious and political life are only the superficial superstructure. It follows from this that, if you want to understand a society and prognosticate about its stability, you should look not at the superstructure, but at the economic basis upon which the superstructure has been raised. Since English industrial life was unbalanced and insecure, English history in the nineteenth century, according to the Marxian theory, should have been unbalanced also, and constantly disturbed by revolutionary crises. The Continent, on the other hand, was safe from the troubles inherent in the 'great industry':

the history of the Continent, in spite of the ideological quarrels which divided Christians and free-thinkers, monarchists and democrats, should therefore, according to the doctrines of historical materialism, have been a monotonous and quiet history.

Things, as we know, went the other way, so that there is no more severe indictment of the Marxist philosophy of history in the century. It was orderly where it should have been revolutionary; it was revolutionary where it should have been orderly. What reason can one give for this, except that Marx's philosophy rests upon a false psychology? We have always found food for reflection in Chateaubriand's short and pithy axiom: 'On se fait tuer pour des croyances, on ne se fait pas tuer pour des intérêts.'



CHAMPION OF ECONOMIC HISTORY

Chief exponent of the materialist conception of history, Karl Marx (1818-83) published Volume I of his work *Das Kapital* in 1867. He sought the overthrow of capitalism by development of class consciousness among the proletariat.

*From a photograph*



EXPRESSION OF THE ROMANTIC SPIRIT IN ENGLISH ART : DEDHAM'S MILL, BY CONSTABLE

Faithful presentation of English landscapes, especially skies and clouds, is a characteristic feature of the work of John Constable (1776-1837), whose methods influenced the growth of a romantic school of painting in France. The peaceful beauty of this level East Anglian landscape is typical of his art.

*Victoria and Albert Museum*

# THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

Outburst of Emotion and Individualism in Art  
that broke the Restraints of the Classic Age

By HAROLD NICOLSON

Author of Tennyson, Paul Verlaine, etc

**W**HAT was the romantic movement? How and where did it begin; when and why did it end? What were its basic principles and what its aims? What was its influence on art, literature, music and politics? Is romanticism, as a habit of thought, valuable or the reverse? Has the romantic attitude a future or only a past? Such questions have aroused the interest of innumerable writers for well over a hundred years, and the answers they have given have been diverse and contradictory. On one point only is there general agreement, namely, that between the years 1760 and 1860 the civilized world adopted a peculiar attitude towards life became predominantly interested in certain experiences, shapes, colours which had not predominantly interested people before, and flung into this supposedly new revelation the energy and enthusiasm of a religious revival.

The history of human thought shows many such revivals, it is indeed customary and right that one generation should react with violence against the intellectual conventions of a previous generation. What distinguishes the romantic movement from similar changes in taste and appreciation is not that it discovered any startlingly new region of experience (in the sense that modern science and psychology have rendered new experience available), but that it charged what was in essence a mere mode of thinking and feeling with a degree of energy, of universality, of self-consciousness and of conviction such as renders the romantic movement no mere fashion of educated opinion but an important and perfectly recognizable stage in the development of the human mind.

The romantic is as old as Homer; the romantic movement, however, is something

which began, more or less, in 1760 and ended, more or less, in 1860. Why? That is the question which it is the purpose of this chapter to answer. But it is not an easy question. It is possible, of course to analyse the several constituents of the romantic movement, but what is more difficult is clearly to define the force that welded these constituents together. In other words, one can explain what is technically meant by 'romantic'; but this is of little avail unless one can also explain the word 'movement'—can give reasons why this habit of mind assumed unwonted dynamic energy and spread like a driven thunderstorm across the civilized world.

In this chapter some such explanation is attempted. First, it is suggested how, in about 1760, the public were in a very curious mood

of receptivity, how it came that, at that date, ninety per cent. of

educated people were, as never before, weary of the old formulas, and as never before anxious for something new. Then it is shown why the doctrine of romanticism not only satisfied this appetite, but acted as some virulent and unexpected tonic or injection, giving to the world a new exuberance of energy and desire. And then it is indicated how the torrent thus released gathered force from several tributaries and, breaking the barrier of reason, poured its waters over lands until then unfertile, leaving in its wake much rubbish, considerable destruction and a thick deposit of rich, alluvial loam.

'Romanticism,' wrote Sainte-Beuve, imposed itself by opposing everything which had preceded it.' There is much truth in this remark, but it is not the whole truth. There is no doubt that one of the main circumstances that assured the

early success of the romantic movement was the fact that everybody was bored by everything which the eighteenth century, which 'the age of reason,' had invented and imposed. People were so tired of intellectual discipline that they were tired almost of intellect itself. Romanticism, in its first, and perhaps its most fundamental, manifestation, was thus a reaction against intellect in favour of emotion, against the organized in favour of the personal. This will require some further explanation, but such explanation must proceed by gradations.

Let us take, in the first place, the actual word 'romantic' and its derivative, 'romanticism.' The life story of this word is in itself illuminating. It originates from 'romant' 'Romanticism' or 'romaunt'—words long ago naturalised in the English language. It first appears at a very definite period, between the year 1653 and the year 1659. It is then used in the various forms of 'romance' (used as an adjective), 'romancial' and 'romancicall.' After 1659 'romantic' becomes the accepted form.

Now, why should this word have been coined and brought into currency within a period of six specific years? It was because, with the dawn of the 'age of reason,' the intellectuals of the period required some expression whereby to dismiss and to condemn what had been thought interesting and admirable by the previous generation. It must therefore be realized that, at its first appearance, the word 'romantic' was used as a term of reproach, even as 'impressionist' was used in 1874 and 'futurist' is to-day. It then implied something uncivilized, barbarous and unrefined, also something affected. It implied, at a somewhat later date, something unreal, fantastic and sentimental. Take this, for instance, from John Evelyn, under the date November, 1661: 'I saw Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, played; but now the old plays begin to disgust this refined age.' It was to express modes of thought or fashion such as this that the word, 'romantic' was first invented. It meant 'like the old romances,' and, by that, something either improbable or unreasonable; it signified 'ignorant,'

'uneducated.' It was an epithet implying acute distaste.

As the late seventeenth century passed into the eighteenth, we find the word gradually assuming a somewhat different complexion. It loses its wholly opprobrious character, and becomes merely an epithet for something imaginative but unregulated. Connotations either by order, reason or of the term judgement. We find it accompanied always by explicatives: 'romantic and disordered,' 'his fantastic and indeed romantic imagery'—such is the company it keeps. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, however, a new tinge of colour again comes over the word. We find it being employed more and more to designate something wild and strange and rather perturbing; predominantly is it applied to scenery suggestive of the old romances—to torrents, and dark forests, and ruined castles seen by moonlight. It loses all sense of contempt and takes on a sense of something rather alarming, something rather thrilling. People are evidently both attracted and repelled by the word; it comes rapidly to acquire literary and pictorial associations. We are startled suddenly by finding the expression 'romantic solitude': that would have been quite impossible in 1659; but by 1759 the juxtaposition of this adjective and that substantive meant a great deal—it meant, as has been said, something by which the sensitive souls of 1759 were at once attracted and repelled. Let us leave the word, therefore, as it stood so alluringly in 1759. Later it was vulgarised by the 'classic versus romantic' controversy championed by Schiller and Goethe. But in 1759 it implied something fresh and rather scandalous, much as 'psychoanalysis' had these implications in 1917.

Certain very useful indications can be gleaned from this account of the development of the word itself. It was coined when the age of reason required an opprobrious epithet wherewith to dismiss all hankering after Shakespeare or Spenser. As the age of reason in its turn became a bore, the word lost its opprobrious character, and glimmered as a symbol of forbidden fruit. This symbol, in its turn,

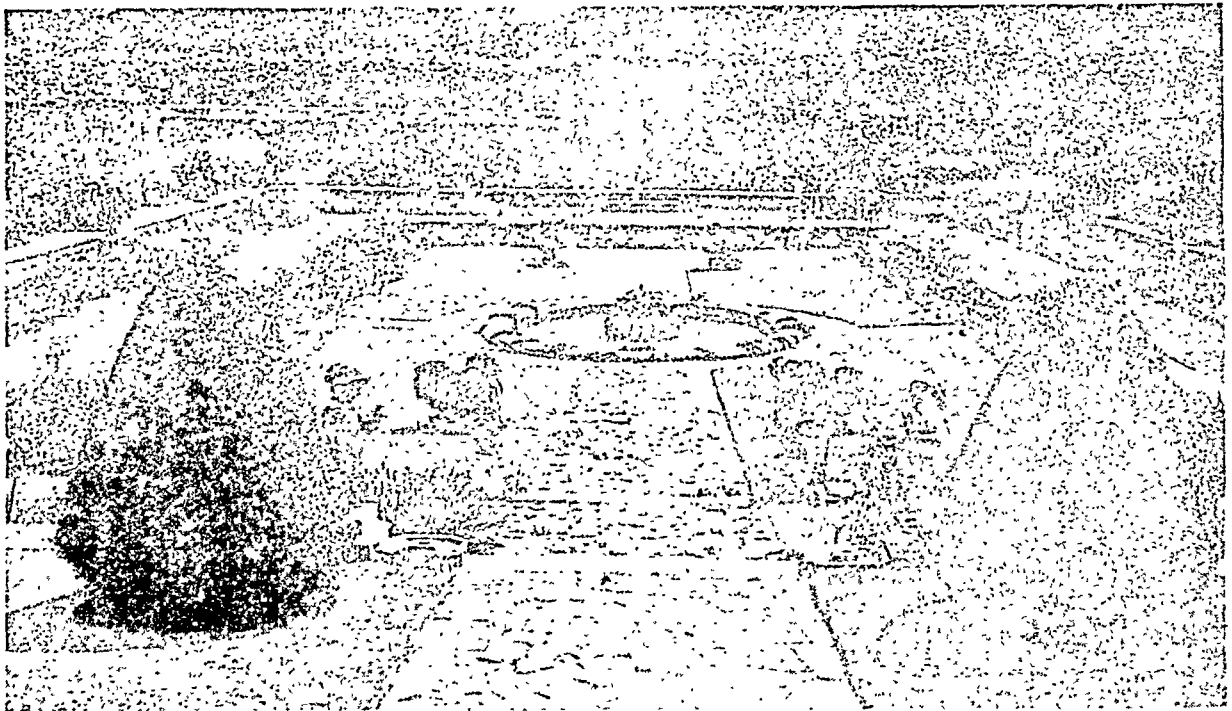


became the banner of the new movement. It is regrettable, doubtless, that the intelligence of man should thus proceed by action and reaction, that the creative artist of one age should to so large an extent be inspired by a desire to refute his predecessors; one might wish to conceive a civilization in which men reacted directly to experience itself and not indirectly in opposition to the experience of their fathers and grandfathers. But such, it must be admitted, is not historic fact; the 'atmosphere' of most important intellectual or emotional movements has been created by the actual boredom felt by the average man of one generation when contemplating the enthusiasms or discoveries of immediately preceding generations. For the history of taste is the history of successive reactions, and the history of human thought is fundamentally the history of successive human tastes.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the genesis of the romantic movement. It was a magnificent and all-important movement, but its first manifestation is to be found in a comparatively trivial

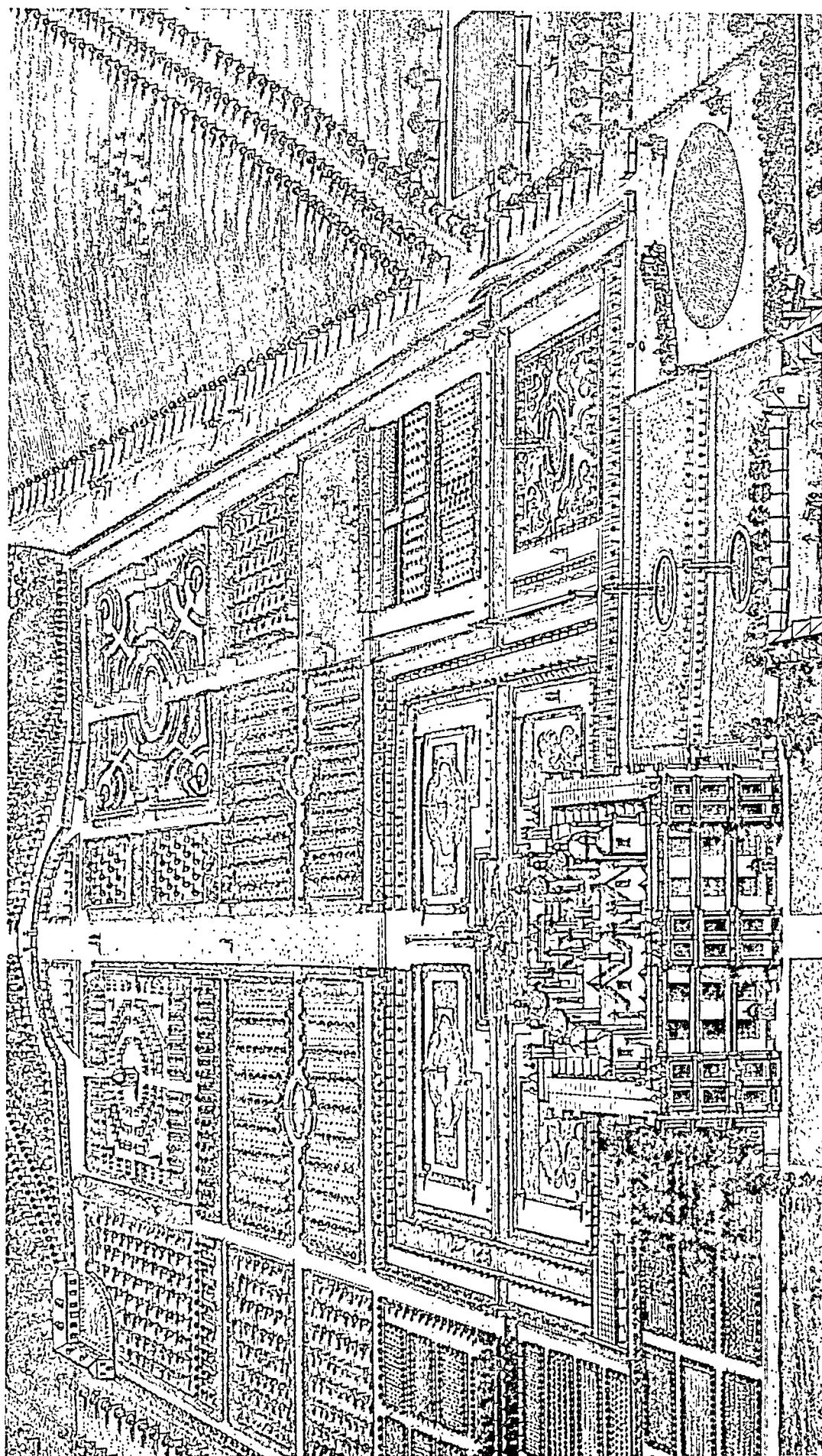
branch of human activity. It is to be found in gardens. The garden muddle which arose in the reign of Queen Anne and George I is very significant, and deserves to be dealt with in some detail, since it illustrates and explains in a particularly lucid manner what inspired the formal, as distinct from the spiritual, element in the romantic revolt.

The ideal of a classic garden is familiar to us. We have Versailles, and Schönbrunn, and the like. We rightly admire these superb perspectives, feeling instinctively that a garden is of necessity an artificial creation, appertaining to architecture and requiring, as such, some sense of alinement and purpose. We have by now forgotten how far the Dutch gardeners introduced by William and Mary exaggerated their passion for the formal. The blithe gardens of England were crimped into topiary and over-weighted by water-works and ornamental stone. The flower beds were banished and their places taken by clipped evergreens and elaborate arabesques of box edging enclosing strata of varicoloured sands. This was the work, predominantly, of London



TYPE OF CLASSIC GARDEN DISLIKED BY THE ROMANTICISTS

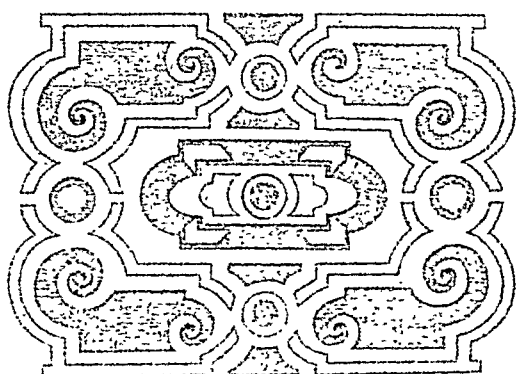
The romantic movement and its plea for a 'return to nature' aroused criticism of the carefully planned gardens that delighted the classicists, and the cult for what was termed 'rural gardening' replaced the stiffness of the Dutch models, adorned with statuary, ponds, and symmetrical flower beds. The pond garden laid out at Hampton Court Palace in the time of Henry VIII provides an interesting example of that studied effect which the romanticists so strongly decried.



**SUPREME EXAMPLE OF GEOMETRICAL GARDEN PLANNING : PART OF THE GROUNDS OF LONGLEAT HOUSE, WILTSHIRE**

Early in the eighteenth century Addison voiced a protest against the stereotyped arrangement favoured in the horticultural designs of the age. Nature, he felt, was being superseded by art, and the result was not an improvement. The gardens surrounding Longleat, the Italianate seat of the Marquess of Bath, present an example of the extreme artificiality that pleased the pre-romantic period. The garden beds are arranged with geometric precision; trees grow severely in parallel lines and hedges are clipped so that no leaf grows beyond its neighbour, lest it spoil the perfection of the designer's plan.

*From Kip, *Nouveau Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*, 1717*



ELABORATE PARTERRE

Parterre was a favourite form of garden decoration in the reign of William and Mary. This design, one of many described by London and Wise, is cut from turf into intricate patterns filled artistically with several coloured sands.

*From Amherst, 'History of Gardening in England'*

and Wise, the 'natural and polite gardeners' who destroyed the mounds and galleries with which Bacon and Evelyn had been so content. As early as 1712 we find Addison protesting against this deviation from nature. 'We see,' he writes, 'the marks of the scizzors upon every Plant and Bush.' The next year Pope, in his turn, protested and wrote his famous essay for the *Guardian*; he also wrote the *Epistle to Lord Burlington*.

In 1715 London and Wise were supplanted in popular favour by their pupil Switzer, who was the first apostle of what he called 'rural gardening.' Switzer's successor was Bridgeman, and after Bridgeman came Kent. Meanwhile, the 'jardin anglais' had invaded France, and all manner of horticultural foolishness was committed. 'Kent,' writes Horace Walpole, 'leapt the fence and saw all nature was a garden.' It must be admitted that in the hands of Kent's successors the art of 'rural gardening' became a little too romantic. In 1728 we find Mr. Batty writing:

'Is there anything more shocking than a stiff, regular garden?' And Kent, with his famous principle that 'nature abhors a straight line' and his invention of the 'ha-ha,' must to some extent be held responsible.

By 1750 we have Capability Brown who toured the country ravaging the gardens of the English gentry and cutting down the avenues which embellished his clients' estates. Brown's passion for what Walpole calls 'the beauty of the gentle swell or concave scoop' played havoc with the lawns and terraces. The incalculable harm done by this enthusiast still leaves a scar upon the face of England. It produced an early reaction. For Brown had overdone the element of surprise and



A GARDEN BEFORE AND AFTER 'IMPROVEMENT'

In the reaction against horticultural formalism, rural landscapes were substituted for conventional gardens. Men like Kent and 'Capability' Brown were ardent members of the 'back to nature' school, and these engravings of a house and grounds before (top) and after treatment show their methods.

*From R. P. Knight, 'The Landscape,' 1794*



AN AUTHOR READING TO HIS GUESTS

By their appeal to the emotions rather than to the intellect, the works of Samuel Richardson (1689-1761) fostered the growing spirit of romanticism. Clad in his usual morning dress, the author, seen in this engraving by Stadler, entertains some friends by reading his novel *Sir Charles Grandison*.

people were hankering again for the calmer joys of perspective. Gardens are a physical matter; and by physical displacement the attention is apt to be fatigued.

The history of the romantic movement in garden design is thus particularly curious and instructive. It preceded the main movement by a generation, and it ran its course from reaction to reaction before romanticism proper had begun. It was caused by curiously similar conditions in public taste, and it developed in much the same manner. It is, in fact, an epitome of the whole romantic movement, illustrating in miniature many of the main elements and emotions of which that movement was composed. (You have the fine classic manner of Lenôtre degenerating into the artificial alleys of London and Wise; you have convention, rigidity and repetition. The element of 'recognition' has ceased even to soothe. You have, above all, a great weariness on the part of public opinion, a great desire for something new. You thus have the new movement, salutary at first, but in the end leading to the extravagance of Brown and the exploitation of the element of surprise. This in its turn produces an even greater weariness, since surprise fatigues the attention more than recognition, and you have a swing of the pendulum of taste back in the

direction of classicism and order.) This is not to say that landscape gardening did not continue well into the twentieth century; but it became less violent and destructive, and many of the better educated reverted, as at Penshurst, to the older orderly style.

The same development occurred almost immediately in literature, and, through the medium of literature, in politics, art, architecture and music. Obviously, however, in these more intricate mediums the movement was in itself more intricate, the actions and reactions slower and less obvious. Nor does the analogy of garden design, helpful as it is in illustrating

the external or formal development of romanticism, throw much light on its inner idea. It is, indeed, important not to confuse the form of romanticism with its spirit. The form is simple enough; it disliked, as Kent disliked, the 'straight line.' But the spirit requires a far more elaborate analysis if it is to be properly understood. By 1750 romanticism was 'in the air.' In 1760 Jean Jacques Rousseau was able to catch these wisps of feeling and combine them into a definite doctrine. With Rousseau the romantic movement proper was started on its course. It is thus essential to analyse Rousseauism in some detail. For the year 1760 was the birthday of the romantic movement.

Rousseau did not invent romanticism out of nothing; he gave to existing anti-classical stirrings a local habitation and a name. The movement really began in England with Thompson, Young, Gray, Collins and Macpherson. In France it began with Voltaire, who was a friend of Young, and who imported, rather against his convictions, such new ideas as Shakespeare and the taste for 'northern' or barbarous literature. This new interest was stimulated during the Anglophil mania of 1735-1740, by the passion for

Richardson's *Clarissa* which thereafter ensued. Already, in 1750, the intellectuals were beginning to doubt the validity of established conventions and were reacting against the oligarchy of cleverness; lucidity and order which the classics had imposed. They were reacting, though they did not know it, against the tyranny of intellect over emotion, of culture over personality. Sensibility was the habit of the time, and we find men like Diderot sobbing at the slightest provocation. With Rousseau the fairy story came true. Rousseau invented nothing except a formula, but that formula exploded a mine. Rousseau was a great lyric poet—the expression is used advisedly—but he was not a thinker. It seems almost incredible to us that this sham logic, this turgid sentimentality, should have unloosed a whirlwind. But so it was. The primary reason for his success was the receptivity of his public. They possessed already what might be called 'an expectant energy of mind.'

This arresting phrase will be found to advance matters if we consider what, in essentials, was the public mood of 1750–1760. We are familiar, for instance, with moments in our own lives when our nerves, for no apparent reason, appear strung to a higher pitch of receptivity, when they react with greater delicacy to experiences hitherto unrealized, to beauty hitherto unjudged. At such moments our faculties of expression appear, in their turn, to function with a rapid and confident assurance as if directed by an impulse external to ourselves. These precious and volatile moments are caused, doubtless, by some scarcely apprehended balance between brain and liver, by some subtle adjustment between the condition of external circumstances and internal organs. Physical health is by no means essential to such highly tuned moods of personal adjustment: they occur, indeed, most often in convalescence. All we can say for certain is that their unfailing accompaniment is increased self-confidence, increased nervous hope. Something analogous to such obscure events happens at intervals to groups of individuals. The nervous system of millions of people becomes cumula-

tively attuned to a more sensitive mood of receptivity; simultaneously the creative energy of other individuals is similarly enhanced. A sense of communal excitement is engendered, and of communal anticipation.

Can we define the conditions in which, or by which, such an atmosphere of expectancy is produced? Is there, for instance, any common factor traceable between the Renaissance, the age of Shakespeare and the romantic movement? Common factor in which can account for all Great Epochs the heightened nervous energy so apparent at these epochs? Surely such a common factor is to be found primarily in a wide-spread sense of opportunity coupled with a wide-spread belief in the capacity of the age to grasp that opportunity. The eighteenth century had an overweening sense of capacity but no very deep sense of opportunity; we, to-day, have a very deep sense of opportunity but no very confident sense of capacity. What makes an epoch is the simultaneous sense of both, working on, or more usually against, an established tradition. The romantics possessed this simultaneous sense, and it is this which accounts for their sweep and fervour. In all such movements, moreover, something happens to release the energy accumulated. In the Renaissance this event was the rediscovery of Greek, in the Elizabethan age it was the discovery of the new world, in the romantic movement it was the revival of personality.

Some indication has now been given of the circumstances which inspired the romantic movement and the reasons which caused that movement to take so definite a form, but some recapitulation and expansion is desirable. There are two questions which have to be answered: First, why did the romantic movement, in all branches of human activity, take so definite a form? And what was that form? Secondly, why was it inspired by so universal a passion? What was the nature of the wide-spread enthusiasm which ensured its success?

We will take the formal side first. The 'age of refinement' had elaborated a set of conventions which by 1750 had become

outworn and spiritless. Under these regulations reason, good sense and good behaviour were more important than imagination, sensibility or adventure. The rigid oligarchy of this polite age disliked all common subjects or common expressions; it disliked all shocks, surprises or violence; it disliked the improbable, the unnatural or the disturbing; it created a drawing-room atmosphere in which well dressed people discussed polite subjects in elegant language and, above all, forbore to talk about themselves. 'Everything,' wrote Boileau, 'should lead to good sense.' 'Le moi,' they exclaimed, 'est haïssable.' 'The intelligence,' wrote Boileau again, 'is not moved by what it cannot believe.'

By 1750 all these tenets had become not only wearisome but detestable. It was inevitable that romanticism when it arrived should concentrate on destroying the old conventions and that its development should be profoundly affected by

this destructive mania. The method of the early romantics was, in fact, that of violent contradiction. Feeling, they said, was more important than intellect, emotion than good sense, imagination than reason, instinct than culture: to them the uncivilized was more attractive than the civilized, the wild more inspiring than the tame, the improbable more interesting than the probable. They reacted violently against the drawing-room atmosphere; they shouted, they used common expressions, they talked of vulgar subjects, they stamped on the Aubusson carpets with their muddied boots. Society was hateful to them, they would escape into the solitude of untamed countries. The fashionable Reaction against convention was hateful to them, they would seek the exotic, the medieval, the prehistoric past. They would cultivate the energy, the simplicity, the tenderness and the elemental passions of the noble savage. They would find beauty in everything that was most unlike Berkeley Square or the Rue de Varennes; they would sob quietly to themselves about simple, tender subjects; they would indulge in unimaginable passions, in far-fetched vices, in the lure of the spectral and the ghostly. They would defy all traditions and embrace all novelties. They were young, and active, and free. They had fierce eyes and disordered hair, and emphatic gestures. They wept scalding tears; they rushed about kicking over traces which, as a matter of fact, had long ceased to exist. In their loathing of convention they came to loathe all discipline and all control; and in the end, as happens in such cases, they repudiated self-control itself.

The passionate fervour with which romanticism proclaimed that everything was interesting except the eighteenth century accounts for its widely inclusive quality, for the fact that it was able to sweep into its vortex such contradictory elements as Wordsworth and Byron, Lamartine and Schiller, Tom Moore and Shelley; that such things as Fonthill Abbey, and Kubla Khan, and 'We are seven' should all be recognizably romantic. It may, indeed, appear far-fetched to contend that there is such a thing as a



**AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY 'THRILLER'**  
The ultra-romantics revelled in the blood-curdling novels of Matthew Gregory Lewis. An illustration from *The Monk*, published in 1795, gives the melodramatic type of incident popularised by Lewis, thenceforth nicknamed 'Monk.'

British Museum

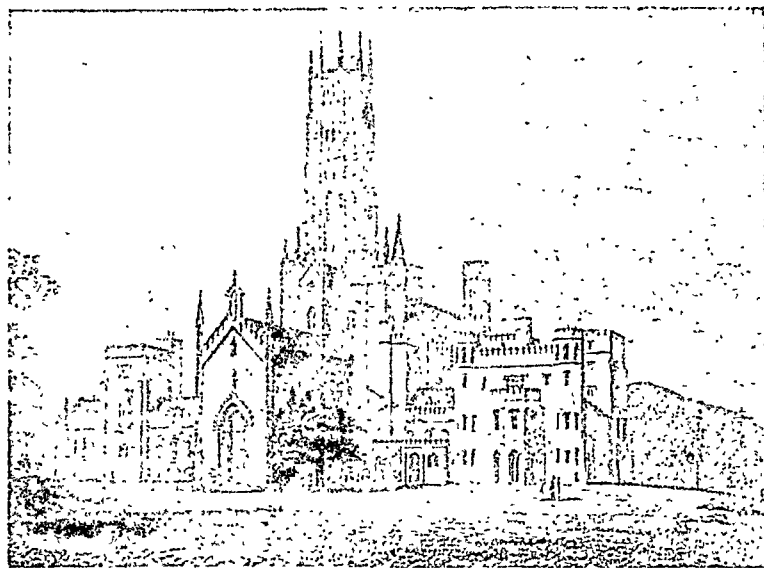


definite form or method in a movement the very essence of which was formless and unmethodical. And yet in all expressions of romanticism there exists a recognizable similarity of form and aspect. The wine of the romantic movement affected various temperaments in various ways; some became violent, some gloomy, some sentimental and some merely egoistic; but at least they all became drunk, and the symptom of their intoxication is a suspension of self-criticism, a tendency to allow full play to their violence, their gloom, their sentimentality or their egoism undeterred by any undue consideration for reason.

All this may explain the immediate success of romanticism and the excitement which it aroused. It does not explain, however, why the romantic movement was so valuable a revulsion,

or why the excitement it engendered was so important and so profound. To understand the significance of romanticism one must go below the surface and endeavour to discover the essential spirit by which it was animated and inflamed. This spirit was that peculiar form of individualism which may be called 'the liberation of personality.'

The age of reason had conceived of every individual as part of an organic society. This society was supposed to be based on order and symmetry and directed by intellect; in practice it was based on indifference assuming certain stereotyped shapes and directed from Paris or London by a caste of well bred gentlemen and ladies; people were told exactly how they were to behave, to think and to feel. So long as the dictators were respected the public conformed; but after 1715 the dictators were not respected and a vague restlessness seized upon Europe. There arose a hankering after the 'return to nature,' or in other



NEO-GOTHIC MANSION IN 1823

The English architect James Wyatt (1746-1813) forsook classic models to make architectural experiments in the Gothic style. His most notorious achievement was this artificial Gothic abbey of Fonthill in Wiltshire, built as a residence for Beckford, author of *Vathek*. The tower collapsed in 1825.

*Drawn and engraved by T. Hingham*

words a dislike of the domination of culture; there arose a hankering after distant and uncivilized epochs, after exotic and uncivilized countries; there was, in a word, a very wide-spread resentment of cultured society. Rousseau was able to give to this vague restlessness a very sudden and definite propulsion, to give to 'sensibility,' or rather to the 'sense of self,' a justification not only logical but moral. To millions of people his doctrine came as a stroke of liberation. From that moment people began to feel that it was no longer 'incorrect' to exploit one's own personality, but that it was a moral duty to do so. The effect of Rousseau's main doctrine is comparable only to that of the Reformation. A sudden wave of enthusiasm and relief passed across the civilized world.

Having established that the individual was more important than society, in itself a questionable doctrine, Rousseau was logically obliged to contend that any single individual was as important as any other. He was thus led to believe that those qualities which in practice differentiate individuals from each other, such as intellect, reason and virtue, were less important than those qualities, such as feeling and passion, which the majority of individuals possess in comparatively



equal shares. Rousseau's doctrines were one of the main causes of the French Revolution and of its inevitable corollary, Napoleonism; the progress of romanticism in France was thereby checked for some forty years and the disillusion and dismay created abroad by the excesses of the revolutionary period did much to damp the initial rapture. But Rousseau's essential discovery of personality remained intrinsically unaffected, and the second bloom of romanticism was scarcely less important than the first.

Such, then, are the main principles and causes of the romantic movement, and such the main constituents of its methods and inspiration. Superficially you have a violent reaction against conventional form, analogous to the earlier reaction against the formal design in gardens. Less superficially you have the liberation of personality, with the stronger emphasis thereby thrown upon seclusion and adventure, daring and sensibility, the passionate and the tender. It must now be shown how in Europe and America these principles actually developed and how the original tenets of romanticism were



## S U M M E R.

**F**ROM yonder fields of ether fair disclos'd,  
Child of the Sun! illustrious *Summer* comes  
In pride of youth, and felt thro' Nature's  
[depth.  
He comes, attended by the fultry *Hours*,  
And ever-fanning *Breezes*, on his way; 5  
While, from his ardent look, the turning *Spring*  
Averts her blushful face; and earth, and skies,  
All-smiling, to his hot dominion leaves.

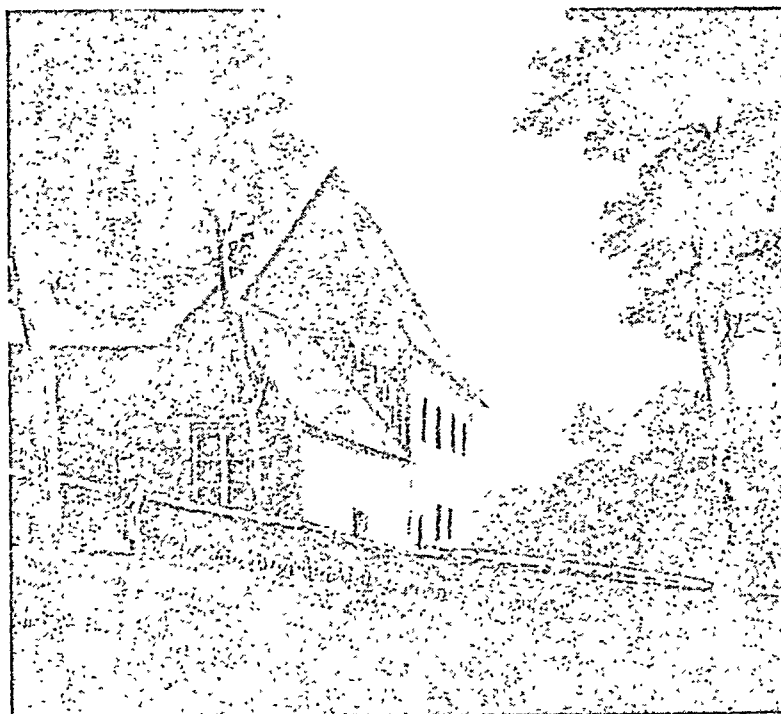
### A Hence, PIONEER OF ROMANTICISTS

Nature was the central theme of *The Seasons* (1730) and their author, James Thomson, was the first to challenge the artificiality of the works of Pope and Cowley. Thomson wrote in blank verse as seen in this page from his *Summer*.

*British Museum*

changed and weakened as the movement progressed. The more immediate effect was expressed in literature, and it was primarily through literature that art, music, architecture and politics caught the infection. It is thus the romantic movement in literature which must first be examined.

The year 1760 has been taken as the birth-year of the romantic movement, since it was in that year that romanticism first became self-conscious and began to move. The germs of romanticism are first noticeable, however, in England, and



ROMANTIC RETREAT OF ROUSSEAU

Rousseau became associated with Madame de Warens about 1728, and in 1736, partly for the sake of his health, she took this house, Les Charmettes, near Chambéry. Rousseau has described the life here in his *Confessions* which constitute one of the most charming remains of the literary originator of sentimentalism.

*Lithograph by C. de Last after Lameau*

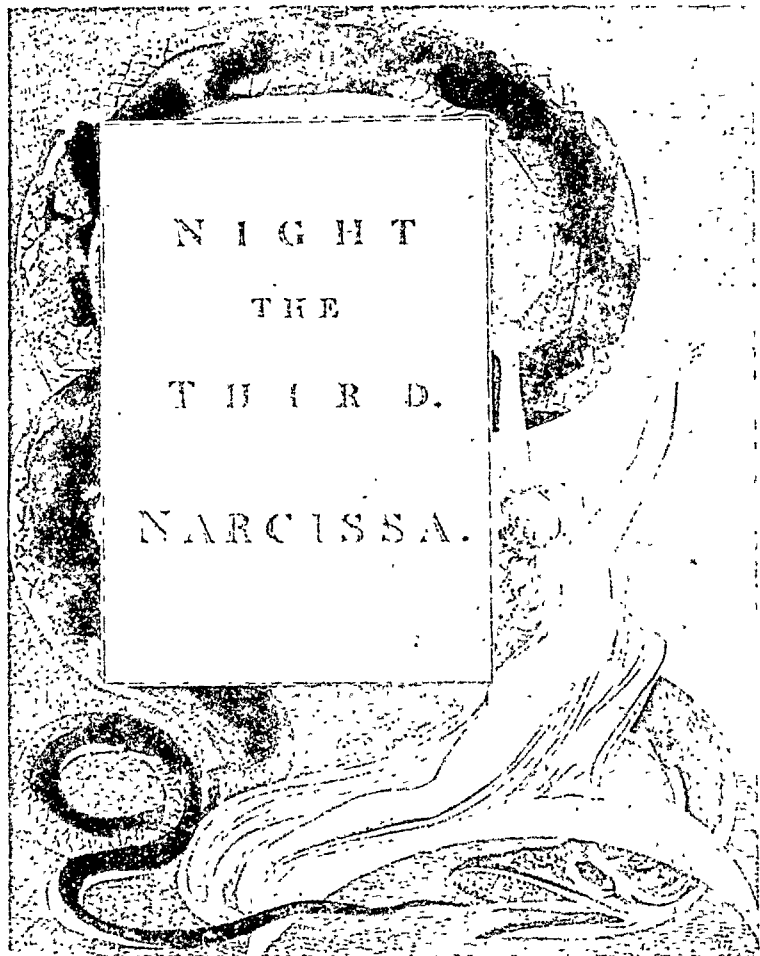
in the year 1726. It was in March of that year that James Thomson published his *Winter* in a folio pamphlet and achieved considerable success. Four years later he had completed *Summer* and *Autumn*, and the full *Seasons* was published in 1730. Thomson was a chubby, gentle little man, with a fine ear for melody, an instinctive dislike of the lucid, an equally instinctive preference for the indistinct, and a marked love

Of dreams that wave before the half-shut eye;  
And of gay castles in the clouds that pass,  
For ever flashing round a summer sky.

It is strange that so gay and unassuming a man, a man whose chief pleasure was to lie on his back eating Lady Hertford's apricots and thinking affectionately about rabbits, should have actually been the precursor of something so virile and violent as the romantic movement. But Thomson did in fact popularise 'sensibility,' and he did in fact re-discover the direct or 'pure' enjoyment of nature, the appreciation of natural objects as such. The cult of sensibility, the reaction against the meticulous intellectualism of the age, received further encouragement from the appearance in 1742 of the *Night Thoughts* of the Rev. Edward Young. These sententious iambics of a worldly, disagreeable and disappointed man of sixty made a direct appeal to the increasing pessimism of the age, and exerted a distinct influence in France, where they were made known through the agency of Voltaire. Thomas Gray follows with the famous *Elegy* of 1751, a poem which, both in form and content, is the very essence of sensibility. The same note is echoed in Collins, whose *Odes* had already appeared in 1746. The leaders of the elegiac school in English poetry had thus by 1750

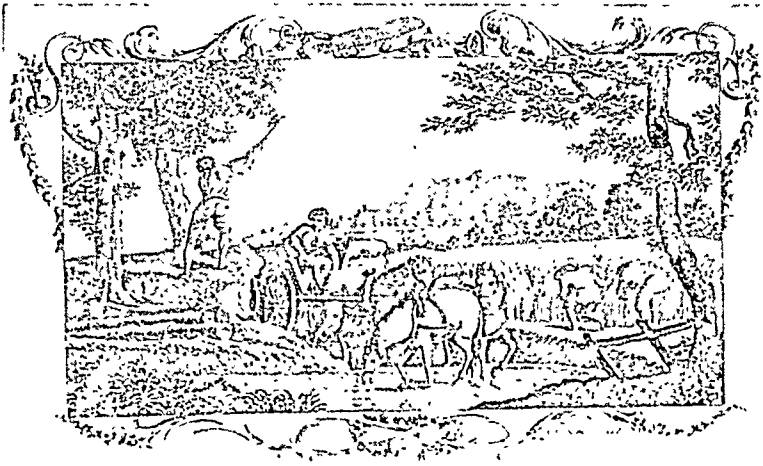
already created a desire for 'a return to nature,' a distaste for the mechanical brilliance of the classic convention, a liking for half-lights and mists and solitude, and a peculiar brand of egoist melancholy. These new feelings had been transported to France, where, at that date, English literature excited considerable interest.

When Rousseau arrived, therefore, sensibility already existed. It had existed for years; it had for long represented the tissue paper in which the intellectuals wrapped their most glittering triumphs. But the English elegists had taught France that sensibility was something more than wadding, had insisted that this wadding was almost interesting in itself. Rousseau, who had the instincts of a journalist, fully realized that people were becoming



BLAKE'S TITLE PAGE TO YOUNG'S *NIGHT THOUGHTS*  
In the advancing reaction against intellectualism, *Night Thoughts*, a poem by Edward Young which appeared in 1742, fostered a morbid taste for 'melancholy and moonlight.' Young's friendship with Voltaire heightened its influence in France. This design for a title page is by William Blake.

British Museum



## E L E G Y

Written in a Country Church Yard.



HE Curfew tolls the knell of parting day,  
The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the lea,  
The plowman homeward plods his weary way,  
And leaves the world to darkness and to me.

### FROM GRAY'S ELEGY IN A CHURCHYARD

Of melancholy and retiring disposition, the poet Thomas Gray (1716-71) was inspired by his contemplation of the churchyard at Stoke Poges to write his immortal *Elegy* in which is mirrored the poet's infinite capacity for feeling. R. Bentley sketched this rural scene preceding the first verse in the 1753 edition.

*British Museum*

more interested in sensibility than in good sense. He proceeded to justify their weakness; he proceeded to tell them that what they had assumed to be regrettable indulgence was, in fact, an act of nobility. It was in this way that he caught their attention. But he did far more than that; he succeeded in convincing them that their feelings were infinitely more important than their thoughts. Rousseau dethroned intelligence, and the ensuing republic lasted for a hundred years. It made muddles, it committed excesses; but on the whole it achieved a vast amount of good. It created the dominance of personality; that is a lesson which, even to-day, when we have again come to believe in intelligence and to suspect emotion, cannot be unlearned.

Rousseau's immediate successors in France, men like Florian, Mercier and Bernadin de St. Pierre, did little more than propagate the peculiar form of sensibility which he had invented.

Between 1760 and 1780 Rousseauism became the settled habit of mind among the French governing classes; they ceased to believe in their own caste or system, they relaxed their hold, and the Revolution was the result. The Revolution, as has been suggested, produced a temporary reaction against romanticism, and the main current of the movement flowed again to England. It is to England, therefore, that we must now return.

Rousseau popularised the conception that the individual was detached from, and, indeed, antagonistic to, the society of which he formed a part. This conception led to 'the revival of personality'; it expressed itself in two main tendencies: first a desire to destroy existing society, and secondly a desire to escape from existing society. The former tendency accounts for the violence of the romantic movement, for the element of revolt; the latter for the

gentleness of the romantic movement, for the element of withdrawal or escape. It is this latter tendency which is the most important. It produced such diverse elements as sensibility, the love of solitude, the cult of the supernatural, the taste for remoter civilizations and exotic countries, the passion for the mists of imprecision, the invention of the 'noble savage,' and the 'villain-hero' and predominantly the revival of lyricism and the lyrical interpretation of nature. We have already seen how sensibility, the love of solitude, the subjective appreciation of nature, such as we first find them in Thomson, Young, Gray and Collins, were elaborated by Rousseau into a highly infectious theory. The next stage in the escape from society took the form not of a withdrawal of the individual within himself, but of an escape from existing civilization to the civilization of a vaguer and less lucid past. This tendency also originated in England and accounts for

that, to us, incredible malady known as Ossianism.

In 1762 James Macpherson, of Kingussie, published *Fingal*, an epic poem in six books, which he claimed to have translated from the Gaelic of Ossian, the son of Fingal. Macpherson's Ossian, although not so complete a forgery as was at one time supposed, was essentially an imposture. It seems unbelievable that his turgid, misty bombast, his declamatory prose relapsing in every paragraph into broken hexameters, should have exercised so vast an influence in England and the Continent, and have affected profoundly such different temperaments as Goethe, Napoleon, Herder, Chateaubriand and George Sand. A more sincere and scholarly writer was Thomas Percy, bishop of Dromore, who in 1765 published his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, by which Sir Walter Scott was deeply affected and inspired. A further pioneer in the revival of forgotten poetry was Thomas Warton, whose *History of English Poetry*, with its copious extracts from Chaucer and Spenser, appeared in instalments until 1781. Nothing could be more



COWPER THE NATURE POET

The love of nature displayed in Thomson's work is as clearly and more sincerely evinced in the poetry of William Cowper (1731-1800), author of *The Task*. He turned to poetry when over 50 as a relief from melancholia that verged on madness.

Engraving by Stocks after Romney

# F I N G A L,

A N

## ANCIENT EPIC POEM,

In S I X B O O K S:

Together with several other POEMS, composed by

OSSIAN the Son of FINGAL.

Translated from the GALIC LANGUAGE,

By JAMES MACPHERSON.

*Fortis fides parum.*

VIRGIL.



L O N D O N:

Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT, in the Strand.

M DCC LXII.

### MACPHERSON'S OSSIAN

Controversy raged around the authenticity of *Fingal*, the epic poem published in 1762 by the Scot, James Macpherson, and purporting to be a translation from Ossian. In any event, the work exercised great contemporary influence.

*Title page of second edition, 1762*

striking than the contrast between Warton's history, with its repudiation of classical convention and its insistence on 'pure' poetry, and Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, which appeared in the same year and which insisted on the element of cultivated good sense. Johnson represents the last word of the old theory of criticism, Warton the first of the new.

These influences spread rapidly out from England into Europe. It must be remembered that in those days Continental opinion, owing to the long-established popularity of books like *Pamela* and *Clarissa Harlowe* and the works of Sterne, was far more receptive of English literature than it is to-day. Sensibility and Ossianism both originated in England, and they form two of the main elements in all the early romantic movement. In 1780, however, the main current of romanticism shifted to Germany. In England there was

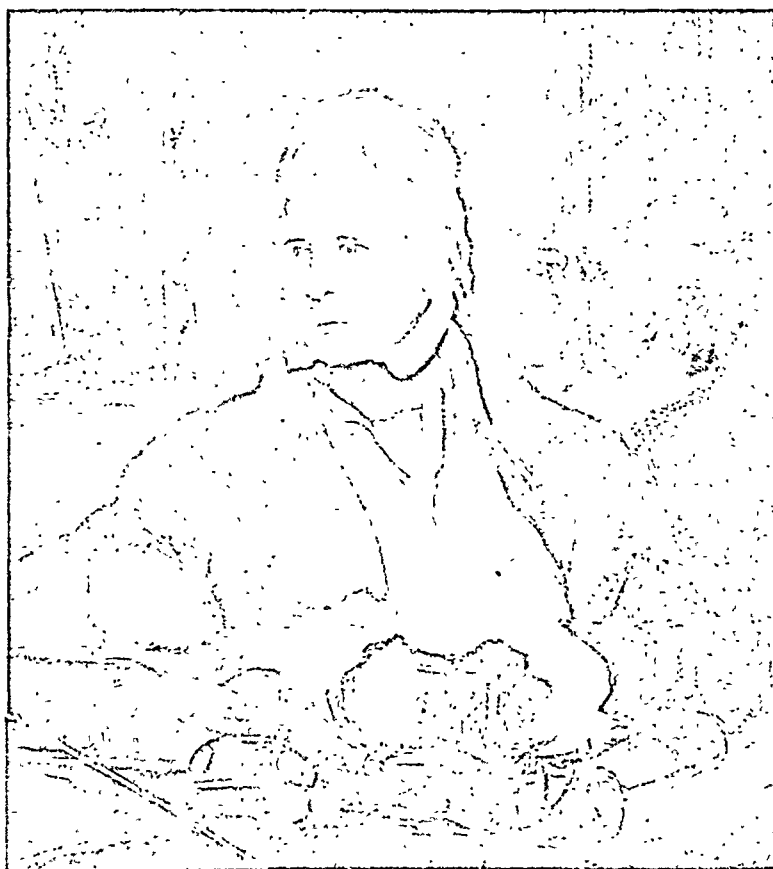
Cowper, that admirable poet who did so much to strengthen the 'nature poetry' introduced by Thomson; and then there was an apparent (though only apparent) reaction to classicism under Crabbe, Rogers and Campbell. Lyrical Ballads, it is true, appeared in 1798, but its influence abroad was negligible for thirty years. It is not until we reach the period of Byron and Scott that we find English literature again in the forefront of the romantic movement. The dominant influence from 1780 to 1815 was German.

The romantic movement in Germany differed in three important respects from that in France and England. In the first place it was predominantly nationalist, it was primarily a revolt against French culture in favour of the forgotten literature of Germany itself. In the second place it was, at least in its earlier stages, backed by no solid body of public opinion, but remained rather the doctrine of a few

intellectuals. And in the third place its outlines were blurred by the concurrent Hellenistic movement started by such men as Lessing and Winckelmann. Its influence, none the less, was profound. You have first the revival of old folk song and ballad with Herder and Burger. You have then the reaction against established order which inspires the Goethe of *Gotz von Berlichingen* (1773) and the Schiller of *Die Räuber* (1781). You have then the 'Sturm und Drang' giving way to 'Empfindsamkeit,' the supremely important *Sorrows of Werther* in 1774; and then you have Goethe's visit to Italy, his reaction against Wertherism, his increasing desire to reach some higher and more sensible adjustment of classic and romantic ideals. Goethe's repudiation of, or rather his aloofness from, the narrower doctrines of romanticism in its turn affected Schiller, as, for instance, in the *Eleusische Fest*, and German romanticism thereafter

fell into the hands of lesser men, such as the two Schlegels, Tieck, Novalis, Kotzebue, Hoffmann, Kerner and Uhland.

It is not possible here to trace in detail the course of German romanticism from the day of its birth to the day when it withered under the shrill laughter of Heine. It is important, however, to define what were the two most important and original contributions of Germany to the romantic movement as a whole. The first was 'Wertherism,' which made despair fashionable and created the *mal de siècle* as subsequently depicted in *René* and *Childe Harold*. The second was transcendentalism whereby the emotional egoism of Rousseau was, in the hands of Kant, moulded into a stern individualism, and whereby the vague nature worship of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* was elaborated by Fichte into the theory of the real and the ideal, and whereby art, as the expression of the ideal, assumed the part which nature



'FATHER OF HISTORICAL ROMANCE'

Author of a series of prose romances that breathed life into national history Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) opened a new epoch in English literature with his *Waverley* novels, the first of which appeared in 1814. Landseer painted the impressive portrait of this man who combined genius with a lovable modesty.

National Portrait Gallery, London

had played in the earlier romantic system. Romanticism was in this way both aestheticised and intellectualised; the first tendency produced such developments as Keats, Tennyson, the French Parnassiens, and the eighteen-nineties in England; the second gives us romanticism as we know it to-day.

Transcendentalism, the essential factor in modern romanticism, marks a later stage. Wertherism, however, marks the transition between Rousseau and Chateaubriand. The main characteristics of the emotional egoism popularised by Rousseau were a belief in the perfectibility of the average individual, and a somewhat vapid and all-pervading optimism. Goethe did not share this optimism; the intellectual, he realized, was discredited as a member of society; he should withdraw into himself, he should be the protagonist of his own emotions. Werther was the child of sensibility, but he was the father of René. In Chateaubriand the optimism of Rousseau had been quenched by the Revolution; the egoism of Rousseau remained. René is as self-conscious as even Jean Jacques would have wished, but Chactas, the noble savage, has received a very thorough education in Europe. René has no illusions regarding the perfectibility of the human race; he is merely 'possessed by the demon of his own heart'—he rushes in the hurricane among the storm-shattered pines, carrying in his soul 'that strange illness which was nowhere and yet which was all-pervading.' He thought continuously about 'the abyss of his existence,' he sobbed frequently when confronted either by the grandeur of nature or the simplicity of characters less neurotic than his own. Childe Harold, that 'man of loneliness and mystery,' was equally obsessed by his own importance. It is certain that Byron was immensely influenced by René, although Chateaubriand is only twice mentioned



VICOMTE DE CHATEAUBRIAND

The spell of romance captured Chateaubriand (1768-1848), brilliant and emotional writer of French prose. He made his name in 1800 with *Atala*, a love story. Painting by Girodet.

*Musée de Versailles; photo, Giraudon*

either in his verse or letters. And Byron, that incomparable sensation-alist, set the tone. Childe Harold dominated Europe until Don Juan made him look foolish. The later Byron killed the earlier Byron as surely as Heine killed Tieck.

After Byron, after Scott, came the second bloom of romanticism. We have Hugo with his crackling antithesis, his pictorial method, his broad splashes of local colour. But we also have Lamartine, a gentler Shelley, and we have de Vigny, the inspired



GEORGE GORDON LORD BYRON

Both beauty and bitterness inspired the unconventional poems of Byron (1788-1824), which had an immense vogue on the Continent. Count d'Orsay's drawing was made a year before the poet's untimely death (see page 4262).

*British Museum*



#### DISCIPLES OF ROMANTICISM IN ITALY AND RUSSIA

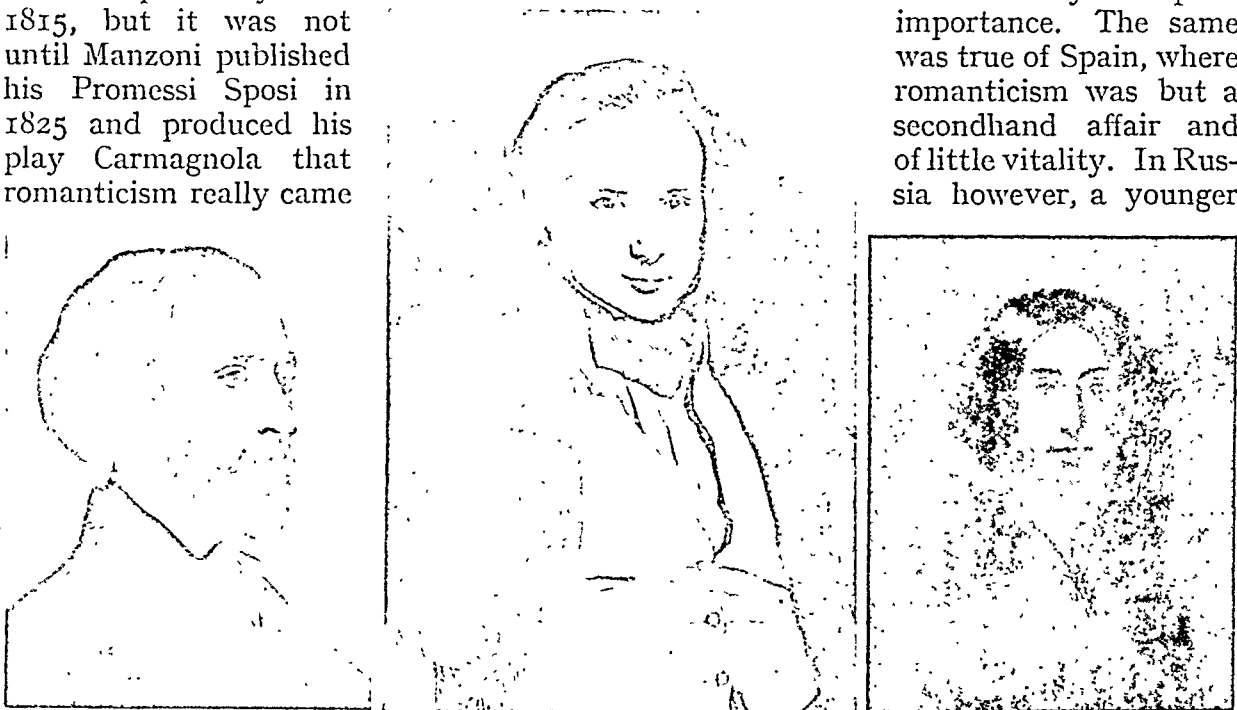
The writings of the Italian poet Alessandro Manzoni (left) popularised the anti-classical movement in his country, and his historical novel *I Promessi Sposi* brought him immediate fame. Byronic influence contributed to the work of Alexander Pushkin (centre, painted by W. Tropinin), famous in Russian literature as the author of *Eugene Onegin*. Right, Nikolai Vassilievitch Gogol (1809–52), a compatriot of Pushkin, whose *Dead Souls* is a brilliant presentation of Russian life.

pessimist. We have other romantics as important as de Musset and George Sand, and the reaction implicit in Stendhal.

In other countries the movement was more derivative. In Italy the romantic movement produced only one man of incontestable talent, and Alfieri was essentially a classic. The Byron mania descended upon Italy after 1815, but it was not until Manzoni published his *Promessi Sposi* in 1825 and produced his play *Carmagnola* that romanticism really came

into fashion. Manzoni's successors, such as Pellico, were uninteresting; Leopardi, it is true, revived the dyspeptic pessimism of Childe Harold, but he came too late. Italy adopted the manner, but missed the April enthusiasm, of the romantic movement. It was not till Carducci and the early d'Annunzio that Italian literature

assumed any European importance. The same was true of Spain, where romanticism was but a secondhand affair and of little vitality. In Russia however, a younger



#### BRILLIANT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

The publication in 1831 of a medieval tale, *Notre Dame de Paris*, secured the recognition of Victor Hugo (centre, after Deveria, dated 1820) as an eminent romantic writer. Left: a painting by Charles Landelle shows Alfred de Musset (1810–57), who excelled as poet and dramatist, at the age of forty-five. His liaison with Armandine Dudevant, herself a famous novelist under the pen name of George Sand (right), is described in her novel *Elle et Lui*.

*Left, the Louvre (photo, Giraudon), and, right, Musée Carnavalet (photo, Bulloz)*





EDGAR ALLAN POE

Romanticism incarnate entered America with the symbolism of Edgar Allan Poe (1809-49), author of fantastic tales and morbid poems. His melancholy temperament is reflected in this life-like portrait from a daguerreotype.

country, the influence of romanticism, or rather of Byron, was essentially productive. Pushkin's Eugene Onegin appeared in 1828, and Lermontov, who was essentially romantic, flourished between 1831-1841. Far more important to Russian literature was the work of Gogol, whose *Dead Souls* of 1837 proved the foundation of the naturalist school, of Turgenev and of the Russian novel as we know it to-day.

In America the romantic movement in literature ran a somewhat curious course. During the earlier phase of romanticism Americans were too occupied with their own independence to pay much attention to literature, nor can the poetry of Philip Freneau or Joseph Hopkinson or Timothy Dwight claim to possess more than an historical interest. The atmosphere was in itself unfavourable, and remained so for several years; there was no metropolitan centre, no homogeneous body of educated opinion. Such literary interest as existed was of a regional nature, and even as such it had to seek for its tradition abroad. It is not surprising, therefore, that until the advent of Washington

Irving, Fenimore Cooper and William Bryant American literature was imitative rather than original.

The essential contribution of these three writers to the romantic movement was that they were able to treat with direct knowledge and with high spiritual simplicity those very themes which the continental romanticists had exploited without much sincerity and with comparative ignorance. Irving, it is true, spent much of his life abroad, and was thereby able to write without a taint of provincialism; but he is none the less essentially American, giving to American romanticism at once its sturdy simplicity and that homesickness for tradition which has characterised so large a portion of American literature since his day. Cooper, who was widely read on two continents, described with singular purity and directness the epic of the early settlers; and Bryant, half eighteenth century and half Wordsworth, was able, in his shy and retiring verses, to reflect the sensations of awe inspired by nature at her most cosmic and most primitive, and to treat of these emotions with puritan directness and serenity.



WASHINGTON IRVING

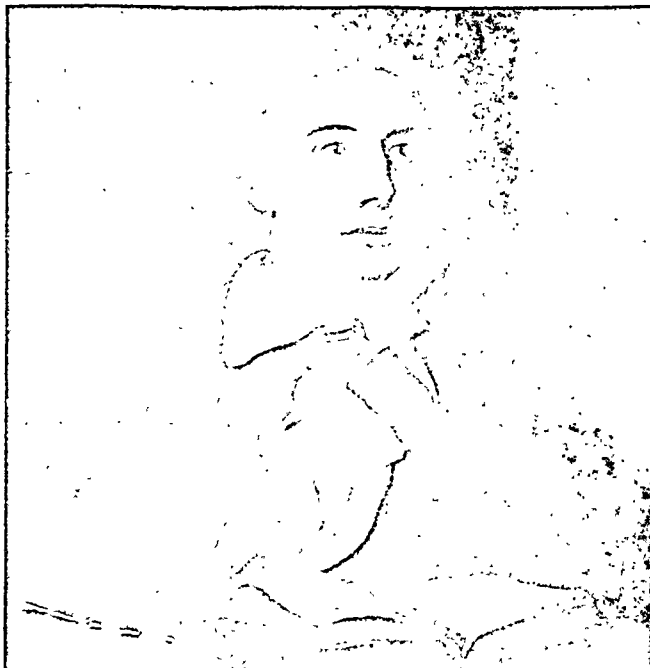
The appeal of the romantic past greatly influenced the American author, Washington Irving (1783-1859), in whose writings there is much humour and originality. This likeness is taken from a daguerreotype in the possession of his family.

For those, indeed, who regard romanticism primarily as a malady of the nerves, it might appear that until the advent of



Edgar Allan Poe there was no such thing as American romanticism, so wholesome, so calm, so reasonable were the writers of the period. Poe broke the spell of sentimental complacency which assailed American literature after 1835; he was able to give to the 'tale of horror' introduced by Mrs. Radcliffe and Monk Lewis a far more subtle application; for Poe invented symbolism, and thus stands not only as the master of Baudelaire, but as the inspirer of a whole school of modern French, and thus of European, poetry. It is strange that the only pure romantic whom America produced (since Longfellow was essentially a Victorian, and Whitman romantic only in a specialised sense) should have concurrently been the pioneer of the symbolist school popularised by Baudelaire.

The romantic movement in literature has now been traced from its early origins to the verge of its decline. It has been shown how about 1750 the taste of Europe came to revolt against the intellectual discipline of the age of reason, how in repudiating intellectual conventions they repudiated intellect itself; how the sensibility of 1750 was exploited under



#### LOVERS OF BEAUTY WHOSE POEMS ENRICHED ENGLISH LITERATURE

The romantic movement left an indelible mark on English literature in the exquisite simplicity of the poems of William Wordsworth (top). Left: John Keats (1795-1821), inspired by the ideals of ancient Greece, loved beauty with an artist's fervour, and in his poetry diverged from the more exotic utterances of earlier romanticists. The sheer lyrical beauty given to the world by Percy Bysshe Shelley (right) was born of a soaring imagination that repudiated the movement of which he was part.

*Top, after Henry W. Pickersgill; lower National Portrait Gallery, London*

Rousseau into a form of emotional egoism which, on losing its optimism, became the poetry of despair; how dislike of the conventional led to the search after the unusual, the remote, the supernatural, the exotic, the startling; how dislike of society and metropolitan cliques led to the worship of solitude, of nature, of the primitive passions and emotions; how 'le moi est haïssable' turned into 'l'étalage du moi'; how all this was inspired and co-ordinated by a revivalist enthusiasm, centred around the revival of personality; and how each of these tendencies produced literature of the highest order—Werther and Shelley, Lamartine and Wordsworth, de Vigny and Edgar Allan Poe. The romantic movement with all its virtues was, however, essentially destructive, and it lost its impetus when there remained nothing to destroy. Having imposed itself as a heresy, romanticism had not sufficient logical basis to maintain itself as a doctrine. It was repudiated by the greatest of its leaders—by Goethe, by Byron, implicitly even by Shelley. The German transcendentalists,

being too intelligent to dis-  
 The movement believe in reason, evolved  
 runs its course the theory of the ideal,  
 which rapidly developed  
 into the theory of art for art's sake. Keats, proceeding from a different standpoint, reacted against adventure in favour of aestheticism. Then came the Victorians; literature was captured by the bourgeoisie; once more people wished to be soothed rather than excited; a fog of home life blurred the rocks and pinnacles of romanticism, and the romantic movement by 1840 was already dying. But it had accomplished its work: it had given England Shelley, Wordsworth and Scott; it had given France Lamartine, de Vigny and Hugo; it gave Germany a national literature; it educated Russia and America. Even to-day it survives in our acceptance of enterprise; perhaps its most durable achievement is that it has made us all believe in individualism.

The romantic movement was essentially a literary movement; it was primarily through literature that it affected architecture, painting and music. In architecture this literary attitude was particularly unfortunate, since it led men to treat

styles as symbols and to revive both the Gothic and the classic artificially and therefore insincerely. The false antiquarianism of the romantic movement induced architects to pay too great an attention to detail, and to neglect considerations of shape and proportion, which are the essentials of their art. The element of surprise also, on which the romanticists were so insistent, is not a thing which blends happily with so static an art as architecture. In no branch of human activity was romanticism so destructive and so fatal as in that of building.

In painting, which lent itself more readily to the romantic formula, the result was less unfortunate. In the first place, the classic 'Romanticism school of painting had de- in painting generated into formalism.

David, it is true, produced Ingres, but he also produced a great many other painters with no particle of Ingres' genius. It was from England that the romantic movement in painting spread to France, but it was not till the salon of 1824 that the importance of Constable first revealed itself to the Parisians. Géricault, it is true, had already exhibited the *Radeau de la Méduse* in 1819, but it was Delacroix, with his substitution of dynamic mass for static silhouette, who really founded the French school of romantic painting. The violence of Delacroix, who himself repudiated all romantic leanings, produced no very durable effect, and the main current of French nineteenth-century painting ran from Constable via the Barbizon school to impressionism. Then came Cézanne and a return to classical impersonality.

In music the development of the romantic movement was on the whole more gradual than in literature and took longer to get into full swing; but the artistic attitude which produced it was based on the desire, typical of the nineteenth century, to steal from poetry some of the artistic 'effects' which poets had for so long considered as belonging exclusively to their own art. In other words, the composers of the romantic movement aspired to communicate particular emotions and suites of emotions in their music, instead of being content,

as the composers from Bach to Beethoven had for the most part been, to regard music as an 'abstract' art.

The origins of romantic music are not hard to trace. Perhaps the first definite examples are the early seventeenth-century Italian madrigals and music dramas, especially those of Monteverdi, that early prototype of Wagner, where the music is clearly designed to express the emotion of the words and follows every shade of feeling with extraordinary subtlety. To find anything like this interdependence of words and music one must make a straight leap to the Lieder of Schubert, Schumann and Hugo Wolf.

In the eighteenth century music was in every respect severely classical and 'abstract,' finding its perfect expression in the works of Mozart. The only obvious hint of the coming change was the Organ Concerto of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710-84), the eldest son of Johann Sebastian, a portentous work with passages of beauty, in which the classical form has been greatly relaxed in the interests of a childishly pretentious romanticism. This work may be considered as the counterpart of the sham-ruin type of poetry that came into vogue about 1760.

It is customary to regard Beethoven as the link between classicism and romanticism in music, but the reasons for this are not particularly good. Except in the case

of the Pastoral Symphony, the 'Les Adieux' sonata, and one or two smaller works, Beethoven avowed no 'programme' at all and the forms of his works are as classical as possible. It has been suggested that the later string quartets are incomprehensible except on the ground of an implicit 'programme'; but, however this may be, it is chiefly in the domain of harmony that he set the example to the composers who were to follow him. Chords of the diminished seventh and of the ninth, sequences of thirds and of sixths (later indulged in so freely by Brahms, another composer who 'thought' romantically in a classical mould), these are the chief signs in Beethoven of the coming romanticism.

After Beethoven opera and symphonic music grew closer together, as a result of the pursuit of 'expression,' which ruled over composition. Thus many of Schubert's songs might be taken for operatic arias, in which the voice line has a definitely rhetorical, 'expressive' character, as distinguished from the purely lyrical melody of a Mozart song or of others by Schubert himself. Early romantic opera is represented by Weber (whose *Der Freischütz* is the best example of romantic harmony and feeling infused into the old system of recitative and aria which obtained until the Wagnerian revolution) and various smaller fry, such as Lortzing (composer of *Undine*, 1845) and Marschner (composer of *Der Vampyr*,



**MASTERS OF MUSIC IN WHOM THE ROMANTIC SPIRIT FOUND EXPRESSION**

The musical compositions of Johannes Brahms (left, after C. Miersch) represent the highest stage of development reached by the classic school, yet even he resorted to romantic harmonies. There is great depth of feeling in the songs written by Franz Peter Schubert (centre, by Jager), the prolific genius who also composed operas, church music, and symphonies. Carl Weber (right, by Knäbig), composer of early romantic opera, links the greatest traditions of classic and modern.



WILHELM RICHARD WAGNER

Wilhelm Richard Wagner (1813-83), here shown in middle life, holds high place among composers of music. He is famous for his powerful operas, and his influence on the spread of musical romanticism has been incalculable.

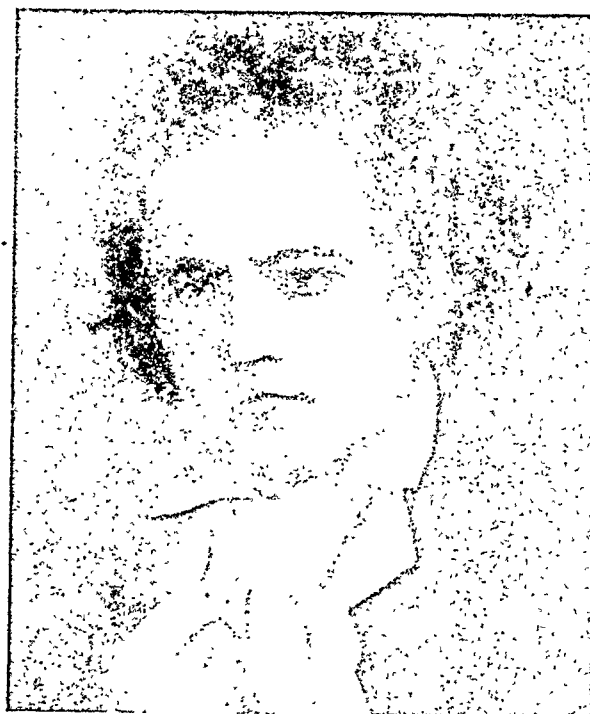
1828, and of Hans Heiling, 1833). If we except Chopin and Schumann, who, though definitely romantic, seem to form classes by themselves—perfect in their way, but seldom profound and always inferior to the greatest—the extreme examples of romantic composer are undoubtedly Berlioz, Liszt and Wagner.

The first of these was a genius of the greatest originality, but possessed of little or no self-criticism, with the result that his works—of which the best known are the *Fantastic Symphony*, the *Romeo and Juliet Symphony*, the *Requiem*, the dramatic oratorio *The Damnation of Faust*, and the opera *Les Troyens*—are almost all unequal in interest, chaotic in form and occasionally (as with all romantics) absurd in their striving after the grandiose in emotion. With Berlioz programme music—the telling of a definite 'story' in music—first saw the light, to be developed later by Liszt and finally killed by Richard Strauss, whose *Ein Heldenleben* may be regarded as the 'ne plus ultra' in this kind.

It is impossible to do more than indicate the broad lines along which romantic music progressed; but it may be perti-

nent to observe that as the nineteenth century wore on the tendency to force music to usurp the place of literature became more and more pronounced. The waterfalls, storms, falling leaves, hunting songs and so forth of Liszt's facile pen were set down and sealed by Wagner, after Beethoven the greatest and most original musical brain of the century. In him may indeed be found all that is best and worst in the romantic attitude towards art—its most stupendous imaginative heights, but also its lowest depths of onomatopoeic absurdity and its worst errors of taste.

The influence of Wagner has been so immense and far-reaching that until recent years composers have been unable (especially in opera, but in symphonic music as well) to prevent themselves from working on his lines, and their music has thus been romantic; but with the rise of Stravinsky, round about 1912, the later music of Schönberg and the contemporary French school a provisional return to the classicism of Mozart has been sketched, and harmony, which had become more and more chromatic under the influence of Wagner, now tends back to the diatonic.



LUDWIG VON BEETHOVEN

The history of nineteenth-century music knows no greater name than that of the German composer Ludwig Von Beethoven (1770-1827). In height and depth of genius he was unsurpassed and he remains supreme as a master of musical harmony.



### DISTRIBUTION OF THE LATIN REPUBLICS IN SOUTH AMERICA

Of the ten republics in South America the largest is Brazil, which covers more than half the continent. To the south of it Argentina, about a third as large, and Bolivia, Uruguay and Paraguay occupy the rest of the land mass between the Andes and the Atlantic; to the north, Colombia, Venezuela and the foreign possessions in Guiana. On the Pacific side, Ecuador, Peru and Chile possess the region west of the Cordillera, a curve of which branches eastward through Colombia and Venezuela.

# THE NEW STATES OF LATIN AMERICA

A Century of independent Development after their  
Emancipation from Spanish and Portuguese Tutelage

By F. A. KIRKPATRICK

Reader in Spanish in the University of Cambridge; Author of *South America and the War*, etc.

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IT has been remarked that four centuries after Columbus Europe and the United States rediscovered Latin America. The epigram covers a truth. Latin America about that time revealed itself in a new sense to the rest of the civilized world. In the field of international affairs the notable part taken by Spanish-American delegates in the Second Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907 was nothing less than a revelation, a discovery of unsuspected culture, intelligence and power of exposition. Yet this was no more than an episode, indeed a tardy episode, in the astonishing development of Latin America during the nineteenth century, a development in every branch of activity, economic, social, political, literary and scientific. The growth of these young communities brought a new factor into Western civilization, a fresh element into the life of mankind. The historic import of this movement cannot be grasped without some knowledge of the physical environment and the earlier conditions of those peoples.

Latin America, exclusive of the French part of Canada with which we are not here concerned, stretches from the southern limit of the United States to Cape Horn, from latitude 32° N. to 56° S. It extends through the tropics, through the south temperate zone and down to rocky cliffs and glaciers which are lashed by Antarctic surges. Latin America abounds in diverse mineral wealth, can furnish all the vegetable products of every climatic zone, and offers suitable places of habitation to men of every race. Its varied physical features are magnificent in their character, in their immensity and in their contrasts:

the longest and, with one exception, the highest mountain range in the world; volcanoes shooting their fires above slopes of perpetual snow even in the central regions of equatorial heat; navigable waters 12,000 feet above sea level; flat, treeless plains of enormous extent; the greatest of virgin forests; the greatest of river systems; a rainless desert, 1,000 miles long, which by its stores of nitrate gives fertility to other lands.

This rich and varied region, which covers considerably more than half of the New World, is divided into twenty republics. The largest and most populous of these, **Distribution of Brazil, which comprises at the Republics** least half the area and at least half the population of South America, is Portuguese in origin and language; the smallest of them, the little island republic of Haiti, is French in tongue; the remaining eighteen have sprung from the Spanish Empire founded by Columbus and his successors. Nine of these eighteen Spanish-speaking republics are in South America, two in the Antilles, seven in the region which stretches in a south-easterly direction from the United States frontier to the Isthmus of Panamá. The maps opposite and in page 4335 show their territorial distribution, and also their position with regard to the mountain systems and the rivers which in great part determine their character and influence the daily lives and occupations of their inhabitants.

It will be seen that Latin America is divided into two unequal parts. The smaller part, the region stretching to the north-west of Panamá, belongs geographically



to the continent of North America ; and the Great Antilles are connected with the same northern system. The larger part consists of the continent of South America. The first of these regions, comprising Mexico and Central America, is traversed by an immense mountain mass, which provides temperate valleys and upland plains within the tropics, and rises yet higher into frigid and inhospitable volcanic peaks. Beneath the mountains, bordering the shores of both oceans, stretch the hot coastal plains, typically tropical in products and in the life of the people. To the great varieties of altitude, climate and character there correspond varieties of occupation and life, from the cattle ranches of northern Mexico to the coffee plantations on the southern hills and the fields of bananas on the coastal plains. Great part of this region has been found suitable for the settlement of white men.

The same is true, in greater degree, of the southern continent. Some of the best and richest parts of that

**Diverse regions of the Continent** continent extend south of the tropic of Capricorn far into the temperate

zone. Moreover even within the tropics nature in many places is kindly and temperate. The whole Atlantic coast is refreshed by the perennial trade winds and is studded, from the estuary of the Amazon southwards, with flourishing cities. Behind these rises the steep edge of the great Brazilian plateau, which borders the coast for 2,000 miles and stretches far into the interior, with a height of 2,000 to 3,000 feet. Great rivers descend northwards from this plateau, through long rapids and cascades, to join the equatorial stream of the Amazon ; to the south the head waters of the Paraná rush down in precipitous falls to the plain. This immense tableland, seamed by deep river valleys and rising into mountain ranges between these valleys, varies much in character ; but it provides, particularly in the southern parts, temperate and productive lands within the tropics, fit for habitation by men of European race.

Again, if one turns to the Pacific coast, there is nothing torrid in the southern tropics. A cool wind, perpetually blowing

from the south, and a cold Antarctic current refresh both land and sea ; and a few miles inland from the shore the towering Andes offer every altitude and almost every climate. The whole character of the continent is determined by this vast chain of the Andes, which stretches for 4,000 miles parallel to the Pacific Ocean, and encloses between its eastern and western heights the lofty plateau of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, from 11,000 to 13,000 feet above sea level. The trade winds sweeping across the continent from the Atlantic, on striking the Eastern Cordillera, are forced upwards and cooled. Thus they shed all their remaining moisture on the great forest which fills the Amazonian valley and which stretches thence southwards along the Paraguay river.

Vast river systems, the Orinoco, the Amazon and the western affluents of the River Plate, fed by these rains and by Andine snows, traverse the whole continent to the Atlantic. On the Pacific side conditions are different ; through southern Peru and northern Chile the rainless nitrate desert stretches for a thousand miles between mountains and sea. North of this desert, through Ecuador and Colombia, the coastal region, here considerably wider, is typically tropical, hot, humid and forest-clad. South of the desert stretches the temperate and fertile region of central Chile ; farther south, in the region of south-west winds, the forests of the Chilean coast are soaked with rain in summer and snow in winter.

For three centuries, from the end of the fifteenth to the early part of the nineteenth, Spain and Portugal each possessed a vast and steadily expanding trans-Atlantic empire. This long **Legacy of the Iberian pioneers** dominion under the two Peninsular monarchies is the background to the modern development of the land ; in those days the foundations were laid of Spanish America and of Portuguese America. Accordingly present conditions cannot be clearly grasped unless certain enduring elements of that earlier work be emphasised.

The intention and method of the Spanish conquistadors differed radically from those of the later English ' planters ' or colonists

farther north. The Spaniards came not to colonise, not to make 'a white man's country,' but to acquire already inhabited lands and win vassals for king and Church. The natives of the West Indian islands were, it is true, exterminated; but on the mainland the efforts at preserving the partly civilized native population of Mexico and of western South America won some success. Thus in the tropical parts of Spanish America to-day the indigenous Indians, many of them living under primitive conditions and speaking various native tongues, outnumber the whites. The peasantry is mainly Indian, and there is a large population of mestizos or people of mixed blood, besides some negro admixture in the coastal plains where slavery formerly prevailed.

In the southern temperate parts of the continent conditions were different; here the natives were barbarians and inveterate enemies of the whites. The nomad Pampa tribes and the fierce Araucanians of southern Chile were gradually pushed aside and replaced by white settlers, much as the North American Indians melted away before British settlement. Thus, although there was some early absorption of Indian blood, Argentina and Uruguay to-day are mainly European in origin; and in Chile, notwithstanding a visible strain of Araucanian blood among the working population, the European strain prevails.

Thus there are marked ethnological differences between the temperate and the tropical parts of Spanish America, and the mixed origin of the tropical population has been a serious bar to tranquillity and social progress. That difficulty has been in some degree overcome or at least modified by the gradual fusion of races which is now in progress. But the outstanding fact is that the peoples of Latin America, notwithstanding the Iberian impress stamped upon them during three centuries, are not entirely European in origin and character, and that their evolution in our times has no exact parallel elsewhere in the world.

In Brazil the non-European element is mainly not Indian but African, not red but black. The Indian tribes of this tropical coast were savages, mostly

cannibals, always at war with one another. These scanty indigenous peoples decayed or shrank away before the slowly advancing fringe of Portuguese settlement. On the other hand, the Portuguese settlers mixed freely with the Indian women. Thus, although a generation of half-castes sprang up, there was and there is to-day little native Indian peasantry, at least in the centre and the south. On the other hand, tropical conditions and sugar cultivation favoured Black and White negro slavery. Blacks were imported from Africa and soon the whole frame of society rested on slavery. Since the Portuguese felt little repugnance of race or colour, there arose an intermediate population of mulattos, 'people of colour,' freed negroes and their mixed descendants. Meantime the slave trade perpetually added to the negro stock. But since the abolition of the Brazilian slave trade, about 1852, there has been no fresh influx, and immigration adds to the European stock.

Notwithstanding these ethnological admixtures, the enduring work of Spain and Portugal was the Hispanisation or Latinisation of more than half the New World. Just as the greater part of North America bears an Anglo-Saxon stamp which moulds all later immigration, so the rest of the New World bears an enduring Iberian stamp. Language, customs, outlook on life, religion, the general frame and colour of society, however much modified by local conditions, by French and other influences or by various recent immigration from southern and eastern Europe, owe their character in the main to Spain and Portugal.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the authority of the two Peninsular monarchies appeared to be secure. Some disturbances had indeed appeared in the latter part of the eighteenth century; the successful revolt of the British colonies in North America and, still more, the French Revolution found some echo even in tropical America. Indeed, the island of Haiti or Santo Domingo, which had passed from the dominion of Spain to that of France, broke away into a premature and stormy independence under negro chiefs

early in the nineteenth century. Yet Miranda, 'Precursor of Independence' found no support when in 1806-7 he twice attempted to rouse revolution in Venezuela.

In Buenos Aires foreign invasion was the prologue to emancipation. Two British

attempts at conquest in 1806-7 were defeated not by the Spanish authorities but mainly by the action of the municipality, the people and battalions of volunteers. The people of Buenos Aires were thus inspired with a vigorous local sentiment and capacity for further action but they were

in the main loyal subjects who regarded this defence of their own country as being at the same time service to the Spanish king. Thus although materials for change were gathering traditional



FIRST EMPEROR OF BRAZIL

Dom Pedro (1798-1834) son of John VI of Portugal was proclaimed emperor of Brazil in 1822 and on his father's death in 1826 renounced the Portuguese crown in favour of his daughter Maria

*Contemporary engraving*

royal authority still prevailed.

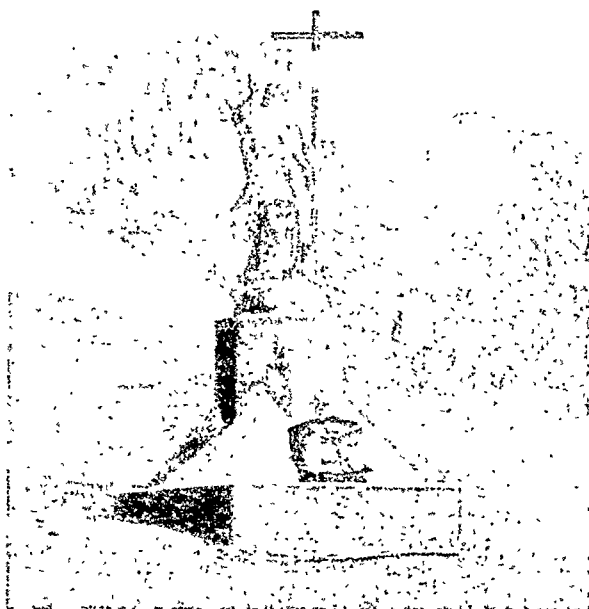
The immediate impulse towards change came from Europe. Napoleon's attempt in 1807-8 to dominate Spain and Portugal provoked resistance not only in Europe but in America, as related in page 4276. In every Spanish-American capital governments were improvised to replace fallen authority and these efforts of local initiative inevitably led to separation from Spain and to the birth of independent states. In Brazil the change was peaceful. Rio became for thirteen years the residence of the Brazilian

court (1808-21), and after the king's return to Lisbon his son Pedro, regent of Brazil, declared himself sovereign of an independent Brazilian monarchy which existed down to 1889.



SAN MARTIN AND O'HIGGINS CROSSING THE ANDES INTO CHILE

In 1817 the Argentine general José de San Martín, accompanied by Bernardo O'Higgins, the Chilean nationalist commander in chief, led an army of Argentines and Chileans from Mendoza across the Andes and by his victories at Chacabuco and the Maipo ended Spain's domination in Chile. This painting of the two generals at the summit of the Andes was presented to the Chilean army by the Argentine government in the centenary celebration.



THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES

No more dramatic boundary mark exists anywhere than this statue of Christ. It stands at Puente del Inca in the Uspallata pass in the very heart of the Andes on the dividing line between Argentina and Chile.

*Photo, F.N.A.*

But in the widely scattered regions of Spanish America emancipation was effected by a long series of destructive conflicts (1810-24), which swept away existing institutions, obliterated authority and let loose on an unstable and agitated society all the forces of barbarism, personal ambition and turbulence. The one link which had held together those scattered dominions, the authority of the Spanish crown, was broken. The fall of monarchy brought disunion, giving play to those separatist, regional and local tendencies which are characteristic of Spaniards. The immense extent and geographical separation of those lands forbade any general union, but need not have prevented grouping into a few large states. However, centrifugal tendencies prevailed, and these diverse provinces finally resolved themselves into the existing republics.

Only in the temperate countries of Buenos Aires and of Chile was the revolution carried through in a fairly tranquil and almost constitutional manner. In these two countries emergency governments were set up in 1810, mainly by municipal action, in resistance to the

French and in support of the Spanish crown. Then the theory of dependence upon Spain was modified and was finally abandoned. In 1816 the congress of Tucumán proclaimed the independence of the 'United Provinces of the River Plate,' the germ of the present-day Argentine Confederation. Thus, except for the attempt to hold or win by armed force the provinces of Paraguay, Uruguay and Upper Peru (now Bolivia), which broke off into three separate republics, Argentina came into existence without the shock of war. And in 1817 San Martín, the Argentine general, was free to lead his liberating army over the lofty Andine passes to drive the invading royalists from Chile.

For the nascent republic of Chile had been temporarily extinguished by royalist armies from Peru. With Argentine help, Chile now recovered her independence and proceeded to secure that independence by invading the royalist strongholds in Peru. A Chilean war fleet, largely manned by Englishmen, was improvised and placed



CHILE'S BRITISH ADMIRAL

Thomas Cochrane, tenth earl of Dundonald (1775-1860), accepted the command of the Chilean navy in 1817 and performed a series of brilliant exploits. He was thirty-four when Stroëhling painted the original of this engraving.

*Earl of Dundonald's collection*

under the command of Thomas Cochrane, afterwards Lord Dundonald. A combined Chilian and Argentine force was landed in Peru under San Martín.

Thus these two southern republics escaped the stormy and sanguinary turmoil—largely a civil war—which led through many violent vicissitudes to the emancipation of tropical America. Caracas, the cradle of this tropical revolution, having proclaimed independence in 1811, was twice retaken by the royalists. The movement in the Spanish Main appeared to be swept away by an expedition from Spain in 1815–16. But Bolívar, the

Liberator, though repeatedly defeated and twice a fugitive, turned guerrilla warfare into more effective action by enlisting a 'British Legion' in England and Ireland; in a series of astonishing marches and campaigns through indescribably difficult country he defeated the royalist forces in New Granada (now Colombia), Venezuela and Quito (now Ecuador). He then took over from San Martín the task of liberating Peru and Upper Peru (now Bolivia). Cochrane with his ships in a series of audacious exploits had already swept the Spanish flag from the Pacific, but San Martín had left unfinished the task of conquest by land. Bolívar now undertook that task, and in 1824 the final victory of Ayacucho secured the independence of South America. In 1924 the centenary of that triumph was celebrated in every Spanish-American city.

In Mexico the movement of emancipation was delayed and confused by premature revolts which were in great part insurrections of the Indian peasantry and peons under white leaders. After long civil wars (1810–21) independence was proclaimed by general consent, and after the brief monarchical experiment of Iturbide, the 'Emperor Augustin I,' the Mexican Republic started its stormy career in 1823. The five provinces to the south-east of Mexico chose separation from that republic and, after an ineffective effort at federation, broke off into the five independent republics of Central America.

Independence was incomplete until recognized by the outside world. In 1822

the United States recognized those states which had established governments, and in 1823 President Monroe issued his famous message debarring 'future colonisations by any European powers . . . any attempt to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere . . . any interposition for the purpose of oppressing or controlling' the destiny of those states. Meantime, the attitude of Canning, as British foreign minister, had averted the possibility of French aid being given to the Spanish king for the reconquest of those lands, and in 1825 Great Britain recognized the independence of Buenos Aires, Colombia and Mexico. The assent of Europe necessarily followed. The attitude of the United States has been of great service to South America by enabling that group of states to work out their destiny undisturbed by European encroachments. But American encroachment, such as that of Chile upon Peru or of the United States upon Mexico, has not been averted.

A most essential part of external recognition was the attainment of satisfactory relations with the Vatican. The ecclesiastical system was regularised about 1830, the Roman Church being recognized as the officially established state religion by all the Latin-American states, although much controversy followed concerning the claim of the republican governments that they inherited all the Church patronage formerly exercised by the Spanish crown.

The achievement of independence, great as it was, meant only the beginning of the work to be done.

Out of the debris of that which had been destroyed new societies were

**Reconstruction**  
after destruction

now to be built up, without the survival of stable institutions, without political experience, amid the eddies of conflicting interests and personal ambitions, in face of the violent activities of adventurers leading and exploiting the half-barbarous population of the frontiers. The half-caste 'llaneros' of the Orinoco plains, lawless equestrian wanderers, and the gauchos or cowboys of the River Plate, men to whom cities and laws were strange, to whom a horse, a lasso and a knife sufficed, had been useful allies in the recent conflict, but were now ready material for

'pronunciamientos' and insurrections that were sometimes hardly to be distinguished from brigandage.

The winning of independence was followed by a period of confused strife and experiments, leading everywhere, except in Chile, to the despotism of some vigorous 'caudillo,' a despotism which checked disorder, gave space for some economic progress and in some cases prepared the way for civilian presidencies, to be followed by more constitutional methods. But these later developments were not yet in sight, and the immediate task was most difficult. Bolívar, victor in war, endeavoured to bind into one state, entitled the Republic of Colombia, the three extensive provinces of Venezuela, New Granada and Quito. This republic was to be in perpetual alliance with the other two countries, Peru and Bolivia, for whose independence he had fought. He even aimed at some kind of permanent union of all Spanish America and attempted to convoke a pan-American congress at Panamá. He died in 1830, deploring the disruption of his great republic into its three parts and their internal disorder.

Every one of the five tropical republics passed through a long period during which they only knew internal peace through



ARGENTINE DICTATOR

Owing the origins of his power to a body of armed followers, Juan Manuel Rosas (1793-1877) became dictator of Argentina in 1835 and ruled the country ruthlessly for seventeen years until defeated by Urquizas. Engraving by Ch. Decaux.

From A. Saldías, 'Rosas y su Época'



LOPEZ, DICTATOR OF PARAGUAY

Francisco Solano López (1827-70) became dictator of Paraguay in 1862. He involved his country in constant war with the neighbouring republics and when at last killed by the victorious Brazilians left Paraguay in ruins.

From the Almanack de Gotha, 1865

the rise of dictators, whose work was probably on the whole beneficent. The conflicts of parties and of politicians in these tropical lands only interested a minority of the people, the dominant class of more or less white origin. To the Indian peasantry citizenship was meaningless and forms of government a matter of no concern, although at times they left their homes to serve, perforce, in the armies of governments or of insurgents.

Even in the River Plate region, where previous conditions were more favourable, the effort towards a new order brought discordant counsels and strife. Moreover, the rivalry between Spaniards and Portuguese continued after emancipation. Brazil and Argentina contended in a three years' war (1825-28) for the possession of the 'Banda Oriental' or Uruguayan province. The dispute was settled, through the efforts of British diplomacy, by recognizing the independence of that province—a stormy origin to the now prosperous and progressive republic of Uruguay. This Argentino-Brazilian war disturbed the progress of both contending states; and the unpopularity of the peace terms was one of the factors which contributed to

the rise of Rosas, the gaucho chieftain—a sort of cowboy prince—who for twenty years (1832–52) ruled Buenos Aires and the adjoining provinces by means of blood and terror, and attempted to add Uruguay to his dominions by armed conquest.

The little interior state of Paraguay, mainly inhabited by Guaraní Indians speaking their native language, soon fell under the tyranny of three successive dictators (1810–70). The last of these, Francisco Solano López, by his insane ambition and his territorial aggressions, brought upon himself the combined attack of Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay; and in a five years' war (1865–70), which only ended with the death of López, the population of Paraguay was almost wiped out. Two generations scarcely repaired this disaster to Paraguay; and the burden of the war impeded the progress both of Brazil and of Argentina.

Chile emerged earlier than her neighbours from the phase of disorder, and evolved a system of

**Beginning of** oligarchical rule under  
**ordered conditions** the control of the  
great land-owning families, with marked division of classes and an illiterate peasantry kept in a distinctly subordinate position. A succession of four conservative presidents there held office from 1830–70, the executive and its supporters aiming at peace, order and the preservation of property, but on two occasions modifying their system in response to liberal 'revolutionary' movements, so that the public peace was not seriously disturbed.

In Mexico and Central America, tropical countries with a large Indian population, conditions were not more peaceable and secure than in tropical South America. In Mexico rival leaders of no conspicuous ability had to cope, amid internal disorder, with serious external troubles. The five republics of Central America, with their mixed population and diverse interests, were afflicted with all the elements of disorder and stagnation, although the republic of Costa Rica, and in some degree that of Salvador, held aloof and maintained a more tranquil social order.

The abrogation of the Spanish trading monopoly meant a new activity wherever

a port was opened through the setting up of a local government. In 1822, almost before independence was secured, the Colombian government published in London two copious volumes containing a full statistical account of Colombia in the English language. For these changed conditions offered special advantages to Englishmen, who enjoyed a peculiar position of respect and gratitude owing to British aid in the movement of independence. 'England,' says the Brazilian historian Oliveira Lima, 'was the political godmother of the new Spanish-American republics. . . England's support assumed a material shape. . . it consisted in diplomatic, financial and even military and naval facilities.' Already British financial interests, now so vast, had begun through loans to the insurgent governments. Then the opening of those countries to foreign enterprise started the first wave of British investment and of speculation, usually unprofitable speculation at first, in Andine mining concerns.

More continuous and more beneficial was the European trade, in which Englishmen took a leading share; and, notwithstanding obstacles and set-backs due to political disorders and wars, the economic results were marked. The same is true of social movements. Immigrants from southern Europe, Italians, Basques, Gallegos, Portuguese, soon began to find their way to the Atlantic lands, there to prosper by patient

industry and thrift, in **Gates opened to**  
spite of losses and dan- **foreign enterprise**  
gers in times of political

upheaval; this thin stream of immigration was later, in more propitious times, to become copious, infusing new and active blood, but hardly alien blood, into those young communities. So far back as 1825 the emperor Pedro I invited German colonists to make their homes in southern Brazil—the beginning of that remarkable movement of German settlement which towards the middle of the century was to do so much for the development of southern Brazil and of southern Chile.

Freedom of commerce and of intercourse was accompanied by freedom of thought and of utterance through the printing

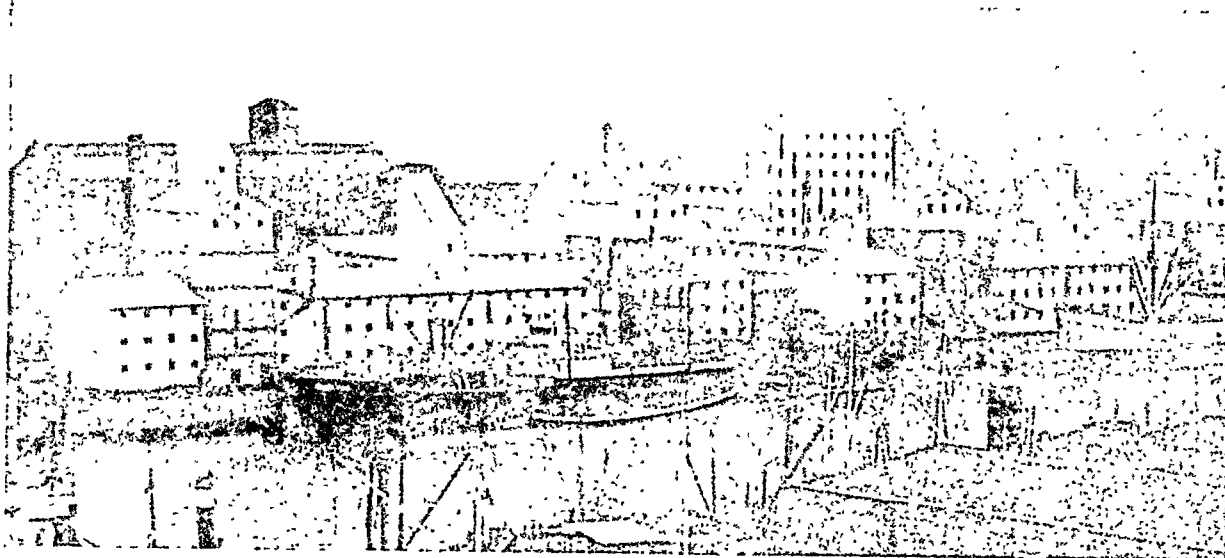


press. Upon the removal of the civil and ecclesiastical censorship which had prevailed, Latin America found her voice in historical and political treatises, in journalism, in literary efforts of a more ambitious kind. A copious and interesting flow of printed matter both in prose and in verse has continued and gathered strength.

In 1840 European steamships, sailing from Liverpool, first entered the Pacific. Indeed, the Pacific Steam Navigation Company and the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company may be reckoned among the civilizers of Latin America; and these pioneers were followed by the steamship lines of all the maritime nations. About

easy prosperity to this primitive pastoral farming. In 1867 the waters of the Amazon were thrown open by the imperial government of Brazil.

From the early 'seventies may be traced the remarkable social and economic growth of modern Latin America, a development which was one of the great world movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The increase of steam navigation, both on sea and river, railway construction, machinery applied to agriculture, a growing stream of immigration from the Mediterranean lands, the influx of European and particularly British capital, the demand in Europe



GRAIN ELEVATORS AND WAREHOUSES IN BUENOS AIRES DOCKS

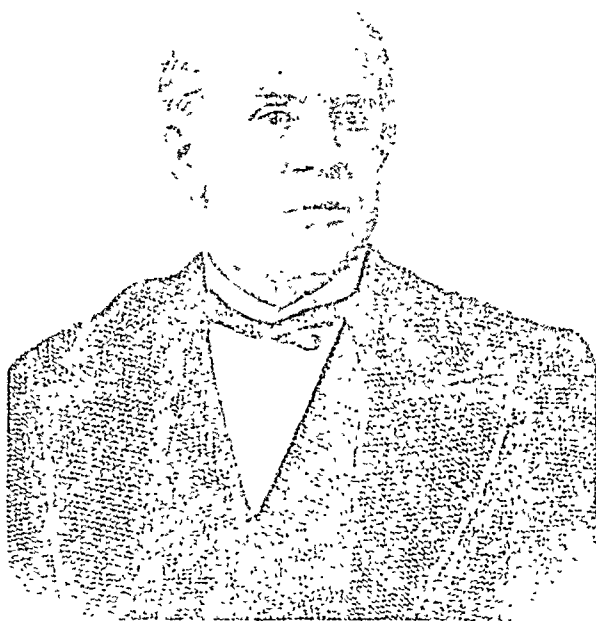
Since 1880 the vast Argentine pampa has become one of the great granaries of the world, more than two hundred million acres yielding grain and alfalfa without the aid of irrigation or fertilisers. About three-fifths of all the exports of the country pass through Buenos Aires, and to deal with the grain this row of huge elevators has been constructed alongside the second and the third of the four communicating docks between the South and the North Basins of the great harbour.

*Photo, Ewing Galloway*

the middle of the century brighter political conditions favoured progress, especially in the southern countries. In 1851 the first South American railway was opened in Chile. In 1852-3 the fall of the tyrant Rosas and the opening of the River Plate to the ships of all nations opened a new era for the Argentine Republic; the chief export was wool, with other pastoral products, and the flocks and herds wandered over vast unenclosed estates, tended by equestrian gauchos, living on beef and drinking 'mate,' or Paraguayan tea. The high price of tallow during the Crimean war, when the Russian supply was cut off, brought

for foodstuffs and raw materials, were powerful factors in this development.

In Argentina the introduction of wire fencing on the pastoral estates changed the whole aspect of life on the Pampa by facilitating tillage and scientific farming and by impeding the movements of irregular gaucho cavalry. The 'conquest of the desert' through expeditions against the Indians in 1878-9 opened a vast southern region to white settlement. The picturesque gaucho gave way to Italian and Basque labourers and harvest-men, and the pastoral Pampa became one of the great granaries of the world, studded with prosperous homesteads and intersected by



## AN ENLIGHTENED ARGENTINE

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-88) took an active part in the successful revolt against the tyranny of Rosas, after whose fall he became inspector-general of schools, minister of war and from 1868-74 president of Argentina.

*From the Almanack de Gotha, 1873*

railways which linked the far interior with the great ports of Buenos Aires, Rosario and Bahia Blanca. These lines joined the Brazilian railways and even traversed the mountains into Chile and Bolivia. The wind-swept terraces of Patagonia became a vast sheep farm. Irrigation turned a desert region on the Rio Negro into a belt of vineyards, gardens and cultivated farms. The sub-tropical northern regions produced sugar, tobacco and cotton. Even the forests of the Chaco, with their lurking tribes of Indians, were made to yield their stores of timber and to feed cattle on the intervening savannas. The population of Argentina doubled in twenty-five years.

Occasional financial crises checked but did not seriously impede this progress. Economic and social advance was accompanied by political consolidation as an essential condition of progress. The fall of Rosas in 1852 was followed by disunion. In 1860 an armed conflict restored federal union and initiated a more progressive period, notwithstanding the check due to the Paraguayan War (1865-70). Sarmiento, the 'school-master president' (1868-74), laboured at his double task,

the improvement of education and economic progress through the encouragement of foreign capital, particularly in the construction of railways. These were a potent factor both in material progress and in civilizing influence; facility of transport and consequent possibility of tillage multiplied the value of land, sometimes tenfold or more. Barbarism and revolutionary unrest shrank before the advance of the rails. Material progress supported political stability; the increase of wealth made revolution too costly, too destructive and too difficult.

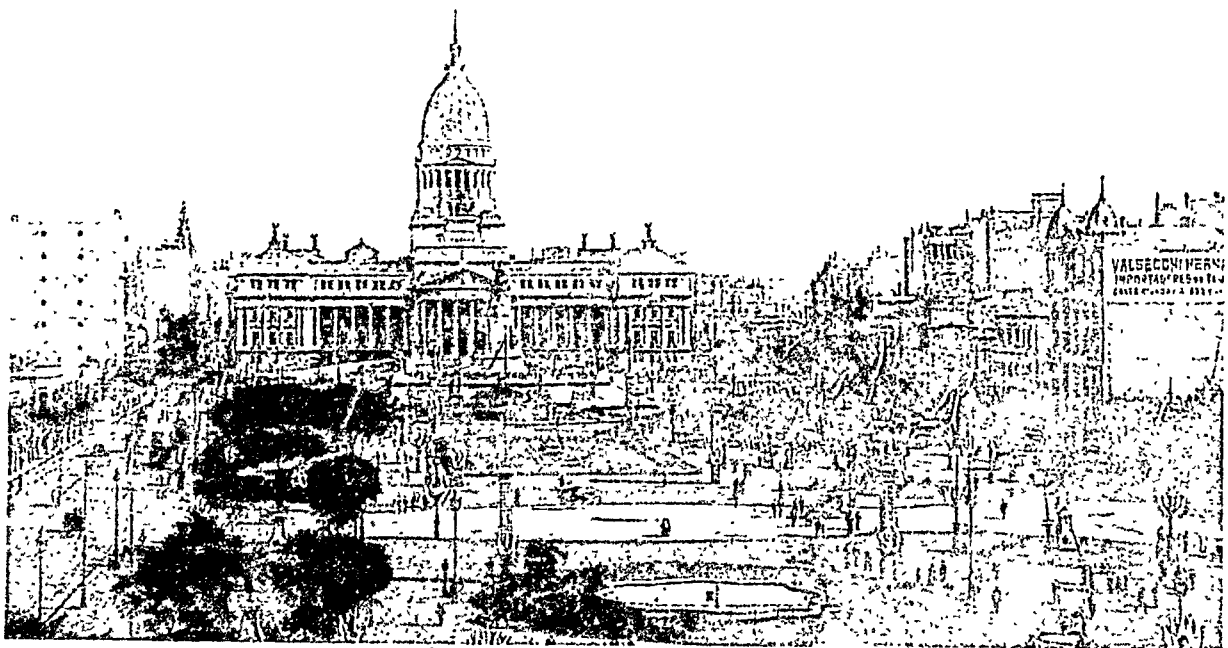
Yet the fabric of state was not yet complete. Resentment in the other provinces at the preponderance of Buenos Aires led in 1880 to armed strife which finally settled the question; the city of Buenos Aires was formed into a federal district, to be the political capital and common possession of the fourteen provinces. Ten years later there was a revolt against the abuses of personal power. Since then, though there have been some disturbances in the provinces, the national order has not been seriously shaken.

The early twentieth century brought a radical innovation—secret and compulsory voting, to turn republican forms into true democracy and counter the traditional influence of the great land-owning families.

Legislation improved the condition of the workers. Extensive schemes of 'colonisation,' carried out through co-operation between the government and the railways, mitigated the evils of a system of land tenure which had favoured large estates and had not encouraged the small working farmer. Meantime development was pushed forward on the ten 'Gobernaciones' or Federal Territories which cover a larger area than the fourteen provinces, but contain only a fraction of the population. A prominent characteristic of the well-to-do Argentine, particularly the 'porteño' of Buenos Aires, is a supreme and outspoken pride in the material progress of his country and in the magnificence of its capital, with its nearly two million inhabitants; a lavish and very visible use of wealth; and an unbounded confidence in the future.

The little republic of Uruguay has outstripped her neighbour Argentina in the movement towards democracy and advanced social legislation. Until the fall of Rosas, whose troops overran the country, progress was impossible. Stormy times followed. Military dictatorships lasted into the eighties and personal government longer still. At intervals equestrian caudillos led their irregular cavalry from the Brazilian border over a pastoral country in revolutionary attempts. Early in the present century a resolute president, after the determined suppression of such an insurrection, effected a coalition between parties, enforced the principle of respect for law, and so enabled his country to play a prominent part in the life of Latin America, and at the same time to carry out a scheme of internal reform. To obviate the dangers of personal government, the constitution of 1919 instituted an administrative council, which shares the presidential authority and appoints five of the ministers, while the president nominates the remaining four. The law also enjoins secret and compulsory voting, separation of Church and state, facilities for divorce and trial by jury.

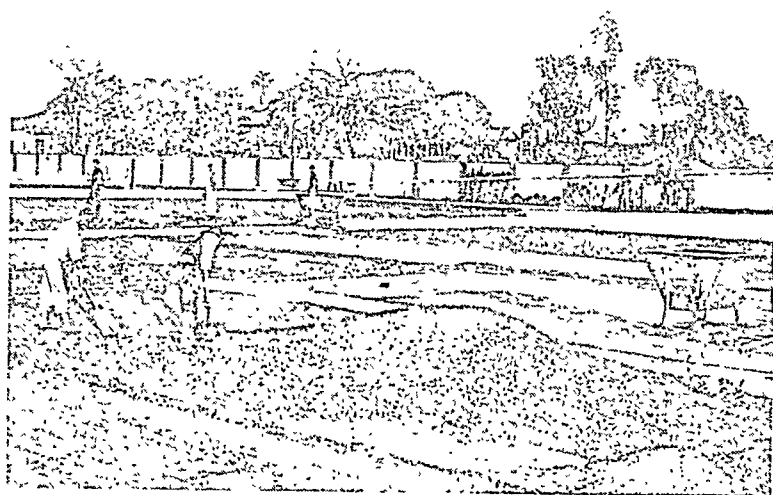
Brazil, with thrice the area and more than thrice the population of Argentina, achieved a not less notable advance. It is true that the declaration of independence was followed by some trouble, and during the minority of Pedro II (1831-40) the regency, in the effort to secure unity, had to deal with gaúcho revolts near the Uruguayan frontier—a chronic trouble which recurred during more than a century, and did not profoundly affect the national life—and also with a confused civil war in the northern provinces. Indeed, Brazilian progress may be measured by the fact that the town of Pará, or Belem, now the great emporium for rubber, Brazil nuts and other forest products, was sacked in 1835 by a horde of Indians led by white men. In 1848 that city had only 15,000 inhabitants, and was swept by yellow fever two years later. Manaus, now a flourishing river port possessing the conveniences of a modern European city, counted barely 5,000 inhabitants in 1879. Amazonas was stagnant for want of labour. Then a long drought in 1877-9, which parched the land in the province of Ceará, compelled the half-caste peasants to migrate thence. Many went to Amazonas to



PLAZA CONGRESO, TERMINAL GLORY OF BUENOS AIRES' NOBLEST AVENUE

Buenos Aires, first colonised in 1535, was made the federal capital of the Argentine Republic in 1853, since when it has developed into the largest city south of the equator, with nearly two million inhabitants. The heart of Buenos Aires is the Avenida de Mayo, a noble thoroughfare a mile and a half in length, flanked by handsome buildings and terminating in the Plaza Congreso, the domed marble palace that gives it its name closing as fine a city vista as the world can show.

Photo, E.N.A.



DRYING COFFEE BEANS IN SAO PAULO

Four-fifths of the world's coffee supply are drawn from Brazil, the bulk of it being grown in the maritime state of São Paulo and shipped from Santos, the seaport of the city of São Paulo forty-five miles inland. European labour is largely employed on the great coffee plantations.

Photo, E.N.A.

become 'seringueiros' (rubber collectors). Their numbers grew with later droughts in Ceará, and, as the demand for rubber increased, the seringueiro pursued his solitary and dangerous task up unknown waterways in the remote west, camping in the wilds to tap the rubber-yielding trees.

In a country so vast and so diversified advance followed various paths in different regions. Rubber and Brazil nuts brought wealth to the Amazonian region. The provinces bordering the north coast, although they are subject to drought, feed cattle and grow cotton, with other tropical crops. From Cape San Roque southwards to Campos the sugar industry predominates, together with cotton, cocoa, tobacco, coconuts and various tropical fruits and crops. The state of Minas Geraes, with the neighbouring lands, abounds in gold, diamonds, manganese and other minerals, besides growing food-stuffs on the rich soil in the south to supply the federal capital. The state of Paraná exports yerba maté to the River Plate lands. The gaucho state of Rio Grande do Sul, which in life and manners rather resembles the wide plains of Uruguay and Argentina, feeds vast herds of cattle and sends dried meat to feed the negro population farther north. There are wide cattle pastures elsewhere, in the south of Matto Grosso and even in the equatorial provinces of the north coast.

But Brazil flourishes most of all through coffee. Even the fantastic story of the rubber boom, which, with sudden vicissitudes of rise and fall, exploited through the hands of wandering woodmen a natural and, as it were, accidental gift of the virgin forest on the equator to meet a world-wide demand, is far surpassed by the story of steady industry which covered the rich tableland about the tropic of Capricorn with cultivated fields where the coffee berry is harvested by bands of European labourers. The magnificent city of São Paulo was linked by a mountain railway with the port of

Santos, which sends out half the world's supply of coffee.

Naturally the zones of life and growth are not clearly defined. Coffee, chiefly grown in São Paulo, enriches also the adjoining states. In Paraná, near the maté-producing forests, Industries 'colonists' from Italy and of Brazil Poland, settled in village groups by state aid, cultivate vineyards, corn-fields and vegetable gardens. The interior of Rio Grande is a land of cattle and cowboys; but about the ports there are settlements of industrious traders and farmers, partly German in origin.

In old Brazil slavery was the basis of society, especially in the mines and on the sugar estates. The slave trade from Africa was abolished soon after 1850, but the heartless and immoral scenes of the slave market were not abolished. However, in 1871 it was enacted that all children born thenceforth should be free. But this gradual extinction of slavery did not satisfy the abolitionists, and in 1888 the princess Isabel, as regent during the emperor's absence in Europe, forced through Parliament a measure liberating all slaves throughout the empire.

The abolition of slavery determined or hastened the fall of monarchy. The landowners, thus deprived of their property in slaves, joined the republicans, who also found support in certain malcontent and

undisciplined elements in the army. In 1889 a military mutiny deposed the emperor by a bloodless revolution. A military dictatorship followed, which crushed with merciless severity a revolt of the fleet in Rio harbour and a secessionist rebellion in Rio Grande. In 1894 a civilian president succeeded, and the United States of Brazil entered upon its life as a federal republic, the twenty provinces of the empire having been erected into autonomous states. A civil war in Rio Grande in 1924-26 was treated as a purely state affair by the federal government; but a revolt in São Paulo in 1926 was suppressed by federal troops.

Social and economic progress continued under the republic. Early in the twentieth century the capital was cleared of yellow fever, and was adorned

**Progress of Brazil** with splendid avenues under the Republic and buildings. The

cleansing of Santos, on its swampy site, was a more difficult task, finally accomplished. All the great cities aimed at health, improvement and grandeur. The state of Minas laid out on a commanding site a new capital, named Bello Horizonte, of singular spaciousness and magnificence. Yet many landowners still preferred the traditional rural life of the great estates, where the 'fazendeiro' is a potentate exercising patriarchal authority over his dependants.

Communications were pushed forward: railways to precede and create settlement and to link the Atlantic cities with the western river ports of Corumbá and Cuyabá; the telegraph, carried through the trackless wilderness from the upper waters of the Paraguay to those of Amazonian affluents; motor vehicles driven through regions previously only known to naked savages; and these primitive tribes were partly won to the service of civilization. The expansion of Brazil proceeded through this interior movement, through the organized settlements of immigrants by government aid and through natural growth and the gradual fusion of races.

On the Pacific coast the economic advance of the 'seventies produced a serious conflict. The discovery first of guano and then of nitrate gave unexpected

value to the desert which borders the ocean in the southern tropics. Disputes concerning the conditions of exploitation led to a war waged by Chile against Peru and Bolivia (1879-83). The Chilians, victorious at sea, invaded Peru and occupied the capital. By the Treaty of Ancón and its attendant agreements (1883-4) Chile annexed the Pacific provinces of Bolivia and also the Peruvian province of Tarapacá. The Peruvian provinces of Tacna and

**Conflict between Chile and Peru** Arica were provisionally occupied by Chile, their destination to be settled after ten years by a plébiscite of the inhabitants. The plébiscite was not held; the question remained unsettled, and an attempted arbitration by the president of the United States in 1925-7 was inconclusive, but in 1928 diplomatic relations between the two republics were resumed.

The success of Chile in this war was largely due to the stability of her government and the comparative unity and discipline of her people. Yet in less than a decade, in 1891, Chile was torn by a civil war between Congress and a liberal president, Balmaceda, who attempted to push through a large programme of public works and legislative reform by autocratic and unparliamentary methods. Balmaceda was defeated and committed suicide. This was not a mere struggle of persons and parties; it concerned principles and policy, was fought out to a conclusion and left the parliamentary oligarchy more firmly seated in power.

The country continued its steady progress, agricultural, pastoral and also industrial; for, besides the profitable nitrate industry, the coal field near Concepción aided the working of the northern copper mines. Chilean progress differed from that of Argentina; for, with the exception of a German settlement at Valdivia, there were few European immigrants. European capital aided development, but that development was essentially Chilean, not cosmopolitan. A centralised and unitary government encouraged a united sentiment distinctly national and perhaps for that reason less vocal than the effusive patriotism of Argentina. This sentiment was favoured

by the mountain frontier of Chile and also by her maritime position, for the ocean was the natural highway for that narrow land, and Chilians, alone of Latin Americans, have taken kindly to the sea.

The immense length of the country might seem unfavourable to unity. This is not so, for the historic and characteristic part of Chile is fairly compact, extending approxi-

**Chile's unity in diversity** mately from Coquimbo to Puerto Montt. This beauti-

ful and fertile region, which has been called the 'Californian slope' of South America, contains the real centres of life, of culture and of control, and the bulk of the population. The flourishing sheep-farming industry in the far south is almost a recent off-shoot. Again, the factories and ports of the nitrate region are like outlying colonies maintained under artificial conditions. This strange gift of the rainless desert yielded great wealth, and most of the national revenue came from the export duty on nitrate until the crises attending and following the Great War proved the unwisdom of relying on a single precarious source. Chile remained neutral in the war; but she was affected by the world-wide spirit of inquiry and experiment. In September, 1924, a military movement, directed against parliamentary abuses, closed the Chambers. After a series of compromises the government was undertaken in 1927 by Colonel Ibanez, a resolute soldier, determined to initiate a more popular and liberal era by vigorous personal methods.

The issue of the 'Pacific War' brought into prominence the contrast between the southern temperate country and the tropical lands, with their mixed population, their gigantic mountains and their political disturbances. Constitutional theory here counted for little; personal government, if any, prevailed. Political order, and therewith the peace and prosperity of the community, depended on the character of the ruling chief and on his power to maintain his authority. Since election meant little, governments could only be ousted by 'revolution,' that is to say, by the more or less forcible expulsion of rulers by their opponents, themselves to be dislodged in turn by a similar

coup d'état. That term more properly describes these ebullitions, which sometimes meant sanguinary conflicts, sometimes merely effective demonstrations of force. Indeed, the current term 'revolución' is misleading; for it is applied to any uprising, whether successful or not, and even to the tranquil assumption of power by a subordinate supplanting his chief.

In Bolivia and in Ecuador revolution was still a normal proceeding after the first quarter of the twentieth century. Sometimes questions other than personal were involved, particularly questions between clericals and liberals. The prominence of the clerical question throughout tropical America is illustrated by the history of the extreme ultramontane García Moreno, who dominated Ecuador from 1860 to 1875 and attempted to subject his country to Rome in a kind of theocracy, while at the same time he kept order and encouraged foreign capital, particularly in railway construction.

For those countries were not stagnant. The lofty capital of Ecuador was linked by a mountain railway with the port of Guayaquil. The tortuous streams of the river Guaya **Development of Ecuador** conveyed to the same port the produce of the cacao plantations, where Indian peons tended the crops. The Ecuadorian government even promulgated schemes of advanced social legislation. Bolivia again, aided by foreign enterprise, sent the mineral wealth of her plateau, by railways surmounting more than Alpine heights, to that Pacific coast which was no longer hers. She did something to develop the wide forests and plains stretching east of the Andes, and found ways to the Atlantic by the Madeira and Paraguay rivers and by the Argentine railways. Meantime the native Indians lived in their villages after the way of their forefathers, still speaking their ancient tongues, just as on the Peruvian plateau.

Peru possesses a long tradition of vice-regal culture, yet the departure of Bolívar in 1824 was followed by twenty years of disorder, until the dictatorship of a soldier, Ramon Castilla, brought another twenty years of comparative peace and material progress. Notwithstanding the wealth

derived from guano, extravagant expenditure led to bankruptcy in the years preceding the Chilean war. Defeat brought economic disaster, complicated by civil strife. However, in the last years of the nineteenth century a strong president did much towards reform and financial recovery. His work was continued by President Leguía (1904-20), who in 1919 again assumed the government, and entered upon a long period of strong personal rule, imposing internal peace and promulgating the constitution of 1920, which aimed at liberal social reforms and at the policy of Peru for the Peruvians, the state claiming all mineral property, and foreigners being forbidden to own land within thirty miles of the frontiers.

Even during troubled times there was material progress. Railways, surmounting the Western Cordillera, reached the copper mine of Cerro de Pasco and the other mineral regions of the plateau. Some effort was made to develop the rubber-bearing forests of the 'montaña,' whose natural outlet is by the Amazon; for the Peruvian port of Iquitos, 2,300 miles from the sea, is in effect an Atlantic port. But most valuable was the extension of agriculture—sugar, cotton and other crops—in the rainless Pacific region through irrigation works, notably a great scheme to divert westward, by a tunnel through the mountains, the waters of an Amazonian stream. As elsewhere, economic progress, which owed much to strong government, favoured



QUITO : ECUADOR'S VOLCANO-ENCIRCLED CAPITAL

Quito, capital of the republic of Ecuador, stands at an altitude of 9,350 feet in the Andes, the Cordilleran region of Ecuador. It is an extraordinarily picturesque city, white-walled and red-roofed, set in an upland valley, ringed round with snow-capped volcanic peaks, twenty of which can be counted from the city. Quito was an Indian capital before its capture by the Incas in 1470, and in its long history has suffered repeatedly from earthquakes and volcano eruptions.

*Photo, Underwood*



internal stability and peace. Peru, like the other tropical Spanish-speaking republics, attracted few European immigrants. But some Chinese and Japanese settled in the country.

Venezuela and Colombia, which extend far into the southern continent, are at the same time Caribbean states, bordering that great sea on whose shores the United States is the dominant power. Venezuela touches British Guiana and almost touches the British island of Trinidad. This contact with non-Latin peoples has affected both republics. Venezuela has twice benefited by the protective attitude of the United States: in the settlement of a frontier question with British Guiana in 1896 and in the removal of a blockade of her ports by a combined British, German and Italian fleet in 1903.

Venezuela started life as a separate republic in 1830 under the guidance of Paez the llanero chieftain, who as 'arbiter of quarrels' dominated the country until his exile in 1847. Then came a period of personal rule alternating with confused strife, until in 1870 a strong dictator arose, Guzmán Blanco, who ruled for nearly

twenty years. Another long period of autocracy began in 1900, first the cruel tyranny of Castro, then the rule of Gómez, who in 1909 quietly took Castro's place by a bloodless revolution. Gómez, equally autocratic, did much for economic progress and constructed fine concrete roads through the difficult mountain country—a novel proceeding in South America, and one which profoundly affected the life of the people. A rich oil field was worked by foreign capital in the low-lying district about Lake Maracaibo, and some impulse was given to the cattle industry. Peace, financial credit and material progress earned for Gómez abroad the kind of reputation which the Mexican dictator, Porfirio Díaz, had enjoyed; but Venezuelan opinion was not unanimous. Unlike Díaz, the Venezuelan dictator made some provision for the future by promulgating in 1922 a liberal constitution which reaffirmed the federal system and the autonomy of the provinces. Civil conflicts were not merely personal; they turned largely upon the question between centralisation and localism, that is, provincial autonomy. In theory, localism prevailed with the constitution of 1922.

The country is diversified in natural features and life. From the narrow northern coastal strip rises the steep edge of a region of hill and mountain, with fertile valleys and uplands, bearing coffee and cocoa; beyond this, the Orinoco plains, with their horned cattle tended by mounted llaneros; farther south, the broken and little known country of forest, mountain and numberless streams which stretches into the Amazonian region and comprises half the territory of the republic.

In Colombia even more than in Venezuela principles were at stake in long and bitter struggles between centralisation and localism, between clericals and liberals.

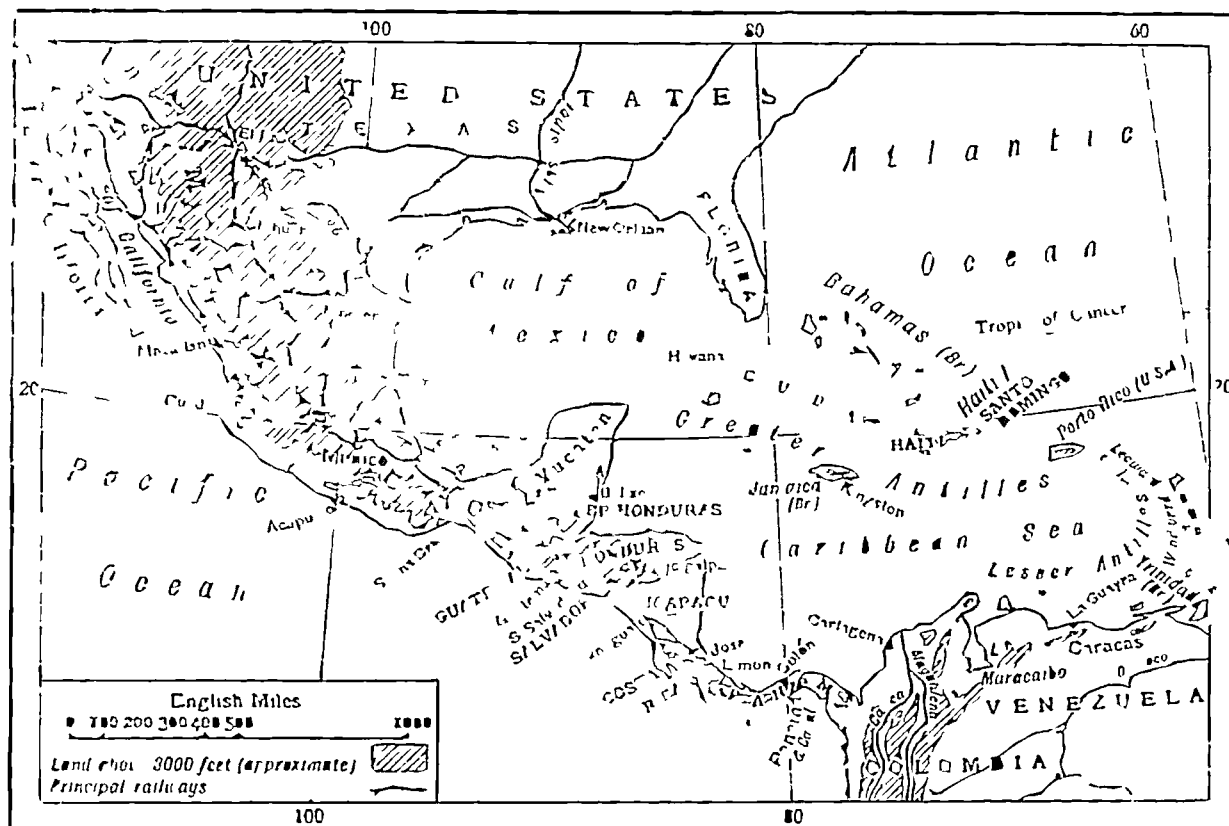


BY TRAIN ON THE TOP OF THE WORLD

Peru's Central Railway from Callao to Oroya is a marvel of engineering. After leaving Lima it scales the Western Cordillera to an altitude of 15,865 feet—higher than the summit of Mont Blanc—before descending to Oroya, 12,178 feet above sea level.

Thence extensions go to Cerro de Pasco and Huancayo.

Photo, E.N.A.



#### LATIN REPUBLICS IN NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Geographically, the northern, smaller part of Latin America belongs to the continent of North America, the southern extension of which is occupied by the republic of Mexico and by Central America, which consists of five republics—Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Cuba lies in the Greater Antilles, where also are the two small negro republics, Haiti (French speaking) and Santo Domingo. Politically, Panama is not Central but South American.

A Colombian historian counts twenty-seven civil wars. A clearer period opened when in 1886, after the suppression of an insurrection, the unitary constitution was set up, which with some modification still prevails. That the early struggles were not aimless is proved by the marked constitutional development which dates from 1910, in which year President Reyes abdicated his five years' dictatorship. From that time the Colombian aristocracy justified their claim that they had preserved, particularly on the lofty uplands of Bogotá, a culture of European type. The unitary system was more strictly defined, but municipal and provincial rights were observed. Parliamentary and ministerial methods were respected, and a succession of presidents held office as republican chiefs.

The same period saw a continuation of the movement for exploiting the great and varied wealth of the country, notably by improving transport—a matter of great difficulty owing to the triple range

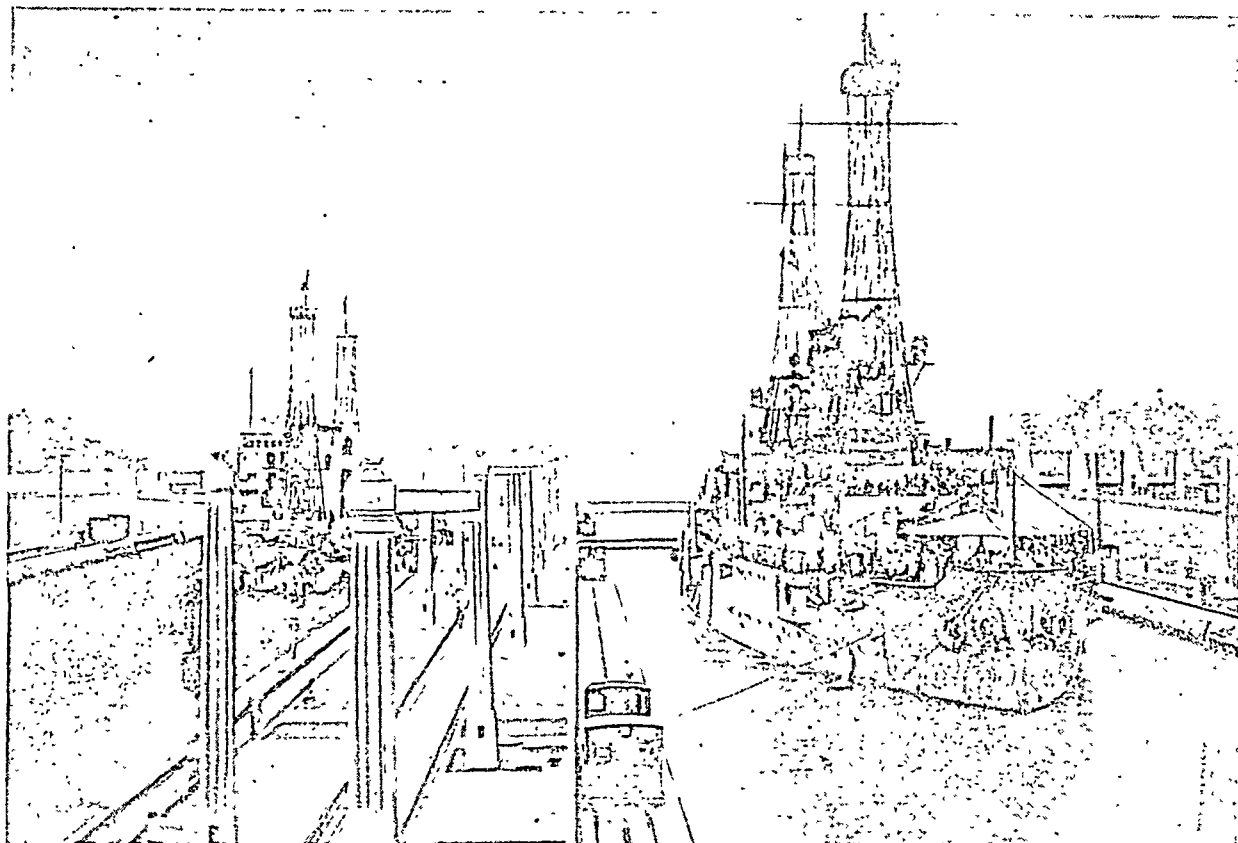
of lofty mountains which traverses the country, the central chain dividing the fertile valley of the Cauca from the valley of the Magdalena, the river which is the principal artery of communication. The mountains produce gold and platinum, but vegetable products are much more important—chiefly coffee, bananas, sugar. The remote and undeveloped plains of the Orinoco basin and the yet more remote forests of the Amazonian region cover nearly two-thirds of the country. But in the more settled parts progress has been aided by North American enterprise, chiefly oil production and banana plantations, and also by the payment of 25 million dollars by the United States in satisfaction of all claims concerning the succession of Panama.

That event followed the determination of the United States, after the Spanish-American War of 1898, to construct a canal across the Colombian province of Panama. In 1903 the Colombian senate rejected a treaty which was to grant to

the United States the lease of a strip across the Isthmus. A revolt broke out in Panama. President Roosevelt at once recognized the independence of Panamá; and this new republic granted to the United States the right to construct the canal and the control of the Canal Zone. Thenceforth Panamá, as a republic under the protection of the United States, attained unexampled prosperity.

Before leaving South America, something must be said about the vast undeveloped and almost unexplored region drained by the upper waters of the Amazon, the Orinoco and the Paraguay—mostly dense virgin forest, but also wide open plains. From the tropic of Capricorn northwards, this region extends eastward from the Andes to the centre of the continent, and even beyond. North of the Amazon it extends almost across the continent. Nearly half of this region is Brazilian; the rest belongs to the Spanish tropical republics. Here lies the greatest extent

of the earth's surface capable of intensive development and still undeveloped. The innumerable streams are the only paths of travel. Between them stretch forests known only to scanty tribes of naked Indians, and impassable except to the hardiest explorers, who find the pestiferous plagues of insects more intolerable than the dangers of forest or cataract, of beasts or reptiles. By gradual clearance of the forests this region might be made to support countless millions, living under tropical conditions. The promise of those rich lands points to a future not less picturesque and romantic than the past of South America. That future should be in the hands of the Latin-American peoples, who hold all the gates of entrance to those lands. But this is a work for many generations, to be undertaken not rapidly or incautiously, lest it should endanger that European character which, however modified by local conditions, is the basis of South American life.



AMERICAN BATTLESHIPS IN THE LOCKS ON THE PANAMA CANAL

The channel of the Panamá Canal begins  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles out to sea in Limon Bay in the Caribbean and then runs for eight miles till it reaches the first locks, a three-stepped, two-flighted stairway which lifts ships on to Gatun Lake, 85 feet above sea level. Twenty miles farther on ships drop through the Pedro Miguel locks to Miraflores Lake, 55 feet above sea level, and thence through the Miraflores Lake to sea level eight miles from the Pacific side.

Photo, E.N.A.

Mexico, alone among Latin-American states, has had to face serious aggressions or incursions by Europeans and North Americans. The ambitious and persuasive caudillo Santa Ana, who for twenty-five years—until his fall in 1855—clung intermittently to a centralised personal autocracy, was incapable of maintaining internal peace or of coping with external dangers. For a dozen years independent Mexico was menaced by Spanish attempts at reconquest from the Spanish island of Cuba. More serious was pressure from the north-east; in 1836 Texas, having received considerable immigration from the United States, seceded from the Mexican Federation after some fighting, to be received eight years later as a member of the United States. Then frontier questions led to war with the United States (1845-8). Mexico was invaded and the capital was occupied. By the treaty of peace California and New Mexico, comprising one third of the nominal territory of Mexico, were ceded to the United States.

Internal conflicts followed between clericals and liberals, between centralisation and localism. Benito Juárez, a pure-blooded Indian, Mexico's troubled who became president of political History the republic, was the leading spirit in promulgating the 'Laws of Reform' and the liberal constitution of 1857, which established the federal system, practically separated Church and state by making no mention of religion, and forbade the holding of agricultural land by the Church. The reactionary and clerical leaders attacked this settlement in the War of Reform (1858-61) and, finally, claiming to represent the nation, offered the crown of Mexico to the Austrian archduke Maximilian (see page 4387), who for three years (1858-61) maintained a precarious monarchical government in the capital, with the sponsorship of Napoleon III. Upon the withdrawal of the French troops which had supported him he was defeated, taken prisoner and shot.

In order to close the troubles which followed, General Porfirio Díaz 'pronounced,' seized the government, and ruled with monarchical autocracy for thirty-seven



PRESIDENT PORFIRIO DIAZ

Porfirio Díaz (1830-1915) was president of Mexico from 1877 to 1880 and again continuously from 1884 to 1911. His iron rule brought order to Mexico, but made him many personal enemies, and in 1911 he resigned and left the country.

years, until 1911. He established order by rigorous methods, regulated finance with the aid of able subordinates and attracted foreign capital, especially in railway construction. His dictatorship meant internal peace and credit abroad; but he made no provision for what should come after him, and it was said that, relying on the support of the land-owning aristocracy, he did not sufficiently consider the interests of the Indian peasantry. Upon his fall in 1910 the country was torn by strife and brigandage. One president was murdered; his successor, who profited by the murder, was compelled to retire by the intervention of President Woodrow Wilson and was replaced by Carranza, a 'constitutionalist,' author of the radical constitution of 1917, who attempted to rule by force and to nominate his successor.

In 1919 he was overthrown, fled to the mountains and was assassinated. Obregón, who followed, ruled for the legal term of four years, and, like his successor Calles, upheld the constitution of 1917, which aimed at a radical revolution under autocratic authority and at the policy of Mexico for Mexicans. Foreign control of property was restricted; foreigners

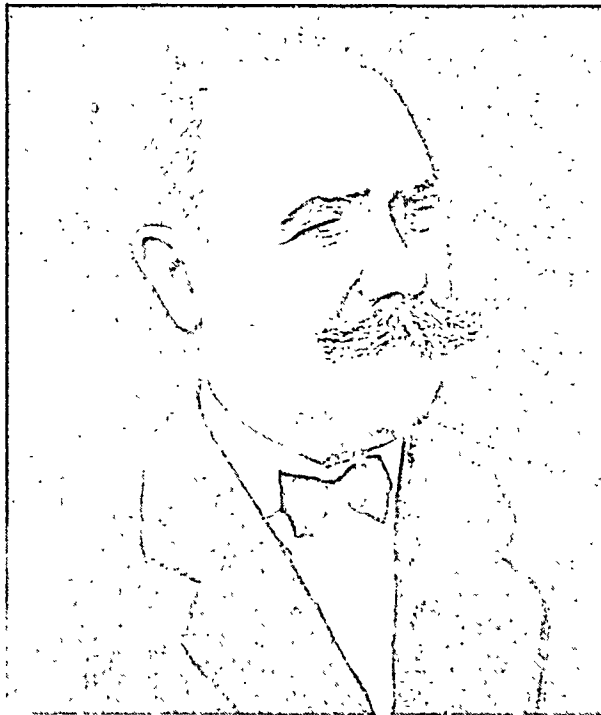
were forbidden to own land within a certain distance of sea or frontier; Church property was confiscated; minerals were claimed for the nation. The Indian peasants were to receive land cut off from the great estates. The interpretation and application of those laws by the federal government, by local authorities and by self-constituted armed bodies led to much disorder and bloodshed and much religious animosity, besides sanguinary conflicts between presidents and caudillos, much shooting and many summary executions. In 1928 Obregón himself, just after his election as president for a second term, was assassinated at a banquet.

Mexico possesses a long tradition of culture as well as great and varied resources, mineral, agricultural and pastoral. But she has not been permitted to work out her destiny, like her southern neighbours, undisturbed by foreign interests and interference. In the other Latin-American states foreign investments have aided not only economic progress but also peace, security and order. In Mexico this was so under Díaz, but later disturbances were not unconnected with

foreign exploitation of Mexican oil fields. Most of the larger South American republics had succeeded in emerging from their earlier turmoil, and were able to face, with tolerable equilibrium, the social unrest and the new problems of the post-war period. In Mexico the whole established order had been upset by the fall of Díaz at the moment when she was called upon to cope with those new conditions.

Mexican history signally proves how social well-being in Latin America depends on political order and even on the character of individual rulers. The civil wars of Central America, wars between states, abortive efforts at federal union, alternations of anarchy and autocracy, illustrate the same truth. It is true that Costa Rica, where European tradition is stronger, preserved exceptional order, as also, in some degree, Salvador. But the dictatorship of Zelaya in Nicaragua (1894-1906) and that of the Guatemalan Cabrera (1898-1920), who upon being dethroned bombarded his own capital, show no resemblance to the orderly rule of Díaz in Mexico. Yet the twentieth century brought distinct advance in Central America, largely due to increased cultivation of coffee in the hills and to the plantations of bananas in the coast region by North American enterprise. Complete federation was impossible owing to the existence of treaties which placed Nicaragua in a kind of semi-dependence on the United States—indeed, in 1927 the United States sent forces into Nicaragua to close internal strife—but much was done towards permanent agreement and peace.

Cuba, the land of sugar and tobacco, where slavery prevailed until 1885 and where the working population is still negro, after a long period of Spanish misgovernment and of devastating revolts and wars, was separated from Spain through the Spanish-American war of 1898 and was erected into a republic under the tutelage of the United States, which exercises the right to intervene in case of disorder. In spite of demoralisation due to previous troubles, the island prospered under this arrangement. The



**PRESIDENT ALVARO OBREGON**

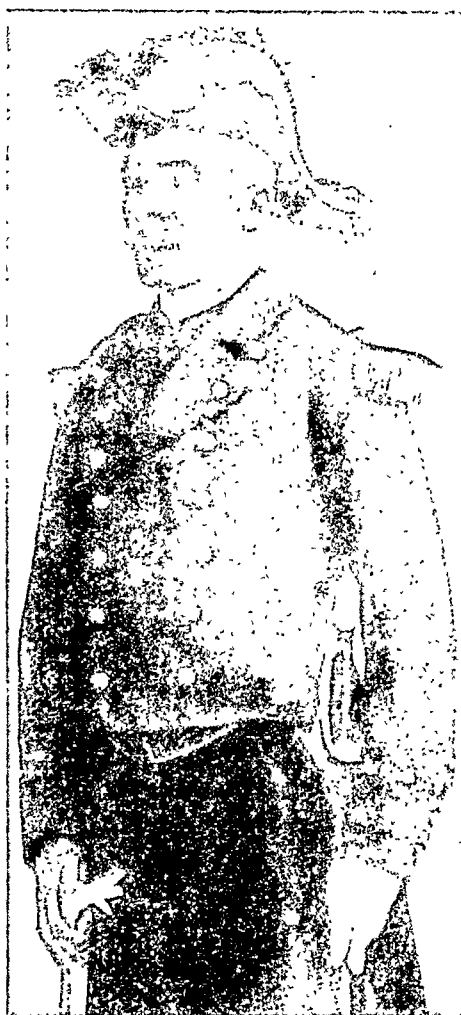
Alvaro Obregón, a liberal and enlightened statesman and an able soldier, was born in 1880. He was president of Mexico 1920-24, and had just been re-elected for a second term when he was assassinated, July 17, 1928.

*Photo, Pacific and Atlantic Photos*

Spanish island of Porto Rico, annexed to the United States as a 'territory,' continued to form part of Latin America in language and sentiment.

The French-speaking negro republic of Haiti and also the Spanish-speaking republic of Santo Domingo, largely inhabited by mulattos, after a chequered and often tragical history in the nineteenth century, passed by successive stages (1907-1916) under the control of the United States, which felt obliged both to regulate the finances of these republics in view of the danger of European intervention and also to put an end to chronic disturbances. Order was established, but by methods which caused resentment in Santo Domingo, and in 1922 arrangements were made for the withdrawal of military occupation in that republic by the United States, which should, however, continue to collect and administer the revenue. Through these events and activities, by the construction of the canal, by various degrees of intervention or control in Cuba, Panamá, Nicaragua, Haiti and Santo Domingo, and by the acquisition of Porto Rico and of the Danish West Indies, the United States established a sphere of influence in the Caribbean region—a movement which caused apprehension in Mexico and was viewed with close attention and some disquietude throughout South America. This movement obviously affects the question of pan-Americanism, to be mentioned later.

After the United States had entered the Great War, Cuba, Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti and



HAITIAN PRESIDENT

General Antoine Simon became president of the Republic of Haiti in 1908, but fell from power in 1911. His assumption of admiral's uniform illustrates the passion for spectacular costume felt by all Haitian officials.

*Photo, E.N.A.*

Honduras declared war on Germany, and the Dominican Republic severed diplomatic relations. Those declarations—gestures rather than military events—would have been impossible if the United States had not been a belligerent, and it may be said that those countries declared war as satellites of the United States. Salvador remained neutral. The Mexican government, professedly neutral, showed strong pro-German and anti-North-American proclivities.

Of the South American countries, Brazil alone declared war on Germany. Uruguay and Peru severed relations with Germany, opened their ports to allied warships and seized the German ships in their harbours. Bolivia severed relations with Germany. Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay and Venezuela remained neutral. Latin-

American feeling generally favoured the Allies, partly owing to the strong sympathy with France and with French culture.

The Great War marks an epoch for the Latin-American nations. By defining their attitude towards a world-wide question, and by their practical activities, they claimed and received full recognition as members of the family of nations, qualified to take a prominent place in the councils of the world.

The outbreak of war had an immediate effect, economic and moral. Those countries had acquiesced in economic dependence upon Europe, exporting raw materials and importing manufactured goods. The cessation of imports in 1914 threw them upon their own resources,

to supply their own needs. After the first shock they prospered by supplying to the Allies foodstuffs and material for munitions, supplies which contributed substantially towards victory. The wealth thus acquired, and the limitation of imports, led to a movement of manufacture, especially in Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Supplies of fuel were also sought at home. This movement of self-dependence supported the growing consciousness of national dignity and reputation, a sentiment which found expression in advanced legislation and radical constitutions in several republics. Those enactments were, in part at least, efforts to keep abreast of the times and assert a modern spirit. For, although intended to avert labour unrest and civil disturbances, they were not so much popular developments or attempts to satisfy democratic demands as endeavours to create some kind of democracy by the decrees of personal authority, the kind of government best understood by Latin Americans.

This growing national spirit in each republic was accompanied by increased intercourse between the republics—in a few years Argentino-Brazilian trade increased by 500 per cent.—and by a more marked sentiment of ‘Americanismo,’ of Latin-American fraternity, a sense that those peoples form a world of their own, having a common interest and outlook, and a culture which, though European in origin and general character, is distinctly Latin American. An Argentine or a Chilean does not feel himself quite a foreigner in Colombia or Mexico, and ‘Americanos’ from distant republics, meeting in Europe or the United States, foregather as being in some sort fellow-countrymen.

A certain materialism which tended to exalt visible progress, and to treat the conveniences of civilization as constituting the essence of civilization, found a valuable antidote in this national aspiration within each state, in their desire to realize a common destiny, and in the literary expression of these feelings. The Peruvian poet Santos Chocano entitled one of his books *Alma America*, and a greater poet, the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, whose name

marks an epoch in Spanish literature, greeted Santos Chocano as the poet laureate of all Latin America.

A more artificial effort is pan-Americanism, a movement sponsored by the United States in order to supplement or replace the Monroe doctrine by an arrangement which should bind together all the American republics on the basis of the complete sovereignty and territorial integrity of every one, any breach of this arrangement by one state to be checked or punished by the combined action of all the others. The difficulty here is that one of these republics surpasses all the others put together in population, wealth and power. However, the cultivation of interests common to both continents gained ground. A pan-American congress met at Washington in 1889, and similar congresses, attended by deputies from most of the states, met at intervals in the twentieth century in various Latin-American capitals. The war led to an immense increase in commerce and in general intercourse between the United States and Latin America.

Latin Americans freely confess to a certain rhetorical tendency. But this exuberance of utterance and of bearing is merely an outward characteristic of a pleasant social culture which prevails among the educated aristocracy in every Latin-American city, a culture generally urban rather than rural, but found even in the smallest tropical republics. Everywhere there is a prolific newspaper press and a copious output of literary efforts which, though naturally varying in quality, indicate widespread intellectual activity. Scientific and historical research, much of it of high value, naturally flourishes most, though by no means exclusively, in the larger and wealthier capitals. But literature and scholarship admit no limitations; Central America and the Antilles have won distinction in these. South American statesmen have presided at Geneva over the Assembly of the League of Nations and also over the Council of the League. Latin Americans have proved their capacity in many fields, and may look forward with hope to the future.



# THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Cardinal Inventions in Manufacture and Transport  
that have altered the Structure of Social Life

By J. L. and BARBARA HAMMOND

Joint Authors of *The Town Labourer*, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, etc.

IF a man were taken by aeroplane from Bradford to Cetinje in Montenegro, he would notice a strong contrast between the manner of life of the two towns. In the first he would see mass production, a dense population, an atmosphere of smoke; he would note that large numbers of people were employed in factories and mines; he would learn that the products of their industry were sent all over the globe, and that much of the clothing worn, the machines used and the food consumed by the inhabitants came from a great distance. He would find that Cetinje was the centre of an agricultural district, that its food was brought from the surrounding country on market days, that the artisans engaged in production were producing mainly for the local market, that the country inhabitants supplied their own needs by exchanging eggs, vegetables, poultry, lambs, for wares of one kind or another. This difference affects the life of the two places. In Bradford the visitor would see men and women going home from the mills in trains and trams; in Cetinje he would see men and women returning from market on mules or in simple and primitive carts.

Bradford is the home of a people which has passed through the Industrial Revolution; Cetinje the home of a people living as the world lived for the most part before that revolution. For by the Industrial Revolution we mean the large social and economic changes which have produced what we call industrial society, peoples depending on a world-wide exchange of products. The beginnings of that revolution are generally associated with the great mechanical inventions of the eighteenth century. England led the way in expanding and reorganizing her industries to take

advantage of these inventions. Germany, France, the United States and all the chief nations of the continent of Europe followed that example in greater or less degree in the nineteenth century. When Japan began to adopt European habits, she established factories on the European model, and China has now taken the same path.

The contrast between Bradford and Cetinje is useful, for it brings out the main differences between a peasant and an industrial society. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the change from one type to the other was a sudden event, and that all the features of our modern industrial life were new in the eighteenth century. The Pyramids were raised by mass pro- Industrial life  
duction; there was an through the ages  
active commercial life in the societies described by Homer; the Greeks and Phoenicians traded over a wide area; under the Roman Empire capital was employed in industrial production, and glass and pottery made in factories in Gaul and Italy were shipped across the seas. In the Middle Ages English and Italian towns sent cloth and silk goods to the East, and Flemish and German towns were the centre of a brisk trade in the merchandise which enriched the Hanseatic League. The discovery of the New World, and the use of its wealth and its products, gave an immense impetus to this commerce, extending its scope and range and giving it in time a more popular character. Thus, before the great inventions, we find large-scale production, capitalist organization in industry and agriculture and commerce, and an active commerce by means of which the products of countries so widely separated as China and England, India and

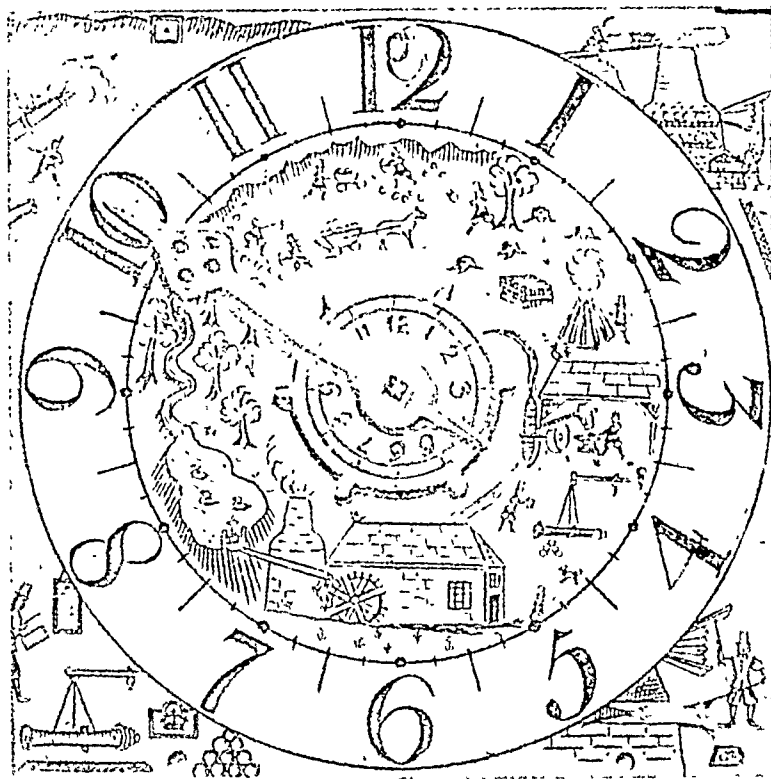
Holland, France and Brazil, passed from the producer in one of these countries to the consumer in the other. It is therefore not surprising that when a series of inventions made it possible to produce much more cheaply, and to transport much more quickly, industrial progress was sensationally rapid, and one country after another ceased to live like Cettinje and began to live like Bradford.

This chapter traces the early history of the revolution in England. Political conditions were specially favourable in England to individual enterprise; internal trade was not hampered by customs; coal was abundant; the climate was suitable for cotton spinning; and England's connexions with India and America helped her industries to find markets. The chief inventions were the work of English minds and English fingers. For these and other reasons England went ahead much faster than her neighbours in the first half of the nineteenth century. The course of the revolution in the country where it made its first strides is the theme of this chapter.

In describing the remarkable series of discoveries and inventions connected with the Industrial Revolution it is reasonable to begin with the changes in the iron industry. The early discoveries in connexion with the production of iron were quiet and unspectacular like the Quakers who made them, but they mark a definite turning point in the history of industry. Without them the Industrial Revolution could never have taken place. The whole fabric of modern industry rests on iron. Iron railways, iron engines, iron pipes, iron bridges, iron ships, iron machinery, are the embodiment of that revolution.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the English iron industry was a feeble plant in a state of actual decline. There was plenty of iron ore in the country, but a scarcity of wood, and without wood, or rather without the charcoal produced from wood, that iron ore could not be turned into pig iron and cast iron at the blast furnace, nor into bar iron at the forge. The furnaces and the forges had eaten up the woodlands in their old home, Sussex, and were beginning to strip other less promising districts bare. The use of coal instead of charcoal was the obvious remedy for this state of affairs, but before Abraham Darby, the Quaker ironmaster of Coalbrookdale, no one had discovered how to eliminate from coal certain sulphureous fumes which damaged the iron in the making. Abraham Darby discovered how to do this in his blast furnace as early as 1709, and he produced cast-iron goods with the use of coked coal. His son, another Abraham Darby, took the discovery farther by finding out, about 1750, how to use coked coal in the production of pig iron as well. The Darbys, it is interesting to note, from public spirit took out no patents.

The two discoveries, though not adopted at once by others, meant that charcoal



LOCAL MEMORIAL TO A SUSSEX INDUSTRY

Sussex was a centre of the iron industry from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, its forests furnishing large supplies of wood for the necessary charcoal. Ordnance was made here for the government in the fifteenth century. The brass dial of this early Sussex clock is engraved with scenes of the industry.

From Hayden, *'Chats on Collage & Farmhouse Furniture,'* Ernest Benn, Ltd.

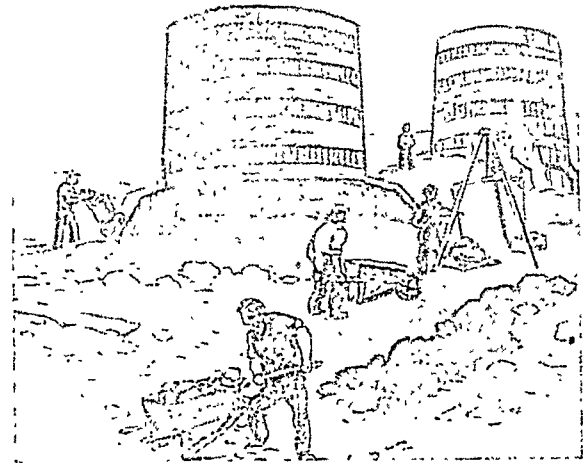
was no longer necessary for blast furnaces. It remained necessary for the forge processes, by which bar iron was made, till various improvements associated with the name of Henry Cort were embodied in Cort's patents of 1783 and 1784. How far Cort himself made these discoveries, or how far he adopted ideas from other brains, is and is likely to remain a vexed question. It is one thing, said Sir Marc Brunel, to invent and another thing to make the invention work. Cort certainly made inventions work. Iron produced by his system was puddled or stirred in its liquid state in the furnace, and rolled when soft under great rollers which squeezed out the dross. Fifteen tons of iron took no longer to produce under the new system than one ton had taken under the old, the iron was better as well as cheaper, and coal was substituted for charcoal in the production. Cort, after a series of misfortunes, died in poverty; but he saw the iron industry revolutionised by the changes that had only brought disaster to his personal fortunes.

The discoveries of the Darbys and of Henry Cort freed the iron industry from dependence on wood. The application of

Watt's steam engine, with  
 Revival of the which we shall deal later,  
 Iron Industry freed it from dependence  
 on water. Coal became  
 its indispensable ally, and mines with  
 their refuse heaps, blast furnaces and  
 forges changed the face of whole districts  
 in the Midlands and South Wales and  
 Scotland. By the end of the century  
 the delicate plant of the iron industry  
 had become an almost rankly flourishing  
 growth.

Transport was revolutionised in the nineteenth century by the introduction of railways and steamers; it had been previously revolutionised during the eighteenth century by the construction of turnpike roads and of canals. The second revolution is apt to obscure the importance of the first, which is perhaps the more remarkable.

For a country advanced in the arts of government, with a flourishing foreign commerce carried on from a number of important seaports, with no high mountain ranges and with a tradition of an excellent



FURNACES AT DARBY'S WORKS

By their elaboration of the use of pit coal for making iron, Abraham Darby, and, after him, his son, saved the English iron industry. These are two of the blast furnaces at Darby's iron-works at Coalbrookdale, founded in 1709.

*After Tomlinson, 'Cyclopedia of Useful Arts'*

system of Roman roads in the past, England's internal communications at the beginning of the eighteenth century were remarkably backward. A muddy earthen track, passable in dry weather, a quagmire in wet, was the common type of highway. Arthur Young, with his vivid pen, described the main road between Preston and Wigan in terms which may serve as a description of many another road:

I know not, in the whole range of language, terms sufficiently expressive to describe this infernal road. To look over a map and perceive that it is a principal one, not only to some towns, but even whole counties, one would naturally conclude it to be at least decent; but let me seriously caution all travellers who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible county to avoid it as they would the devil, for a thousand to one that they break their necks or their limbs by overthrows or breakings-down. They will here meet with ruts which I actually measured four feet deep, and floating with mud, only from a wet summer. What, therefore, must it be after a winter? The only mending it receives in places is the tumbling in some loose stones, which serve no other purpose but jolting a carriage in the most intolerable manner. These are not merely opinions, but facts; for I actually passed three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable memory.



**A WELCOME VISITOR: THE PACKMAN MERCHANT**

Itinerant merchants travelling on foot or with one or more packhorses were long the principal medium of internal commerce. In remote districts the packman or pedlar was a popular figure, supplying the people with goods otherwise hard to come by, and bringing news of the world outside.

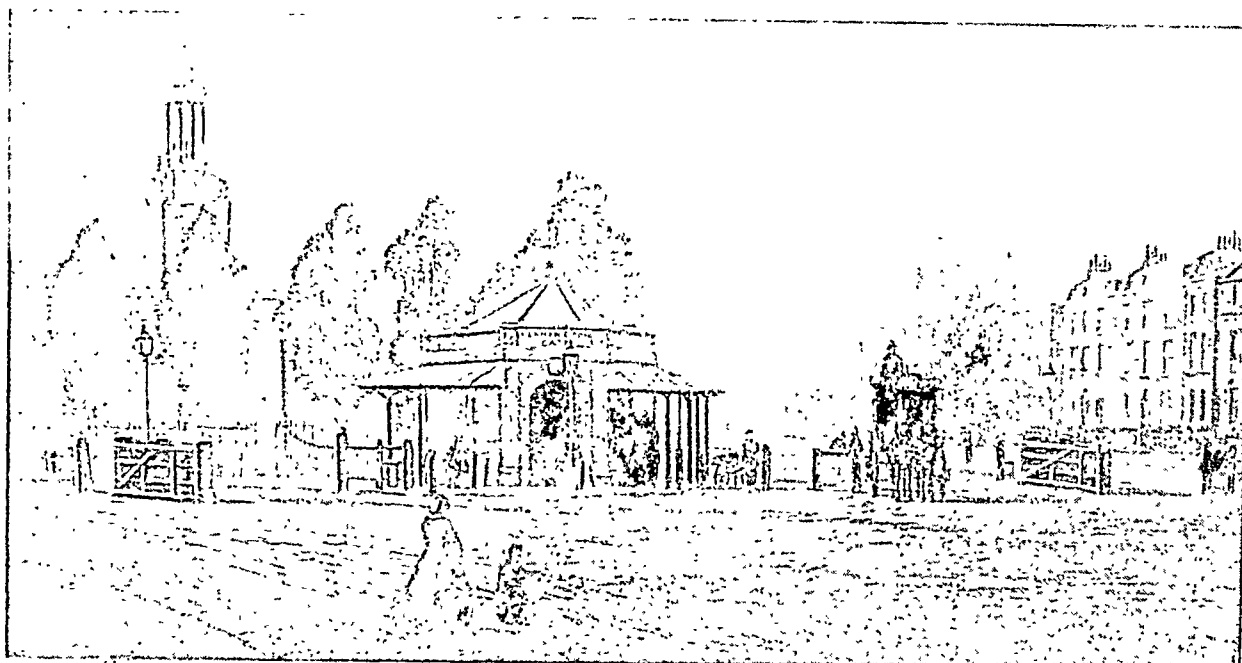
*From Pyne, 'Picturesque Groups,' 1845*

Most roads were only horse tracks. Coal, pottery, iron and textile goods were all carried on the backs of long-suffering pack horses or donkeys. Internal commerce was carried on by packman merchants, each with his string of horses. These men carried their goods about from town to town, and supplied the shops. The villages had to rely on pedlars who

brought their wares on their own backs.

These stamped mud tracks were a great hindrance to industry, but no state action was taken, like that taken in France during the eighteenth century, to improve them. In theory, each parish was bound to look after its own roads; in practice, little was done in the way of repair. Improvement ultimately came from the enterprise of small bodies of local magnates who formed themselves into what were known as turnpike trusts. They took a definite length of road under their care, and obtained an act of Parliament

authorising them to charge tolls, and so recoup themselves for the expenses of making and repairing. Turnpikes play a large part in tales of elopements and robberies, and on many roads melancholy, square, isolated cottages still stand, marking the place where gates once held up the traffic till the dues were paid. The first turnpike trust was set up in 1706, and



**THE OLD TURNPIKE THAT GAVE KENNINGTON GATE ITS NAME**

From 1706 onwards a succession of statutory bodies was created with powers to levy tolls for the upkeep of particular sections of roads. Abuses, chiefly in the direction of multiplication of turnpike gates, led to their gradual abolition, but it was not until 1895 that the last turnpike trust was extinguished. Kennington turnpike gate stood at the junction of the Brixton and Clapham roads. The toll gate in College Road, Dulwich, is still preserved as a relic of the bygone order of things.

*Painting in the Collection of M. Talbot Hughes*

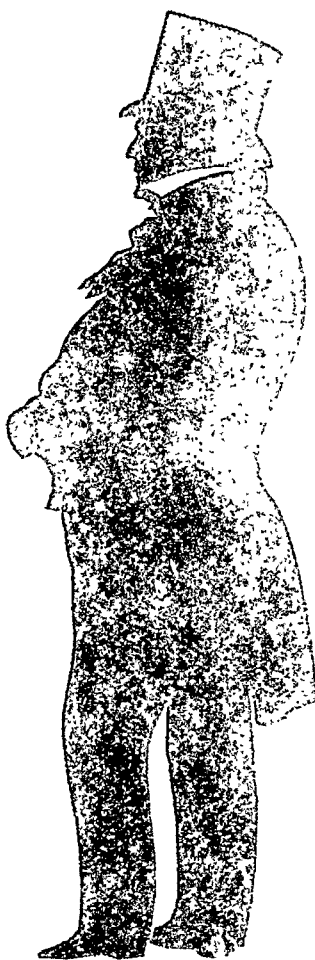


#### AQUEDUCT CONVEYING THE BRIDGEWATER CANAL OVER THE IRWELL

Actually the first canal constructed in Britain was the Sankey Canal from St. Helens to Liverpool, opened in 1760, but the credit for the development of canal communication belongs to the third duke of Bridgewater, who employed James Brindley to construct a canal from Manchester to the duke's coalfields at Worsley. Brindley carried the canal, which was opened in 1761, across the Irwell at Barton by means of the three-arched stone aqueduct seen in this contemporary engraving.

trusts increased rapidly until by 1835 there were over a thousand of them administering some 23,000 miles of road, or roughly about a fifth of the highways. The roads under their charge varied, but they were, at any rate, roads along which wheeled traffic could pass, and there was in consequence a great development of stage coaches for passengers and wagons for goods.

In spite of the improvement in the roads, transport in carts was not adequate to meet the growing demand for coal, and in 1760 the duke of Bridgewater, an enterprising coal-owner, had a canal built to connect his colliery at Worsley with Manchester. The engineer and constructor of this canal was James Brindley, a self-taught genius, trained as a millwright and unable to read or write. The canal, a re-



JOHN LOUDON McADAM

McAdam (1756-1836) began experimenting in road making privately about 1783, and in 1815 introduced his system at Bristol. In 1827 he was appointed surveyor-general of metropolitan roads. *Scottish National Portrait Gallery; photo, Anman*

markable feat of engineering, was opened in 1761 and seemed to solve the problem of inland transport for heavy goods. The duke followed it up by another canal connecting Manchester with Liverpool; one after another canal companies were formed and new canals were built and opened, the Grand Trunk, the Grand Junction and others. Thus, as the rivers were improved at the same time, England at the end of the century was covered with a network of water communications.

The roads, too, were being steadily improved. Telford, a stonemason, and James Metcalfe, a blind fiddler, showed great power as engineers, and the former built some of the chief roads in the north. McAdam, a Scotsman, discovered early in the nineteenth century how to give roads a smooth and



#### PAVIORS AT WORK ON A NEW ROAD

Even as late as 1845, when W. H. Pyne made this sketch from life, the science of road making was in its infancy in England, although McAdam's method was making headway then. The square stone blocks here used for paving the roughly rammed track mostly came from North Britain, frequently as ballast.

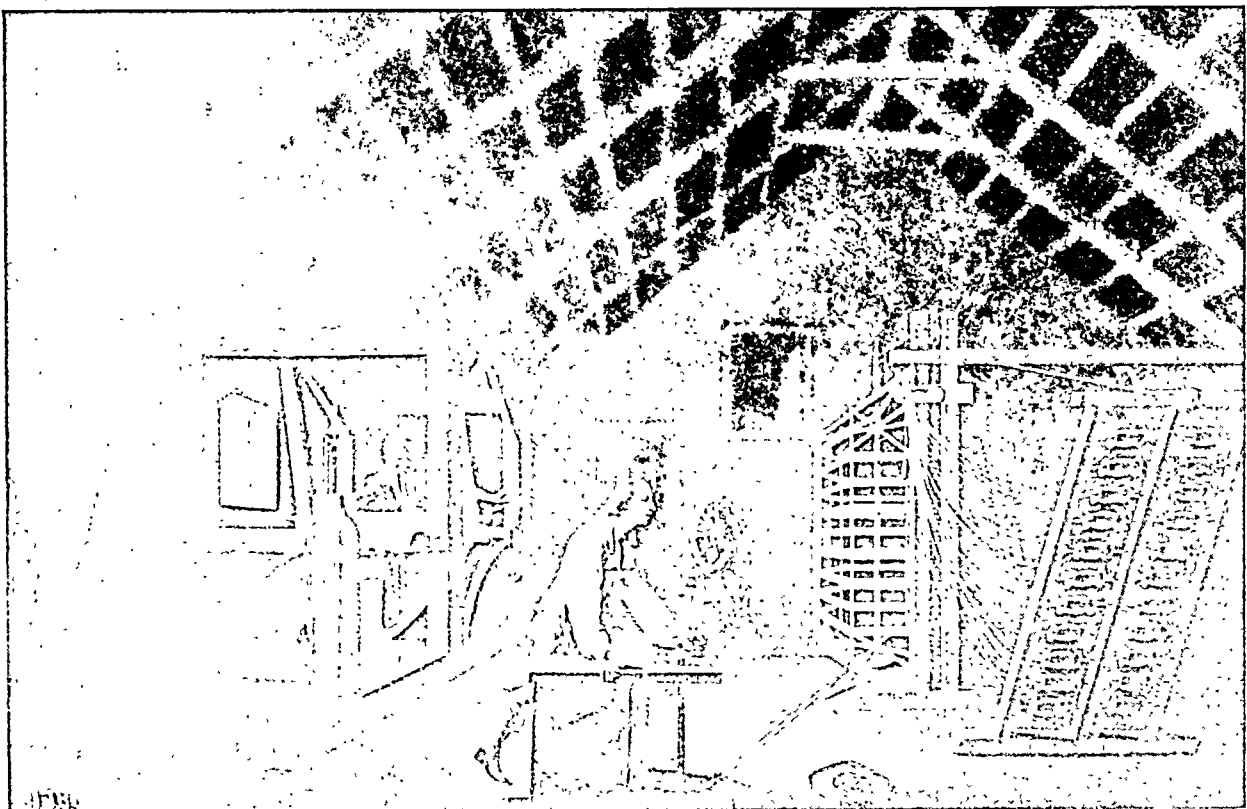
*From Pyne, 'Picturesque Groups,' 1845*

durable surface composed of stones crushed small, without any binding material. The roughness of the roads before his time is shown by Sydney Smith's amusing description : ' In going from Taunton to Bath I suffered between 10,000 and 12,000 severe contusions, before stone-breaking

McAdam was born. Thus, by the time the railways came, goods were being conveyed in barges on canals, or in wagons on roads, while passengers were moving over the country in the numerous stage coaches which went, at any rate near London, at the rate of ten miles an hour. The packman merchant, with his string of horses, had disappeared, to give place to the modern commercial traveller going from town to town for orders, with patterns and samples.

The development of the cotton industry in England

illustrates the chief features of the Industrial Revolution in a clear and vivid manner. Forces which encountered obstacles in old-established manufactures could here work without hindrance. The demand for cotton goods was met by a remarkable series of inventions ; factory



#### 'WINDING, WARPING AND WEAVING FLAX ON EARLY MACHINERY

Until the end of the eighteenth century linen manufacture was largely a domestic industry, but the invention of weaving machinery inevitably converted home workers into factory hands and tended to concentrate the industry in certain localities, notably the north of Ireland around Belfast. This is one of a series of illustrations of the Irish linen manufactory, County Down, engraved by William Hincks in 1783, in which the flax is followed through every stage of its conversion into linen.

*British Museum*

work rapidly superseded home work; steam power stepped in to accelerate the pace of production; and what was at first a small and insignificant industry became in time the most important trade of the kingdom.

The conflict between the claims of cotton and of wool, still a source of keen controversy in its hygienic aspects, was a grim struggle between two interests in the eighteenth century. Wool, shorn from English sheep and spun and woven in the country, was the national wear; the patriotic Englishman, alive and dead, was clothed in wool, and English woollen goods were exported all over the world. But, with the opening up of the East, fine cotton goods made in India were imported into England and charmed the fashionable world. A certain amount of cotton goods was also produced in England, but they were of coarse quality, and chiefly made with linen warp. To protect the woollen industry from this taste for Indian productions, the import of printed and dyed calicoes was prohibited by act of Parliament in 1700.

This meant that the delectable thin Indian goods were imported plain, and printed and dyed in England. The ladies could still be dressed in Protection for home products flowered chintzes. But this, too, was forbidden by an act of 1721 which prohibited the wearing or use of any printed goods made entirely of cotton, so that the many women who, as a contemporary put it, were 'used to and pleased with the light, easie, and gay dress of the calicoes' had now, unless they obtained smuggled goods, either to wear white cottons or to content themselves with printed linens or with printed fustians, a coarse, twilled, short-piled native fabric made with linen warp and cotton weft.

The demand, however, for pleasant cotton goods had been created, and efforts to satisfy it by producing improved native fabrics were constantly being made, without much outward result till they suddenly culminated in a wonderful series of inventions connected with spinning, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The preliminary to this series was an invention connected with weaving, called

the 'flying shuttle,' made by John Kay, a native of Bury, in Lancashire, who was living at the time in Colchester as a woollen weaver. Kay's invention, patented in 1733, enabled the weaver to send the shuttle on its journey through the web by pulling a string, instead of throwing it by hand in the old way, and by this device he could work three times more quickly and could manage a wider loom. Kay's fate might well have served as a warning to later inventors. His house in Bury was wrecked by a mob of angry weavers, his patent was infringed, his litigation was unsuccessful, and he died in poverty in France.

The effect of his invention was to upset the balance between spinners and weavers, for the former could not work fast enough for the latter. The three great spinning inventions, Epoch-making inventions produced more than thirty years later and connected with the names of Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton, known respectively as the spinning jenny, the water frame and the mule, not only redressed the balance but led to the production of more yarn than the weavers could manage.

To understand these inventions it is necessary to remember that all spinning, whether done in a simple or a complicated manner, consists in drawing out or attenuating the fibres of the cotton, wool or whatever it is, that is to be spun, and next twisting them into a thread, which is then wound up. The loose fibres, or 'rovings,' as they are called, have already gone through various processes, notably 'carding,' before they are ready to be spun, but with these processes it is impossible to deal here. The most elementary implements for spinning are the distaff and spindle.

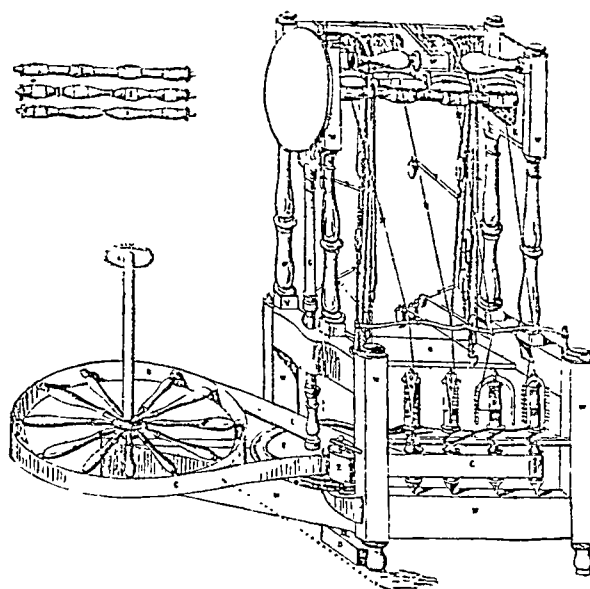
The distaff is a cleft stick holding the loose fibres, which are drawn out by hand and twisted into a thread by means of the spindle, a slender rod to which the fibres are fastened. The next device in the development of spinning is the spinning wheel. Here it is the wheel and not the fingers that turns the spindle. The spinner's right hand turns the wheel, while her left is occupied in feeding the revolving spindle, alternately drawing out



and so attenuating the thread, and paying it in. This was the common method of spinning before the great inventions.

James Hargreaves' spinning jenny, invented about 1767 and called after his wife, was simply a device by which the same wheel, still turned by the spinner's right hand, moved not one but many spindles. In Hargreaves' first machine there were eight spindles. Each spindle's set of fibres or rovings, instead of being held by hand, was fixed in a carriage with a clasp, and the spinner's left hand was occupied in dealing with the clasp and moving the carriage to and fro, thus pulling out and giving in many threads instead of one. Hargreaves was a weaver, of Blackburn, and he used his new invention at first to provide yarn for his own weaving. He was no more popular with his neighbours than Kay, for they invaded his house and destroyed his jennies. He moved to Nottingham in 1768 in order to get away from them, and in 1770 he obtained a patent, but as he had sold some jennies before leaving Lancashire to buy clothes for his children his patent rights were not upheld, and he obtained little financial benefit from his invention, though he did not die in the acute poverty that legend attributed to him. As improvements were made, the number of spindles worked by a jenny increased up to 80 or 100, or even in some cases to 120.

Richard Arkwright's water frame, produced about the same time as Har-



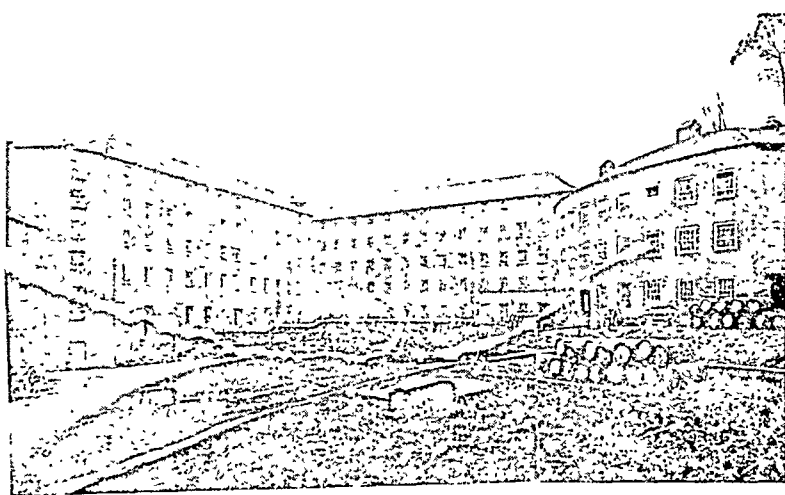
ARKWRIGHT'S WATER FRAME

This is the illustration of Richard Arkwright's first water frame, as deposited by him at the Patent Office in 1769. In 1785 Arkwright's patent was cancelled owing to obscurity in the description of the machinery therein.

greaves' jenny, for it was patented in 1769, employed a different method in spinning. The drawing out or attenuation was done by passing the rovings through four pairs of rollers, one pair of which moved faster than the others. The spindles and the rollers were set in motion by a wheel, worked originally by a horse, afterwards by water—hence the name water frame. He subsequently introduced and patented similar methods for dealing with the preliminary processes. How far Arkwright was genuinely an inventor himself, and

how far he picked the brains of his predecessors and contemporaries, is a perpetually disputed question; what is beyond dispute is that, unlike the ordinary inventor, he was an exceedingly capable and successful man of business. Although he failed in the complicated lawsuits about his patents, he acquired a huge fortune from his various enterprises. He had started life as a barber, specially skilled in hair dyes; he ended it as a high sheriff and a knight.

There were two important points about his water frame: it could produce yarn suitable



ARKWRIGHT'S MILL AT CROMFORD

Arkwright's first spinning mill was erected at Nottingham in 1768 and was worked by horse power. Three years later, in partnership with Jedediah Strutt, he built this much larger factory at Cromford in Derbyshire, about mile from Matlock Bath, the machinery of which was turned by a water wheel.

for the warp, and it made cotton into a factory industry. Water frames, being complicated machines needing water power, were unsuitable for home work, whereas jennies, at any rate small jennies, were easily worked in cottages. Silk mills for throwing silk, employing child labour, were already in existence in many places, and some of these were adapted to cotton spinning. Now that satisfactory cotton warp could be produced it was possible to make the prohibited all-cotton goods in England, as well as to dye and print them, and Arkwright, in 1775, in spite of the opposition of the woollen interest and of some of his fellow cotton manufacturers, obtained the repeal of the prohibition. The 'light, easie, and gay dress' could again be worn without breaking the law.

The third of the great trio of spinning inventions, Crompton's mule, invented in 1779, was perhaps the most important.

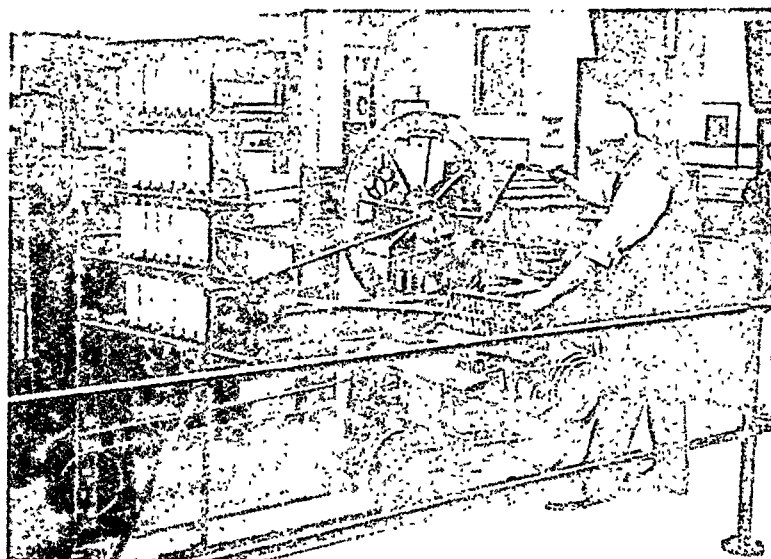
**Spinning Mule** Samuel Crompton was a weaver who wanted better yarn than he was obtaining. To produce it he devised his mule, so called because it combined features from the water frame and from the jenny. In his mule the fibres were first drawn out by rollers, as in Arkwright's machine; next they were again drawn out and twisted, as in the spinning jenny, with this alteration, that instead of the spindles remaining stationary they were here fixed in the carriage and themselves moved to and fro, while the other end of the roving was clasped firm and immovable between the rollers. Crompton's mule produced a finer and a stronger thread than could be made by the other machines, a thread that rivalled the product of the deft Indian fingers and made the growth of the English muslin industry possible. The machine was originally worked by hand; later it was adapted to power.

Crompton is often taken as the typical unhappy inventor,

but, unlike many others, he did not enrich the lawyers by litigation about patent rights; for, devoid of business ability, he gave his invention to the public in return for a paltry subscription from various firms, enough to enable him to build himself a new mule. While the English cotton industry was being transformed and others were making great fortunes, he remained a poor and struggling man, with a rankling sense of injustice, which was not appeased by a private subscription of £500 or a public grant of £5,000.

In addition to the three chief inventors, a new machine, called the 'billy,' was devised by an unknown inhabitant of Stockport, for producing the 'roving' from which yarn could be spun. The billy was a combination of the mule and jenny, and the rovings it made were much cheaper than those produced by the water frame or hand spinning.

The three great inventions, the jenny, the water frame and the mule, went on side by side, turning out cotton yarn from factories or mills placed on streams, or from small workshops, or from private houses and cottages. The next landmark was the introduction of steam power to work the water frame and the mule, made possible by Watt's invention of rotary motion, patented in 1781. A mill at



**CROMPTON'S ORIGINAL SPINNING MULE**

In 1779 Samuel Crompton (1753-1827) completed the invention that changed the face of the weaving industry. It consisted in the addition of a spindle carriage to the roller system of Arkwright's water frame, whereby the constant breaking of the thread was prevented and a much finer yarn was produced.

Papplewick, in Nottingham, in 1785 was the first to use this new force ; other mills in the Manchester district followed, and gradually the industry was freed from dependence on streams and enabled to flourish in towns where labour was more easily obtained.

While steam was being introduced to work the spinning machinery, a country parson, the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, who had never seen a weaver at work, was thinking out the problem of how to apply power to weaving. His mind was turned to the subject by a conversation he had with some Manchester manufacturers while on a holiday at Matlock. He patented the result of his thoughts in 1785, but his invention was clumsy, and it was only after improvements had been made by others in 1803 that it could be brought into profitable use. Even then power for weaving came in but slowly till the 'thirties of the nineteenth century, and long after spinning had become a factory industry the hand-loom weavers continued to fight a losing battle against the power looms worked by steam.

The inventions that revolutionised the English cotton industry were applied in course of time to other textile industries, but in the case of the woollen industry

the process was more gradual, and hand-loom weaving lingered on till quite late in the nineteenth century.

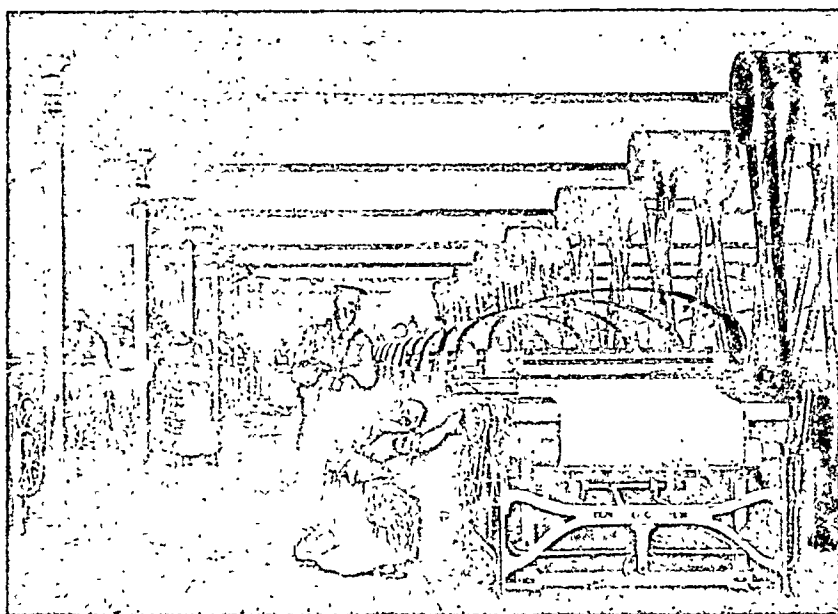
While English inventions were increasing the demand for the raw material used in the cotton mills, an American invention increased the supply

of that material. Before the invention of the saw gin by Eli

Whitney in 1793, short-stapled American cotton was useless for export, because the separation of the fibres from the seeds was troublesome and costly. Whitney's saw gin was a machine by which the fibres were caught on a number of revolving saws and carried off, while the seeds dropped away. The United States, which had hitherto only exported small quantities of Sea Island cotton, could now export its short-stapled cotton, the bulk of its crop, and rapidly became the chief source of supply for the world. Whitney himself got little but trouble from his invention ; his patent was infringed, lawsuits swallowed up his profits, and he turned to the manufacture of firearms in order to gain a living.

Of all the landmarks in the Industrial Revolution, the application of steam power to industry, associated with the name of

James Watt, mathematical instrument maker and mechanic, is the most important and the farthest reaching in its effects. Before considering his invention there are two points to be remembered. Power as a substitute for human hands was no new idea of the Industrial Revolution. Water power had been used for grinding flour in mills as far back as Roman days ; water had also been used for silk mills in Antioch and Tyre in classical times, and for silk mills in Europe in medieval times ; water was being applied to Arkwright's cotton-spinning machinery at the very time that Watt's invention was



IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE POWER LOOM

The Rev Edmund Cartwright (1743-1823) evolved his first power loom in 1785, patenting improvements in the two following years and opening a factory at Doncaster, where steam power was employed. Other improvements were effected and by 1830—the date of the machines shown here—power looms were in general use.

From Baines, 'History of the County Palatine of Lancashire'



**JAMES WATT, ENGINEER**

James Watt (1736-1819) took out his first patent for his steam engine in 1769, thereby inaugurating a new age in industry and, ultimately, in the habits of life. This portrait was painted in 1793 by C. F. von Breda.

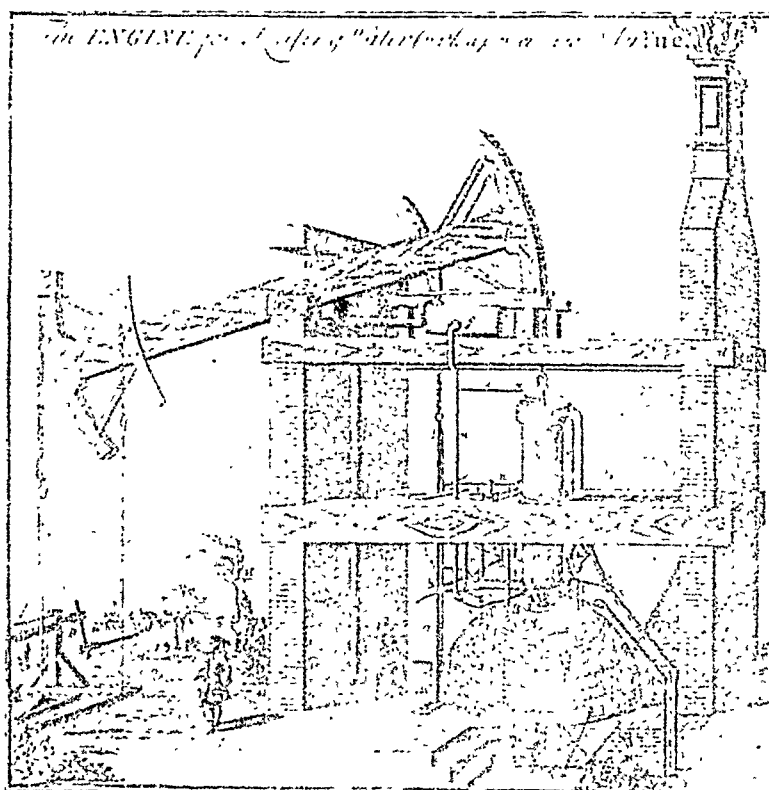
*National Portrait Gallery, London*

beginning to take shape. Nor was the steam engine invented by Watt. Without going into the vexed question of who can claim to be the inventor, it is enough to note that in 1769, the year in which Watt took out his patent, and long before he had made an engine that could work, there were a hundred of Newcomen's steam engines at work in northern collieries alone.

The first engine actually employed in industry was made by Thomas Savery, a Devonshire military engineer, in 1698. Newcomen, a Dartmouth blacksmith, improved on Savery's model and produced an engine used, like Savery's, for pumping water. In Newcomen's engine the piston went up because a weight at the end of a beam pulled it up; it went down because it was sucked into a vacuum. This vacuum was

created by injecting into the cylinder first a dose of steam to heat it and next a dose of cold water to cool it and so to condense the steam. Thus for each stroke of the piston the cylinder had to be reheated after being thoroughly chilled, an uneconomical arrangement. Watt's brain wave, that came to him on a spring Sunday afternoon, after long and patient puzzling over the problem of how to avoid this reheating, was the idea of a separate condenser. Why should not the steam be carried off into a separate vessel to condense there? The exit would cause the required vacuum, and the cylinder would be kept hot. Some idea of the saving of fuel effected by the separate condenser can be gained by the following comparison. For one bushel of coal a Newcomen engine could raise on an average  $5\frac{1}{2}$  million pounds, at most 7 million pounds; Watt's early engines for one bushel could raise  $21\frac{1}{2}$  million pounds, while his later engines could raise  $26\frac{1}{2}$  million pounds.

For Watt the separate condenser was the first of many inventions in connexion



**NEWCOMEN'S ATMOSPHERIC ENGINE**

In 1705 Thomas Newcomen (1663-1729) built the steam engine known as Newcomen's atmospheric engine. About 1710 it was adopted for pumping mines. Above is the earliest known representation of the engine, engraved in 1717 by Henry Beighton, who improved it by introducing a self-acting valve gear.

*From Transactions of the Newcomen Society*

with the steam engine; it was also the beginning of a long life of tormenting care. He worked as mathematical instrument maker and mender under the aegis of Glasgow University, in close association with some of its famous professors, and he was a poor man without business ability. His idea could not be carried out without the expenditure of a great deal of money, and this meant association with the world of business instead of the world of learning. Capital came first from Dr. Roebuck, an enterprising Birmingham scientist who was devoting his energies to developing the Carron Iron Works in Scotland. But the partnership was a failure, and the mechanics who made the parts of the engine were too clumsy to produce the delicate work essential to smooth running. Watt's difficulties were finally solved by his association with Matthew Boulton, an enterprising and cultured hardware manufacturer with a big establishment at Soho near Birmingham.

Boulton took Watt into partnership, and introduced him to John Wilkinson, the famous English ironmaster, who manufactured the larger parts of the engine, and bored the cylinder with greater accuracy than had been attained before. In 1776 engines built on Watt's principle

were for the first time actually at work. This was more than ten years after the idea had first come to him, and seven years after he had taken out a patent. Like Newcomen's engine they worked a rod up and down, and were suitable only for **James Watt's Pumping Engine** pumps, or for blowing bellows. The only method by which they could be applied to machinery which depended on a wheel was by using an engine to pump water on to a water wheel; this ensured a regular supply, but was too complicated for general use. The main demand for the engines came from the tin and copper mines in Cornwall, where workings were deep, fuel scarce and dear, and Newcomen's engine almost prohibitively expensive in running costs.

Boulton and Watt introduced a rather unfortunate method of payment for their engines; they supplied the engine at cost price and claimed an annual payment of one-third of the saving of fuel made by the installation. This sounded fair enough, but it was the cause of many disputes. Apart from financial worries, Watt's time was largely occupied in actual supervision of the setting up and working of the engines, for skilled workmen and super-

visors were hard to find, and the engines themselves were very inferior instruments compared to those made later by the aid of machine tools. However, in spite of these preoccupations, Watt had another burst of invention in the 'eighties. In 1781 he patented a method of applying the steam engine to rotary motion; other improvements followed quickly—a double-acting engine, parallel motion, the 'governor'—but it was the application of steam to wheels that was to prove the most important.

Watt himself did not realize the great field open in factory work, or the vast expansion of the



AN ENGINEERING MASTERPIECE

Matthew Boulton went into partnership with James Watt in 1775, and in 1777 they built this pumping engine for the Birmingham Canal Navigations. It remained in constant use at Smethwick until 1898, when it was removed to Ocken Hill, Tipton, for preservation as an object lesson in good management of good machinery.

*Courtesy of the Birmingham Canal Navigations*

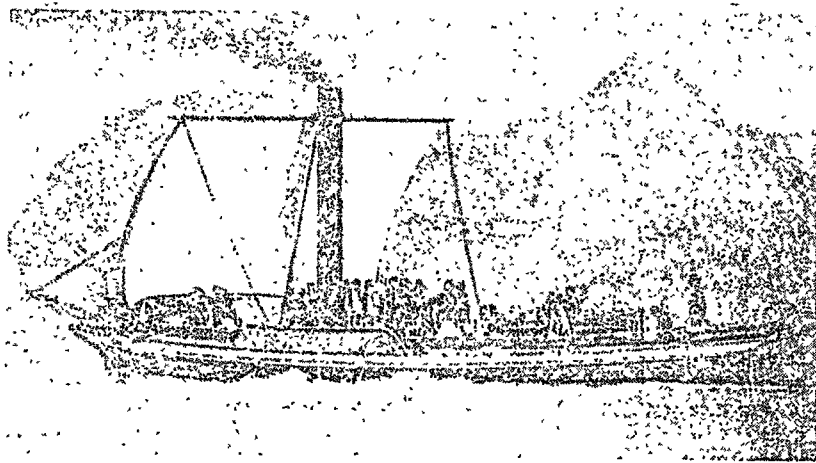
cotton industry that would be made possible by his invention. The steam engine was to free factory industries from dependence on water, though it must not be imagined that existing methods were superseded at once. It was only in the last ten years of the eighteenth century that steam was used to any considerable extent in the cotton industry, and water power remained the chief agency for a generation. Even so, out of the 325 engines produced by Boulton and Watt between 1775 and 1800, when the patent expired, 114 were used in the textile industry, 92 of them for cotton mills.

Watt died in 1819, after many years of happy leisure, before the improvements in mechanical engineering which we discuss later had extended and revolutionised the uses of his engine.

We now come to the phase when steam power is applied to transport, and steamers and railways come into being, bringing with them far-reaching changes not only in industry but in habits of life.

Steamers preceded railways, though their later development was slower. After Watt's inventions, many people busied themselves with the problem of how to propel a boat by the force of steam, though Watt himself took little interest in the subject.

Among these people was William Symington, a Scotsman, educated for the ministry, who had turned to civil engineering for a profession. After various unsuccessful attempts in the last part of the eighteenth century, Symington, in 1802, seemed to have overcome all difficulties. Financed by Lord Dundas, governor of the Forth and Clyde Canal, he launched on the canal the Charlotte Dundas, and showed that she could not only move herself by steam but could tow other vessels as well. So well pleased was



BRITAIN'S FIRST PASSENGER STEAMBOAT

Henry Bell's Comet, completed in January, 1812, plied regularly on the Clyde between Glasgow, Greenock and Helensburgh. Her dimensions were forty feet in length and ten feet six inches beam; in addition to sails, a three horse-power engine drove four paddle-wheels, two on each side. These were presently reduced to two, with consequent improvement in speed.

*Contemporary engraving*

Lord Dundas that he introduced Symington to the duke of Bridgewater, of canal fame, and the duke ordered eight steamboats for use on his own canal. Then, just when his fame and fortune seemed made, Symington's opportunities were swept away. The Forth and Clyde Canal Company, in a panic that their banks might be damaged, forbade the use of steamboats; on the same day Symington heard of the death of the duke of Bridgewater, which meant the death of his hopes of building the boats. Though his boat was 'constructed on the same principles as the present-day steamship,' he found no other patron, and struggled with poverty for the rest of his life.

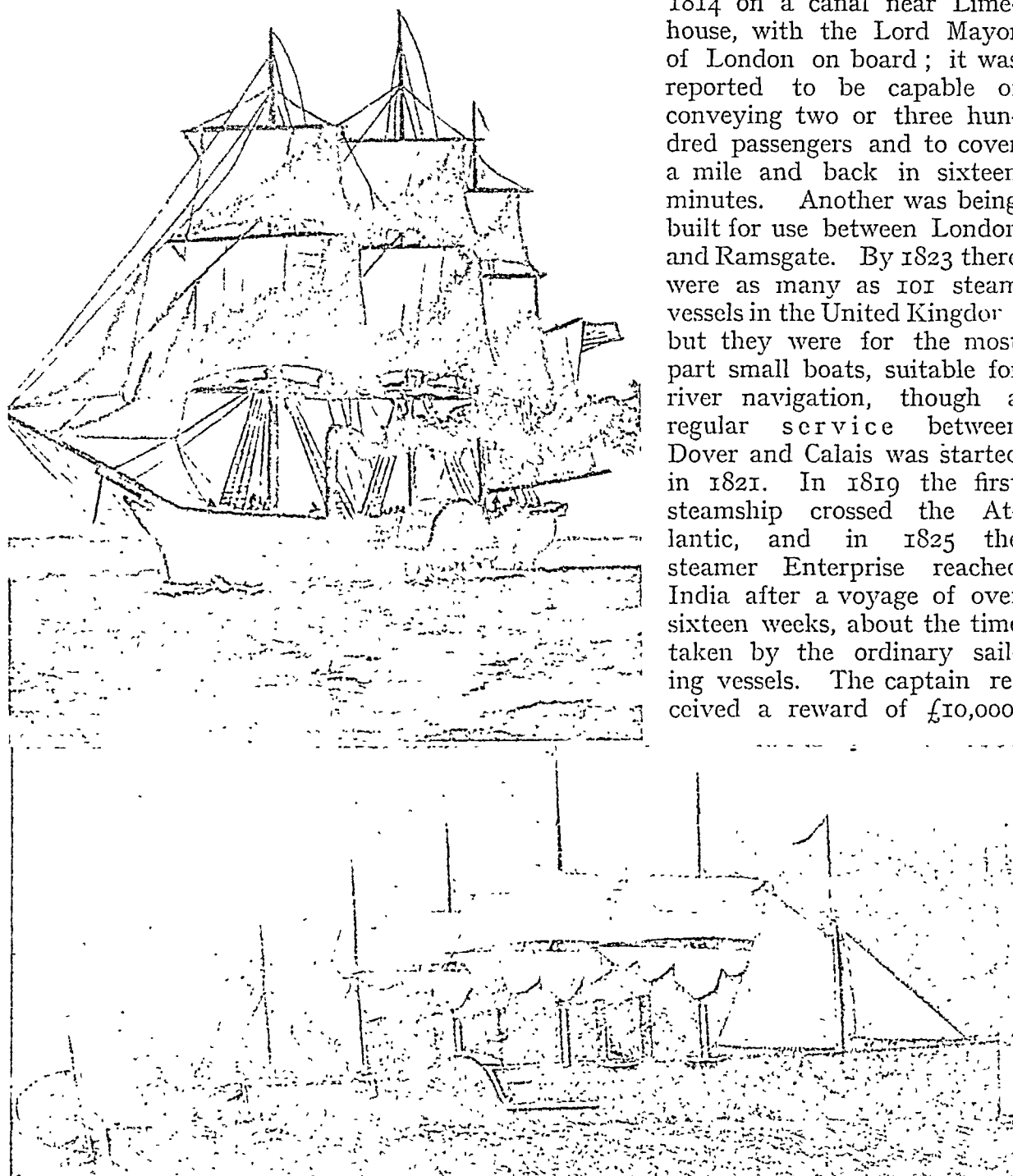
It was left to Henry Bell, who also had worked at the problem for many years, to start on the Clyde in 1812 the first steamboat in the British Isles that ran regularly and successfully. The boat was called the Comet; her engine power was three horse only, and she took passenger traffic between Glasgow and Greenock. The Comet had been preceded in America, in 1807, by a steamboat on the Hudson, which plied between New York and Albany. This steamboat was built by Fulton, who had watched the various unsuccessful experiments in Scotland, and had been on board the Charlotte Dundas. Fulton offered his services to Napoleon for conveying his troops over the Channel

by steamers for the invasion of England, and when Napoleon refused his offer went off to America.

The Comet was soon followed by other more powerful steamers on the Clyde; by 1815 there were six of them 'all neatly fitted up, and some of them even ele-

gantly decorated.' On fine summer days as many as 500 or 600 people would take the trip down to Greenock and back to Glasgow, whereas 50 or 60 was the highest number in the days of 'common passage boats.' In England, too, steamers were being built; one was put in motion in

1814 on a canal near Limehouse, with the Lord Mayor of London on board; it was reported to be capable of conveying two or three hundred passengers and to cover a mile and back in sixteen minutes. Another was being built for use between London and Ramsgate. By 1823 there were as many as 101 steam vessels in the United Kingdom but they were for the most part small boats, suitable for river navigation, though a regular service between Dover and Calais was started in 1821. In 1819 the first steamship crossed the Atlantic, and in 1825 the steamer *Enterprise* reached India after a voyage of over sixteen weeks, about the time taken by the ordinary sailing vessels. The captain received a reward of £10,000,



HISTORIC STEAMSHIPS IN THE TRANSATLANTIC PASSENGER SERVICE

The first vessel fitted with steam to cross the Atlantic was the *Savannah* (top), a fully rigged American ship with an auxiliary engine to drive the paddles when she was not under full sail. In 1819 she crossed from Savannah to Liverpool in 25 days, for the most part under sail power. The *Great Eastern*, the largest steamship built up to 1855, was a six-masted iron vessel, barque-rigged and driven by screw and paddles. She made her first voyage across the Atlantic in 1860, but the cost was prohibitive.

*Bottom, painting in Victoria and Albert Museum*



but the attempt was not considered a success, and it was many years before steamers superseded sailing boats for the passage to India.

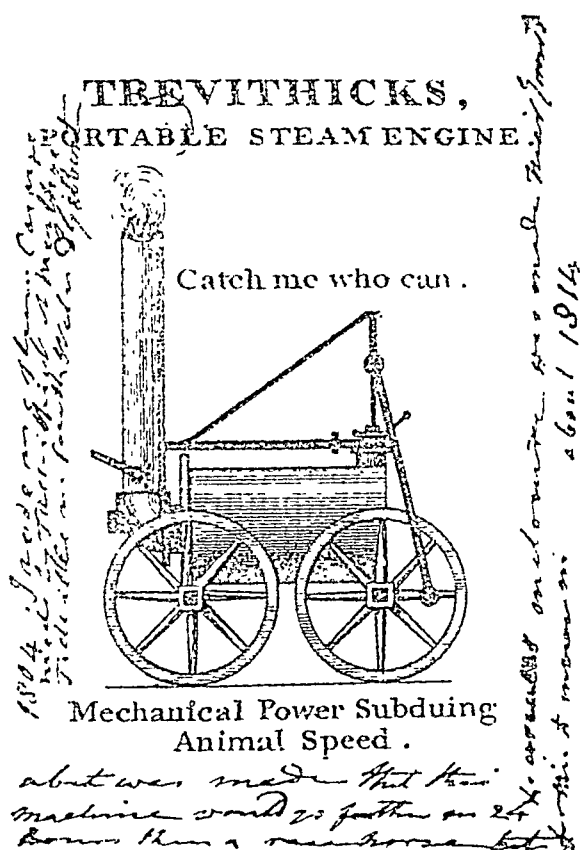
Judged, indeed, by modern standards, the growth of steamships was a slow business. There were over a thousand vessels in 1847 and the

Slow growth output of new ones was of Steamships some sixty or seventy a year, but these sixty or seventy all put together carried less than a good-sized modern tramp; to contemporaries, however, the progress was 'rapid to a degree that could never have been anticipated,' these new inventions 'excited the locomotive propensities of the English people in a most remarkable degree,' and it seemed marvellous to see throngs of travellers passing up and down the Thames or the Clyde or going from Norwich to Yarmouth in what Coleridge described as

those trim skiffs unknown of yore,  
On winding Lakes and Rivers wide,  
That ask no aid of Sail or Oar,  
That fear no spite of Wind or Tide.

Sometimes in these early days these trim skiffs' had bad accidents from exploding boilers or collision in the dark, and as early as 1817 a committee of the House of Commons recommended regulations for the construction and inspection of their machinery, a recommendation to which no effect was given for many years. These early steamers, it must be noted, were made of wood; iron for shipping came in much later than did iron for machinery, and in the 'forties iron ships were still regarded as experimental.

The second form of steam transport, the railway, though it started later than steam navigation, advanced more rapidly, in spite of the violent opposition from owners of land, who, thinking their interests threatened, fought surveyors and projectors with all their might. It is curious to notice that the first attempts at steam locomotion were in the direction of the modern motor-car rather than of the railway with its fixed way. As early as 1784 William Murdock, one of Watt's best and most ingenious workmen, startled the parson of Redruth by driving a hissing



'CAPTAIN DICK'S PUFFER'

Richard Trevithick (1771-1833) devised the first road locomotive to carry passengers by steam, and among his numerous inventions were locomotives running on rails. Trevithick's business card displays his primitive steam engine.

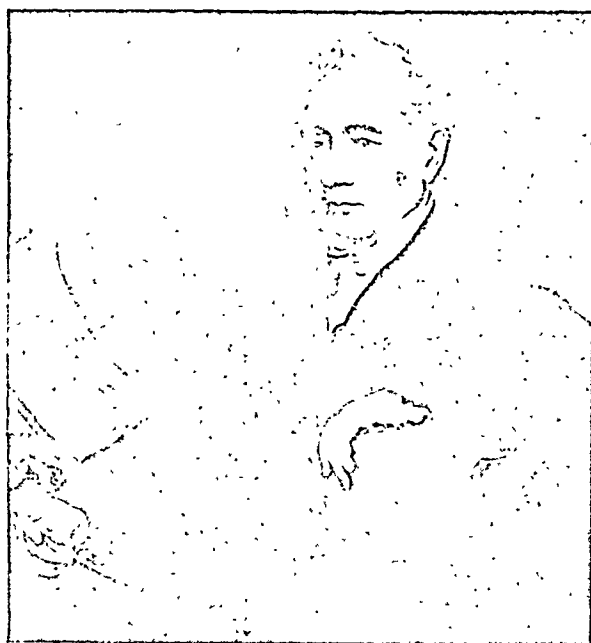
From Transactions of the Newcomen Society

monster along the vicarage lane, but Murdock met with no encouragement. Richard Trevithick, the romantic and tempestuous Cornish giant, with a genius for unremunerative inventions, conveyed the first load of passengers ever moved by steam in his 'puffing devil,' alias 'Captain Dick's puffer,' on Christmas Eve, 1801, at Redruth. In 1803, with an improved 'puffer,' he steamed about the suburbs of London, carrying loads of passengers; but the venture did not pay, and Trevithick went off to other pursuits, including melodramatic adventures in Peru.

To become a success, steam locomotion had to be applied to what we should now call tramways, which had been in existence for moving coals in collieries as far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Wood was the material used for the early rails; iron was introduced for them in 1767. At first cast iron was used, but was brittle; later experiments were

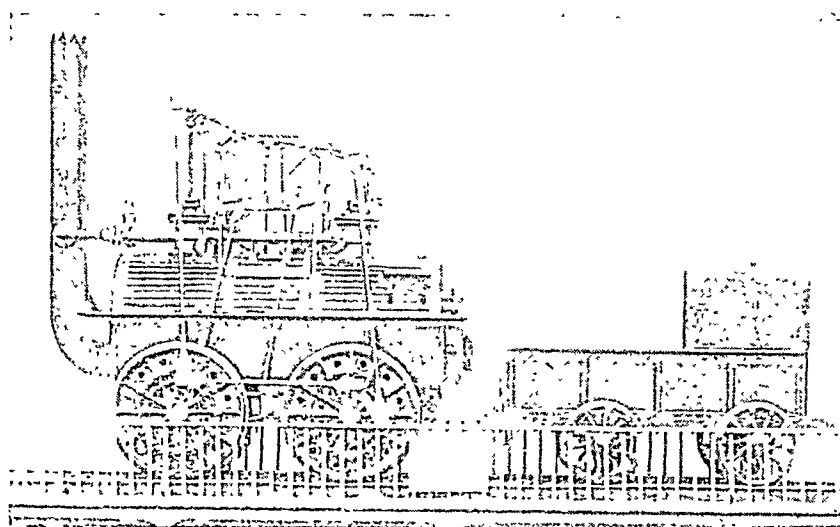
made in wrought iron, and by 1830 wrought iron had superseded cast. In 1804 a steam locomotive was tried on one of these tramways, or railways, as they were called, at the Merthyr Tydvil ironworks.

The vexed question who was the father of railways is difficult to answer, but at any rate there is general agreement that it is to George Stephenson, the successful mining engineer, more than to any other man, that the modern railway is due. Stephenson used a locomotive engine on the rails at Killingworth Colliery, of which he was surveyor, and as engineer for the Stockton and Darlington Railway, opened in 1825, he persuaded the directors to use engines instead of horses, thus making it the first railway instead of a mere tramway. When the Manchester and Liverpool Railway was being built, outside experts advised stationary engines and cables. Stephenson, who acted both as surveyor and engineer, pressed for the use



GEORGE STEPHENSON

The name of George Stephenson (1781-1848) is inseparably connected with the growth of the steam engine. His first locomotive received a successful trial in 1814. This mezzotint by C. Turner is from a painting by H. P. Briggs.



FIRST ENGINE OF THE FIRST RAILWAY

As engineer to the Stockton and Darlington Railway, authorised by Parliament in 1821 and opened in 1825, George Stephenson advocated the adoption of steam power in preference to animal power. The maximum speed attained by the line's first engine, the *Locomotion*, which is still preserved, was fifteen miles per hour.

*Science Museum, South Kensington*

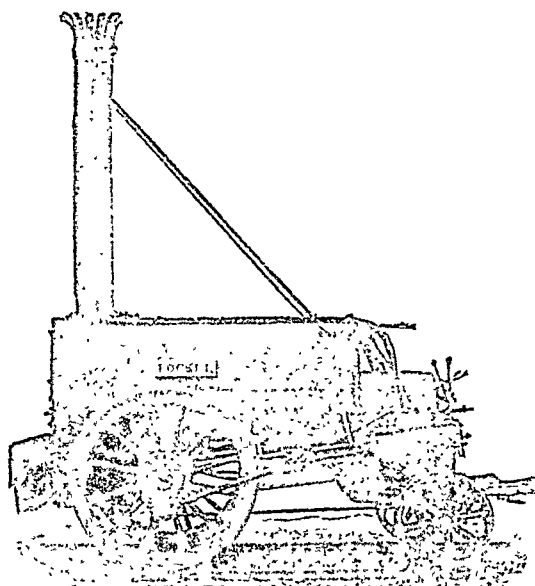
of locomotive engines; a competition for engines was arranged at Rainhill in 1829, and Stephenson with his *Rocket*, the first high-speed locomotive engine, with a tubular boiler, won the day. The railway system of the world is sometimes said to date from the Rainhill competition, October 6, 1829. The Liverpool and Manchester Railway was opened in 1830, and its opening made a great impression on the public mind. During the ceremony, in which the duke of Wellington and a distinguished company were taken from Manchester to Liverpool and back again in a series of cars, each with its engine, Huskisson, late president of the Board of Trade, who had alighted to speak to the duke, was run over and killed.

The success of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway encouraged the promoters of other lines, and by 1848 the main railroad system of modern England was blocked out. The early railways, says Dr. Clapham, 'had been due mainly to the resolution of small groups of local business men; to the enlistment of local patriotism; and to the conviction and driving power of a few engineers interested less in dividends than in construction.' Their success was succeeded by a railway mania, a sort of nineteenth-century South Sea Bubble, when everyone with a little money to spare expected to make his fortune

by investing it in one or other of the multitude of schemes which were 'propagated blindly and wastefully like living things.

France and Austria started their first railways in 1828; between 1830 and 1840 Belgium, Germany, Russia and Italy followed suit, and before 1860 all European countries except Turkey and Greece had a railway system. The first railway in the United States was a small affair, only three miles long, opened in 1825, the same year as the opening of the Stockton and Darlington line, and, like that, intended for the conveyance of bulky goods.

The surprise of the first railways was the eagerness with which passengers hurried to use this new, quick and, to many minds, dangerous method of moving about. Goods, on the other hand, long continued to be sent along canals. The canals, as is well known, fought the railroads and lost the battle; but the fight went on for many years, and as late as 1851 Porter, of the *Progress of the Nation*, could write: 'Hitherto railroads have not been found to act in injurious competition with water conveyance for the transmission of goods.' Roughly, the transit of goods had been more or less provided for by the enterprise of the eighteenth century, while a population which had lost its fixed roots and was becoming urban instead of rural seized



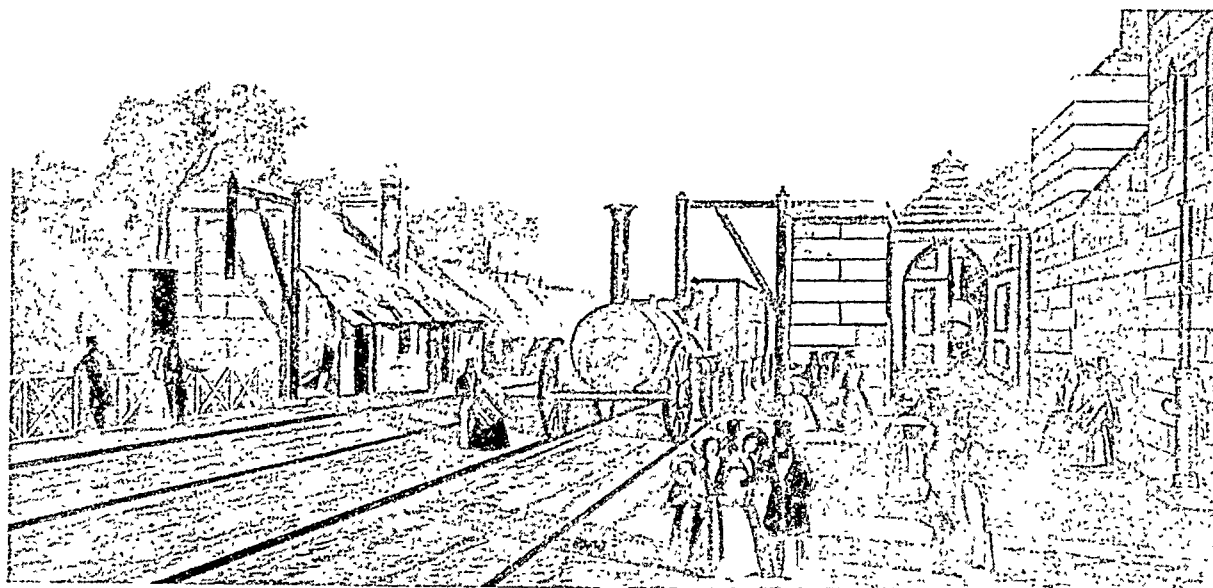
THE RECORD-BREAKING ROCKET

In the locomotive trial at Rainhill in 1829 Stephenson's Rocket, achieving a speed of 29 miles per hour, won the first prize. In 1830, at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, she attained 36 miles per hour.

*Science Museum, South Kensington*

cagerly on the new means of communication. After the 'forties, with the growth of manufactures and the general speeding up of life and commerce, goods traffic on the railways increased to the detriment of the slow strings of barges on the canals.

In the last as in the first phase of our subject, we are concerned with iron. In



PARKSIDE, THE SCENE OF HUSKISSON'S FATAL ACCIDENT

The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830 in the presence of a distinguished assembly was marred by a tragic accident. Huskisson, ex-president of the Board of Trade, who had stepped on to the line to speak to the duke of Wellington, was run over and killed by an engine. The accident occurred at Parkside Station, where this engraving, after T. T. Bury's drawing published by Ackermann in 1833, shows an engine taking in water.

the first phase new methods of producing iron were discovered; in the last phase new methods of using it. Mechanical engineering comes into being, and the tools that make machines become machines themselves.

Hand work in many spheres is preferable to machine work; but the most ardent advocate of handicraft would not deny that the early 'bespoke' hand-made machine of Watt's time, with its individual screws, bolts and nuts, depending for its accuracy on the eyes and fingers of the workman who made it,

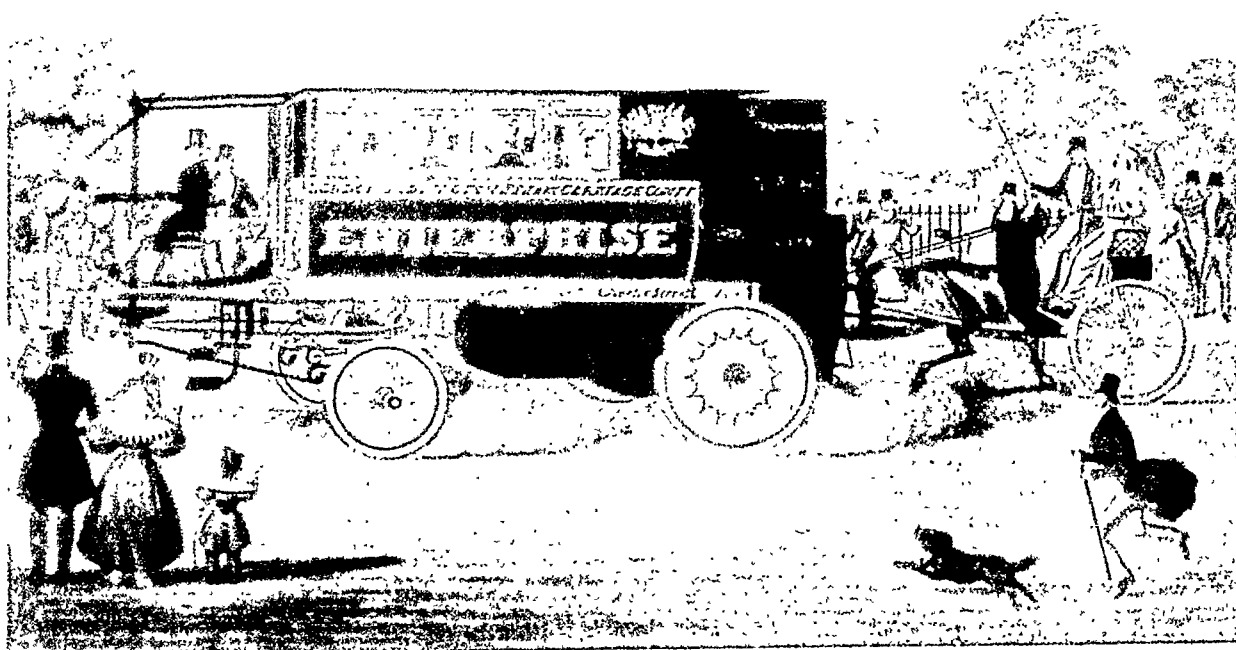
was less satisfactory than the later standardised machine, whose parts are themselves fashioned by automatic machine tools worked by steam power. And the steam engine that worked these machine tools was itself in turn improved by them, and became a far more powerful and accurate instrument than its predecessor, whose piston had to be stuffed with 'chewed paper and greased hats' to prevent the escape of steam.

Machine tools have been described in their simplest form as a 'self-acting or automatic system of turning, planing and cutting metals.' The slide rest and the planing machine may be taken as examples of what is meant by this. Before the slide rest was introduced, the workman, when working on the surface of a metal object in the lathe, held the tool in his fingers, moving it along over a fixed rest; when the slide rest was introduced the tool itself was fixed into the rest, and the rest moved along automatically. Steel fingers, in fact, were substituted for human fingers. In the planing machine, a modification of the slide rest, the cutter or cutters were fixed, and the work to be planed travelled to and fro under them automatically. To make a surface of cast iron true by the planing machine cost in labour one penny per square foot; by the old method of hand chipping and filing it had cost twelve shillings per square foot.

The various machine tools were invented, altered, improved and improved again by a remarkable race or school of men who flourished in the early part of the nineteenth century. The true mechanical engineer of the modern world, says

Professor Clapham, was just coming into existence by 1820-30. Primitive forms of machine tools had, however, been invented and used before then. One after another, or simultaneously, these men made new applications of the command over nature that previous inventions had given them. Watt, by his steam engine, had opened up a vast new territory; these men staked it out and cultivated it. A hundred years earlier they would probably have followed their fathers' occupations; a hundred years later their interests would be centred on their motor-bicycles. They threw out inventions as a wit throws out epigrams; the classical example was Roberts, who, to scotch a strike, devised his punching machine for drilling holes in bridge and boiler plates one evening, while quietly sipping his tea.

The early mechanical engineers illustrate vividly one aspect of the Industrial Revolution: the opening of new careers to men of talent and initiative, however unpromising their start in life. The patriarch of the band was Joseph Bramah (1748-1814), of lock and hydraulic press renown, son of a ploughman, and a plough-boy himself till an accident to his ankle turned him from farm work to mechanics. In Bramah's workshop was trained Henry Maudslay Some notable  
Inventors (1771-1831), who produced the prototypes of later machine tools, including the slide rest called 'Maudslay's Go Cart,' to the strains of a musical box. Maudslay started life in his father's footsteps as a workman at the Woolwich Arsenal; he afterwards founded a famous engineering firm. Among the band there were several inventors of the planing machine: Fox of Derby, the ex-butler, Matthew Murray (1763-1826), the blacksmith's apprentice, and Joseph Clement (1779-1844), the hand-loom weaver's son, remarkable among inventors for making money out of his invention, for he earned some ten pounds a day by his machine, though he had taken out no patent. Clement started life first at the loom and then as a thatcher and slater. Later he, like Maudslay, was trained in Bramah's workshop. Richard Roberts (1789-1864), another inventor of the planing machine, was trained in Maudslay's firm. Roberts,



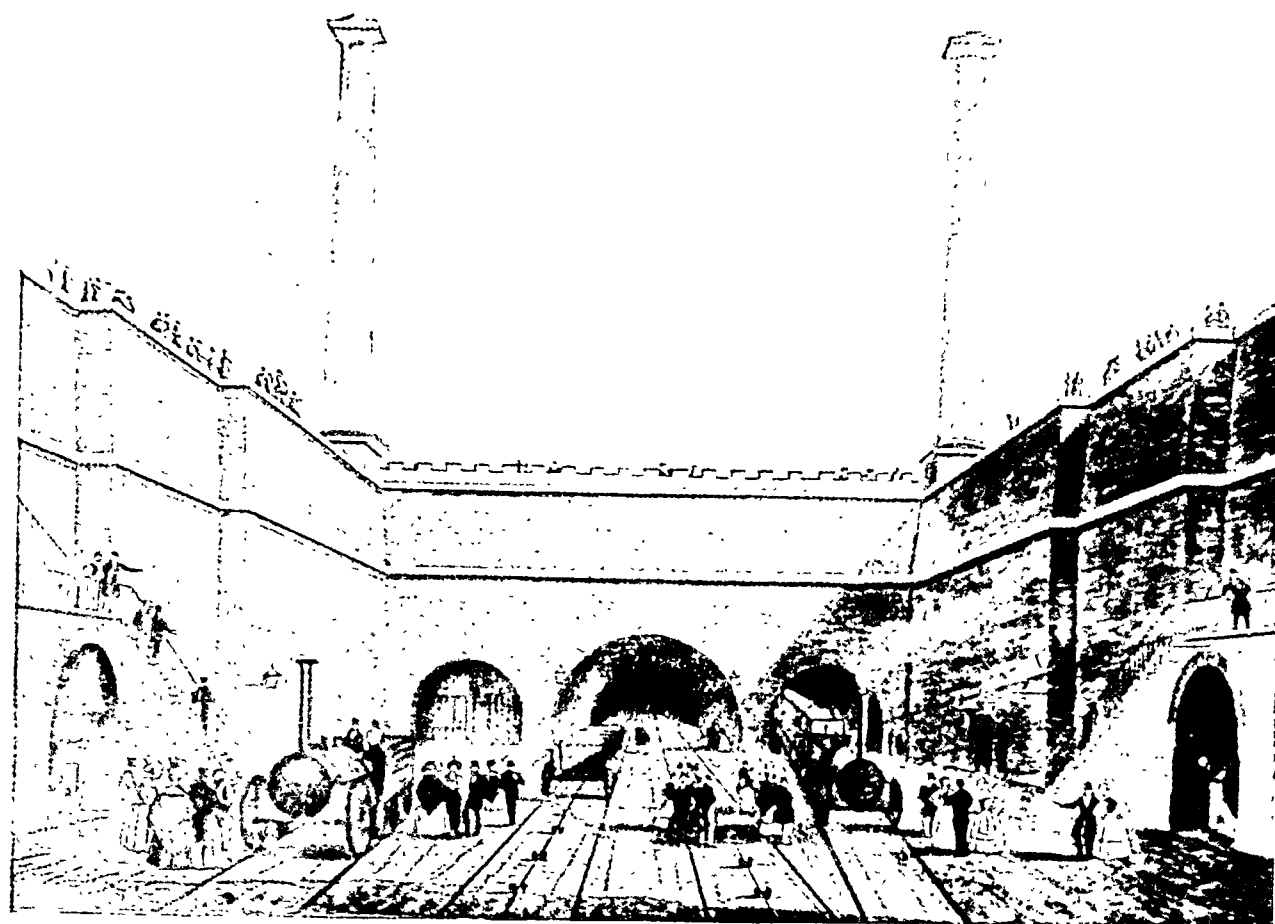
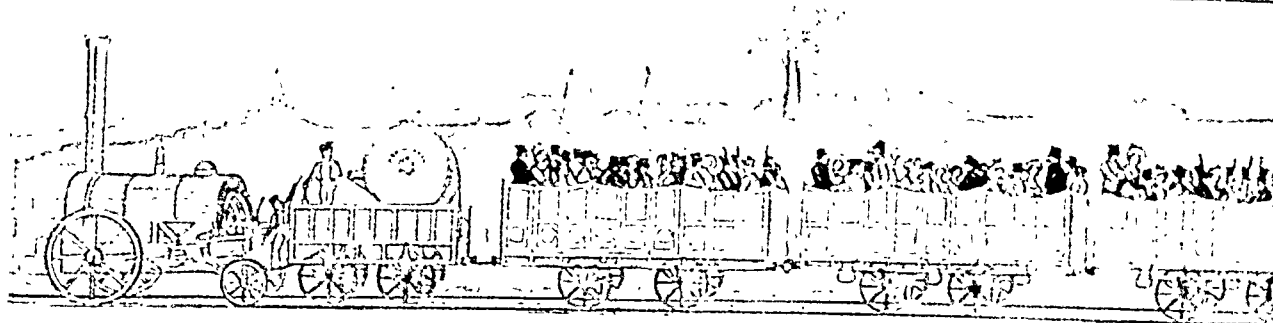
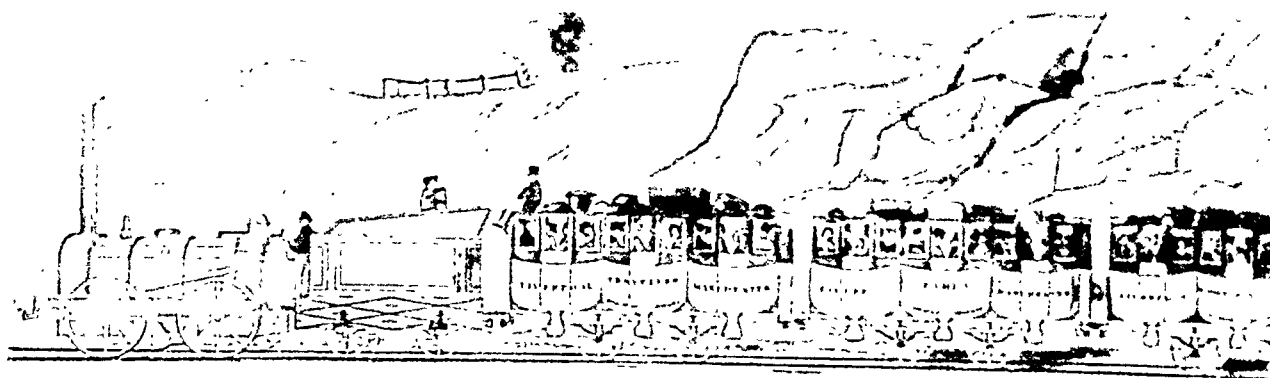
A burst of inventiveness followed the application of steam to locomotion, and for a while vehicles of a kind that reappeared only in the following century were seen. This steam prototype of the motor-bus, the Enterprise, was built by W. Hancock for the London and Paddington Steam Carriage Company in 1833; the aquatint, partly hand-coloured, is by C. Hunt after a drawing by W. Summers.



The most significant features of the Industrial Revolution, the factory system and attendant inventions, appeared in the eighteenth century, but the most spectacular, those connected with transport, were delayed until the nineteenth. The pair of aquatints above (one of a series entitled Fores's Contrasts) brings home the social changes involved and shows how they impressed contemporary minds: The Driver of 1832 and The Driver of 1852, by H. Alken, engraved by J. Harris.

#### HOW THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AFFECTED THE HIGHWAYS OF ENGLAND

Published by Ackermann & Co., 1833, and (bottom) by Messrs. Fores, 1852



### INFANCY OF THE RAILWAY: TRAFFIC ON THE LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER

Though Richard Trevithick had used a locomotive on a Welsh plateway as early as 1804, and George Stephenson did the same in 1825 on the Stockton and Darlington line, 1830, when the Liverpool and Manchester line was opened, is considered the birth year of the modern railway. These aquatints (printed in two ground tints and coloured up by hand) show a 'train of the first-class of carriages,' a 'train of the second-class for outside passengers'—these two drawn by I. Shaw and reproduced in part only—and the 'entrance of the railway' in 1833 at Edge Hill, Liverpool, by T. T. Bury.

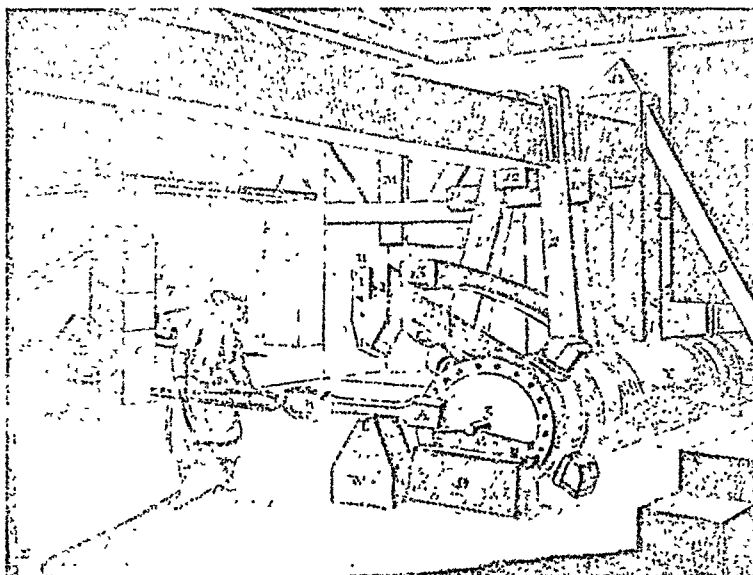
*Aquatinted by S. G. Hughes and published by Ackermann & Co., 1853*

perhaps the most fertile inventor of them all, and, like the typical inventor, devoid of commercial ability, was a shoemaker's son from the Welsh borders. He came to London, after working in some ironworks near home, to evade a militia summons. He later set up in Manchester, where he produced, among his other inventions, the self-acting mule.

The Manchester district, with its textile machinery, became an important centre for mechanical engineering. The best-known names are Fairbairn (1789-1874), the Scottish gardener's son who, after many adventures and wanderings, settled in Manchester and revolutionised mill machinery, substituting for 'ponderous masses of timber and cast iron with enormous bearings and couplings,' 'slender rods of wrought iron and light frames or hooks by which they were suspended'; and Whitworth (1803-1887), trained in the workshops of Maudslay and Clement, who standardised screws and introduced standard gauges by which workmen could measure to the  $\frac{1}{20000}$  of an inch.

When mechanical engineering had well started on its course, great changes and economies were effected

**Improvements in the production of iron**  
**Iron Industry** by two inventions: Neilson's hot blast (1828), and Nasmyth's steam hammer (1838). James Beaumont Neilson (b. 1792), the son of a Scottish engine-wright, rose to be manager of the Glasgow Gas Works, and while he was a gas maker he revolutionised iron making, in the teeth of expert opinion. Ironmasters were in the habit of cooling the air blown into the furnace by the bellows, thinking that the colder the air the better the iron. Neilson pointed out that by heating the air they would produce a greater volume, and in consequence a stronger blast. Though hampered by the expense of experiments and the scepticism of the trade, he proved his contention and obtained a patent in 1828.



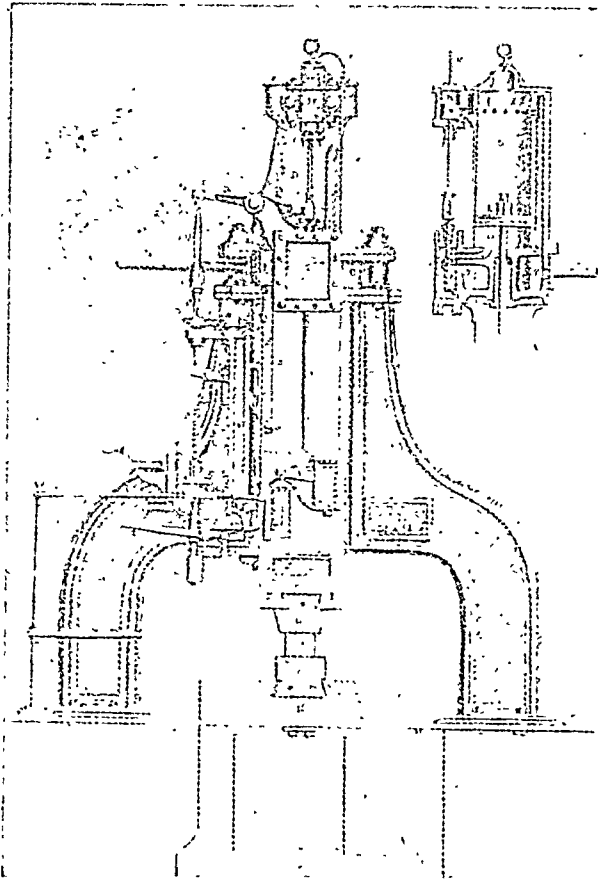
WIELDING THE TILT HAMMER

An illustration to Diderot and d'Alembert's famous *Encyclopédie* (see page 4128) records the early method of manipulating a tilt hammer in the French iron industry. Nasmyth's steam hammer, at first regarded sceptically in England, was enthusiastically welcomed by the Creusot ironworks in France.

By the use of the hot blast not only was the amount of coal necessary to produce a certain quantity of iron reduced by more than half, but inferior coal which had been useless before was now available, a development which led to a great expansion of the iron industry in Scotland.

Nasmyth's steam hammer was invented in 1838 and patented in 1842. James Nasmyth (b. 1808), son of the landscape painter, was a pupil of Maudslay's, and set up later for himself in Manchester. His hammer was invented to cope with the difficulty of hammering large expanses of metal in the forge. Tilt hammers in use, worked either by water or, after Watt's time, by steam, had a comparatively small range. Nasmyth's hammer was a huge block of iron, lifted up by the force of steam above the object to be hammered, and then, when the steam was let out of the piston, allowed to fall on the anvil. Nasmyth invented it in order to forge a paddle-shaft for the Great Western Steamship Company, but a screw was substituted for a paddle-wheel for the steamer in question before the hammer was made, and no forge-master in England would take up Nasmyth's idea. The Creusot ironworks of France, whose representatives had seen the hammer on paper—for Nasmyth made no secret of it—meanwhile reproduced





NASMYTH'S STEAM HAMMER

The best known invention of the engineer James Nasmyth (1808-90) is his steam hammer, patented in 1842. The machine was shown at the great Exhibition in 1851, when this drawing in elevation of it was made.

*From Tomlinson, 'Cyclopedia of Useful Arts'*

it in iron, and Nasmyth, stimulated by this, obtained a patent on borrowed money and built a hammer at his own works. His hammer was soon regarded as absolutely necessary to every well-appointed workshop.

The social changes resulting from these inventions, and the development of industrial life, made a deep impression on the character and habits of the English people. To-day most Englishmen live in towns; in the eighteenth century most Englishmen lived in the country. Life in the eighteenth century was leisurely and easy-going in comparison with the pace set by the Industrial Revolution. One reason why the early factories were so unpopular that it was difficult to find labour for them was that they demanded discipline, and orderly and punctual habits, from workmen who had been accustomed to do their work in their own time. Domestic industry was in

some respects a harder taskmaster than factory industry, but it did not impose a strict time-table, summon its servants by the factory bell and keep them under one roof for so many hours. This change, the change to discipline and regulation, had an important influence on the workpeople, for it made it easier to organize their forces for the purposes of politics or industrial struggle. The nineteenth-century trade union owed a great deal to this education.

The map of England, as well as the habits and outlook of the English people, was changed by the Industrial Revolution. Before that revolution the five most populous counties are believed to have been Middlesex, Somerset, Gloucester, Wiltshire and Northampton. In the course of that revolution the cotton industry established itself in Lancashire; the woollen industry grew faster in the West Riding than in its old home the south-west of England, and the worsted industry grew faster in Bradford than in Norwich, where it had flourished for two centuries; the industries connected with iron and steel settled in the Black Country, because they needed coal. Hence, when the nineteenth century opened, Lancashire, the West Riding, Stafford and Warwickshire occupied the place of Somerset, Gloucester, Wilts and Northampton.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the population moved automatically from places where an industry was declining to one where it was expanding. The wool- Distribution len and worsted weavers of Industries did not migrate from Gloucester or Norwich to Leeds and Bradford; they tended rather to migrate to London. The migration of the time was by slow stages, and Lancashire and Yorkshire filled up their towns from the adjacent countryside. There was long-distance migration, but it was from Ireland, where the population was hopelessly congested, and the social problems of the time were immensely aggravated in consequence. The Irish immigrants, who left their country only when they found it impossible to make even the barest living there, were used to a desperately low standard of comfort, and the English

workmen had good reason to dread them as competitors and as neighbours. On the other hand, they supplied a good many leaders to the English trade unions and to the Chartist movement.

The Industrial Revolution created two difficult social problems. One was the regulation of a new kind of industry. The other was the regulation of the new districts which grew so rapidly from villages to towns, or from small towns to large.

The first factories were built on streams, as they were dependent on water power. In these places it was difficult to get child labour, because the local population was sparse and the inhabitants did not like to send their children to the mills. The difficulty was overcome by taking children as apprentices from the workhouses. This led to great abuses, as the children were quite unprotected (see further in Chapter 164). When steam power took the place of water power it was possible to set up mills in towns and populous places, and from that time the child labour in the mills was what was called 'free labour.' Robert Owen and Sir Robert Peel, father of the more famous statesman of that name, tried to get Parliament to intervene to protect the children, and with some success, for a **Protection for the Children** Factory Act was passed in 1802 to protect apprentices, and another in 1819 to protect all children working in cotton mills. The regulation of the mills in order to rescue children from the long hours and other cruel conditions of their employment became the chief domestic controversy in English politics. The leaders of the agitation for reform were Sadler, Lord Shaftesbury and John Fielden. In consequence of their efforts Parliament passed an act in 1833, which, though it disappointed the reformers, introduced a principle of the greatest value, the principle of state inspection.

The great difficulty in the way of making the conditions of the mills tolerable for children was that it was found impossible in practice to reduce the labour of children without reducing that of adults, and manufacturers and economists believed that the reduction of the hours of adult labour would be fatal to the profits of the industry.

For fourteen years there was a struggle over this question. There were roughly four schools of opinion. One school disliked all interference with the hours of labour; the second would have been in favour of limiting hours for children if that could be done without limiting the hours of adults; the third did not want to limit the hours of adults, but would take the risk of limiting adults rather than leave **Gradual Growth of Factory Law** children's labour unregulated; the fourth had no objection to limiting adults. The victory was finally won by the reformers when a number of leading politicians passed from the second to the third of these groups. In 1847 the Ten Hours Bill was passed. In law it applied to women and young persons, that is, boys under 18, as well as to children; in practice it applied to everybody. None of the evil consequences that had been anticipated by opponents followed this legislation. It was the precedent for similar treatment of other problems, and factory law gradually spread over industrial life.

The other great social problem was handled with much less vigour and success. In the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth a beginning was made in sanitary science, and hospitals were built in several towns. But only very feeble efforts were made to cope with the dreadful overcrowding of the towns, and streets and buildings followed no law except that of profit. In 1840 and in 1844 the state of the towns was disclosed to Parliament in two official reports; the second of these, the report of the Health of Towns Commission, declared that of the fifty large towns examined by the Commission there was scarcely one in which the drainage was good, and only six in which the water supply was good, and that there were forty-two in which the drainage and thirty-one in which the water supply was decidedly bad. The first serious attempt to handle the problem was made in the Public Health Act of 1848. But the control of town life and growth in such a way as to get rid of slums, which from time to time engaged the attention of Parliament, has proved the most intractable of all the problems left by this revolution.

## TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXX

1848	Jan.: Revolt in Sicily, then in Naples; Ferdinand concedes a constitution. Feb.: 'February Revolution' in France; flight of Louis Philippe; Second Republic proclaimed. Dalhousie governor-general (India). March: Revolutions in nearly all German states. Flight of Metternich; Frederick William takes popular side. Revolt of Slesvig. Charles Albert and Pius IX grant constitutions; Charles Albert declares war on Austria. Revolts in Lombardy and Venetia; Radetzky retires to the Quadrilateral. April: Chartist demonstration and collapse (England). Hungarian independence acknowledged. May: Emp. Ferdinand withdraws to Innsbruck. Meeting of German 'Frankfort parliament.' Successes of Italian troops. June: Windischgrätz masters Prague. Radetzky advances in Italy. July: Radetzky's victory at Custozza. South Slavs (Jellachich) support crown. Aug.: Italian armistice. Oct.: Windischgrätz and Jellachich master Vienna. Nov.: Murder of Rossi and flight of Pius IX. Schwarzenberg minister at Vienna. Dec.: Roman and Florentine republics proclaimed. Ferdinand II abd.; acc. Franz-Joseph. Louis Napoleon elected president (France).	1860	Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition (May); invasion of mainland (Aug.); he enters Naples (Sept.) as dictator; meets Victor Emmanuel, 'King of Italy' (Oct.); siege of Gaeta. U.S.A.: Abraham Lincoln elected president (Nov.); S. Carolina announces secession (Dec.).
1848	India: Second Sikh War.	1861	United kingdom of Italy proclaimed (excluding Rome and Venetia) after fall of Gaeta (Feb.). Cavour d. Abdul Mejid d.; acc. Abdul Aziz. Frederick William IV d.; acc. William I. Constitutional struggle, Bismarck becoming king's chief minister. Napoleon's Mexican adventure begun. Alexander II emancipates the Russian serfs. U.S.A.: Outbreak of Secession war; first heavy engagement at battle of Bull Run (July).
1849	India: Sikhs defeated; annexation of Punjab. Revolt of Hungary; renewal of war in Italy. Charles Albert, defeated at Novara, abd.; acc. Victor Emmanuel. Peace, Austrian troops remaining in Piedmont. Savage suppression of Sicilian revolt (Bomba). Hungarians crushed by Russian armies. Frederick William IV refuses imperial crown of Germany and drops popular rôle. U.S.A.: Fillmore president.	1862	U.S.A.: Confederates' successes; blockade of their ports. Slesvig-Holstein question reopened by accession of Christian IX. Garibaldi, attempting to capture Rome, is defeated by royal troops at Aspromonte.
1850	U.S.A.: Fugitive Slave law. Frederick William surrenders to Austria in the convention of Olmütz.	1863	Greece: acc. George I (of Denmark). Prussia and Austria invade Denmark. Polish revolt. U.S.A.: Slave emancipation proclamation. South gradually overwhelmed by growing N. armies.
1851	Australian gold fields discovered. Dec.: Napoleon's coup d'état makes him president for ten years.	1864	Denmark submits to Treaty of Vienna. Polish revolt crushed. Geneva convention; birth of 'Red Cross'. Ulysses Grant made Federal commander-in-chief. Convention of Gastein between Austria and Prussia. Surrender of Confederate forces; end of American war. Murder of Abraham Lincoln.
1852	Cavour minister in Piedmont. Slesvig-Holstein settlement by Treaty of London. U.S.A.: Publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin. India: Dalhousie's annexations by lapse. Transvaal republic recognized by Sand River Convention. Napoleon III emperor of the French (Nov.).	1865	Bismarck prepares for Austrian war; league with Italy. War declared, June 15; Prussia occupies Saxony, Hanover and Hesse-Cassel; crushes Austrians at Königgratz, July 3; Italians defeated at Custozza; armistice of Nikolsburg ends 'Seven Weeks' War. Austria, permanently excluded from German Confederation, cedes Venetia to Italy.
1853	Russo-Turkish War begins. Turkish fleet sunk at Sinope.	1867	Garibaldi attacking Rome defeated at Mentana. N. German confederation established under Prussian presidency. Dual monarchy (Austrian and Hungarian) in Austrian empire. Federation of Dominion of Canada under British North America Act. Withdrawal of French troops from Mexico. Death of 'Emperor' Maximilian.
1854	March: France and England join Turkey. Sept.: Anglo-French expedition to Crimea. Siege of Sevastopol begun after battle of Alma. Battles of Balaklava and Inkerman. Florence Nightingale at Scutari (Nov.). Orange Free State recognized by Bloemfontein convention.	1868	Isabella II expelled from Spain; search for a foreign prince to succeed.
1855	Responsible government in Australasian colonies. Sardinia joins allies in Crimean War. March: Nicholas I d.; acc. Alexander II. Sept.: Fall of Sevastopol; peace negotiations.	1869	Decree of Papal Infallibility.
1856	Peace of Paris, Sardinia participating. Anglo-Persian War withdraws Indian troops. China war, arising from 'Arrow incident.' Canning succeeds Dalhousie; Oudh annexed.	1870	Leopold of Hohenzollern withdraws from Spanish candidature. The Ems Telegram (July). Franco-Prussian War. Battles of Wörth, Mars-la-Tour and Gravelotte (Aug.). Fall of Sedan (Sept.). Sept.: End of Second Empire; proclamation of Third Republic; siege of Paris begins. Rome occupied by Royalists becomes Italian capital; pope 'prisoner of the Vatican.'
1857	William prince of Prussia regent. U.S.A.: Buchanan president. India: Meerut mutiny; Mogul proclaimed at Delhi (May). Cawnpore massacre; siege of Lucknow Residency begins (June). Storming of Delhi and first relief of Lucknow (Sept.). Final relief of Lucknow (Nov.).	1871	Jan.: William I proclaimed German emperor at Versailles; capitulation of Paris. May: Treaty of Frankfurt. Aug.: Thiers president. Treaty of London, revising Black Sea Treaty.
1858	Oudh and central Indian campaigns; fall of Jhansi (June); gradual suppression of local resistance. End of East India Company. Plombières interview (Cavour and Napoleon).	1872	League of the three emperors (Dreikaiserbund).
1859	Italian liberation war, Napoleon intervening; battles of Magenta and Solferino; peace of Villafranca; cession of Savoy and Nice to France; incorporation of N. Italian states in 'Kingdom of North Italy' by plébiscite. Darwin's Origin of Species published.	1874	Spain: Acc. Alfonso XII.
		1875	Insurrection of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Suez Canal shares purchased by Disraeli.
		1876	Rejection of Berlin Memorandum by England. Revolt of Bulgaria; Bulgarian atrocities. Acc. Abdul Hamid; abortive conference of Constantinople.
		1877	Queen Victoria proclaimed Kaisar-i-Hind. Russia declares war on Turkey, Rumania joining. July and Sept.: Russian repulses at Plevna. Nov.: Fall of Plevna and of Kars.
		1878	Jan.: Schipka Pass won; Russians at Adrianople; March: Treaty of San Stefano. June: Berlin Congress meets under presidency of Bismarck; private agreements between Russia and Austria, Russia and England, England and Turkey. Austria gets Bosnian protectorate; Bulgaria a small principality; Rumania and Serbia independent; England gets Cyprus. Rift between Germany and Russia.

## Chronicle XXX

# THE CONSOLIDATING OF THE GREAT POWERS: 1848-1878

**I**n the opening of the year 1848, the 'Year of Revolutions,' the surface in Europe was calm. Between the powers there were no hostilities threatening. All the western and Scandinavian states were under constitutional monarchies. All the states of the German Confederation were ruled by dynasts restricted by no constitutional letters, but with no disposition to carry oppression beyond the repression of democratic propaganda, or to develop a closer nationalist unity which would limit their individual authority. The Austrian imperial government held its subject populations in an apparently irresistible military grip; in the dominions of the tsar any attempt at revolution was almost unthinkable; and, while Austria held her position in Italy, Ferdinand at Naples and the pope in the States of the Church could play havoc with any popular insurrections.

### Undercurrents of Discontent

**B**ELOW the surface, indeed, there were seething currents of discontent, varying in motive and intensity, often incompatible in their aims, unorganized for the most part, powerless against organized governments with organized military forces. The Vienna settlement had at least so far accomplished its aims that for more than thirty years there had been no international wars, and that despotism had decisively held its own except where established constitutionalism had held its own; while Greece and Belgium alone had provided examples of successful nationalist movement in the direction either of liberation or of consolidation.

Nevertheless, before six months had passed, revolution, either nationalist or democratic, had not only raised its head but appeared to be on the verge of triumphing, if it had not actually triumphed, in France, where the first blow was struck, in Germany, throughout the Austrian empire and in Italy. Only

in England, where the democratic movement was represented by Chartism, it had already collapsed harmlessly, while the nationalist movement in Ireland never had a chance. Yet before another eighteen months were over it appeared that everywhere it had been decisively beaten.

### Governmental Changes in France

**T**HE third French Revolution, which created the Second Republic and led up to the Second Napoleonic Empire, was carried through its first stages almost as rapidly as and with no more resistance than the second, which had substituted the constitutionalist Orléans monarchy for that of the reactionary Bourbons. Paris and the Parisians were the stage and the actors. The king and his minister Guizot held a majority in parliament, where, however, there was also a vigorous opposition; and the Paris press was with the opposition, mainly constitutionalist in its doctrines, but demanding wider franchise, a change of government and a more vigorous foreign policy. There was a republican wing, in which the extremists had adopted the title of socialist, though not as yet the economic formulæ of twentieth-century socialism. The Paris proletariat was swelled by great numbers of the unemployed, the offspring mainly of the expanding industrial revolution—clamouring of the 'right to work,' that is, of the right to have work and wages provided for them; meanwhile, hungry.

The opposition organized a vast public banquet, to be held on February 23. The government vetoed it; Paris seethed. The organizers announced that the banquet would not be held. Paris seethed none the less. The king took fright, announced a change of ministry, and dismissed Guizot on February 23. But mobs paraded the streets and the National Guard could not be relied on. On February 24 Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson, who was pro-



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claimed king by the Chambers. The mob swamped them, and proclaimed a republic; the leaders formed a 'provisional government.' Meanwhile another provisional government was being formed elsewhere. The two combined and summoned a national convention, to be elected by universal suffrage, while the king and the royal family faded across the Channel to England, the natural home of refugees.

The socialists dominated the Parisian provisional government; they did not dominate the new national convention. In June the Paris mob rose, and there was a raging struggle in the streets for three days between them and the National Guard, who were with the government. The government troops under Cavaignac were completely victorious. In the next few months the new constitution was formulated. In December was held the election of the president, who was to be at the head of the executive; and three-fourths of the votes cast were given to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the son of the great emperor's brother Louis, sometime king of Holland—for no reason except that he was Napoleon's nephew and claimed to be the incarnation of the Napoleonic idea.

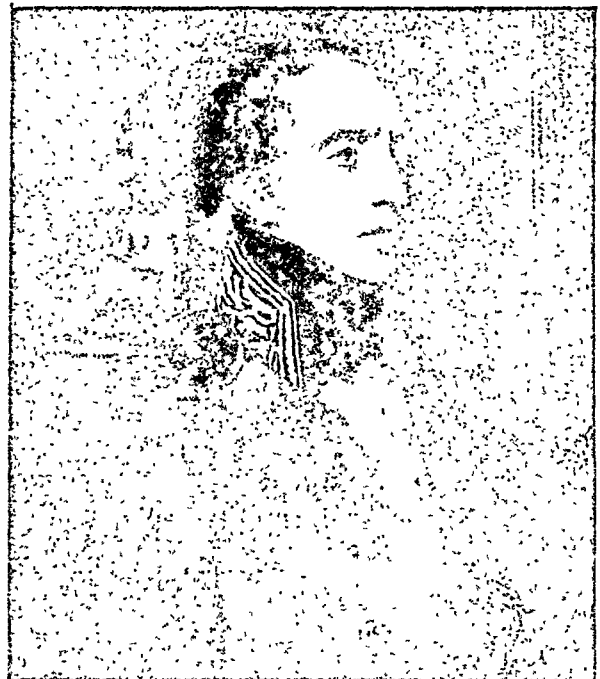
This third French Revolution could scarcely be called the product of a 'movement.' It was republican, not because France was fervently republican but because the Orléans monarchy was incurably self-satisfied and incurably dull. It was democratic, but the extreme democrats were unsupported outside Paris; the only fighting was that between them and the troops of the new government. The revolution was not in fact completed till the first president had imitated his mighty uncle and proclaimed himself emperor of the French.

**B**UT the immediate success of the February revolution, the bloodless collapse of the Orléans monarchy, gave the needed touch to set all the revolutionaries in Europe in motion. Even in England the agitation of the extreme democrats for the 'People's Charter' created a brief alarm; but the great bulk even of the Chartists preferred constitutional to revolutionary

methods, and before the end of April it became manifest that there was no danger of an armed insurrection (see further in page 4436). In Ireland the same attitude predominated among the advocates of the repeal of the legislative union with Great Britain; and, though a handful of the patriots under the name of Young Ireland did actually take the field in arms in July, a few days sufficed to disperse or arrest them. The duchies of Slesvig and Holstein, within the old German empire but attached, much against their will, to the crown of Denmark, attempted to break away, though with no prospect of success unless the German Confederation should intervene on their behalf. Intervention was in fact attempted, but in the end came to naught. Elsewhere, however, the initial movements of the revolutionaries seemed to promise success.

### Progress of Liberalism in Germany

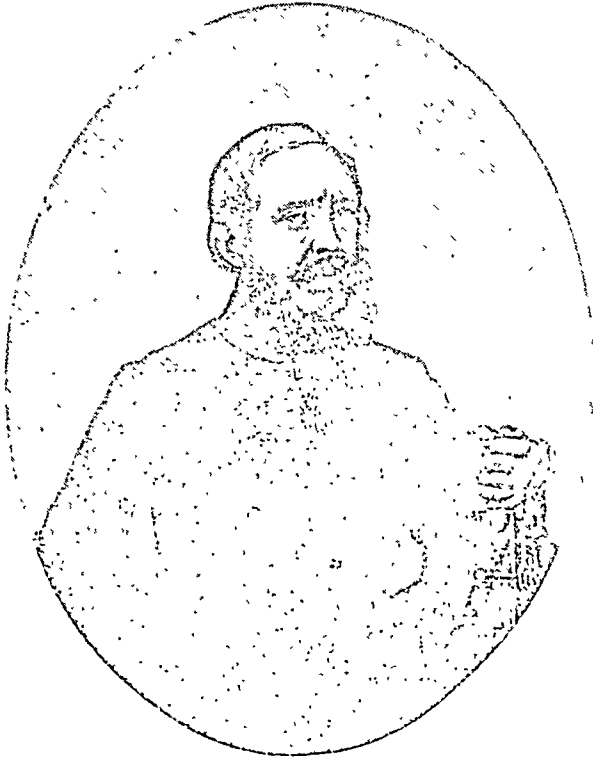
**I**N Germany and among Germans, including those in the Austrian empire, what statesmen of the Metternich type called 'the Revolution' was not advanced democracy but what at that time was



FRANÇOIS GUIZOT, FRENCH PREMIER

Opposed to the reactionary policy of Charles X, François Guizot (1787-1874) came into office on the accession of Louis Philippe. In 1847 his refusal as premier to grant various popular demands precipitated the revolution of 1848.

Painting by Jacquand, Musée de Versailles; photo, Giraudon



THE PATRIOT KOSSUTH

Fierce enthusiasm for Hungarian autonomy led Louis Kossuth to head a national revolt against Austrian domination in 1848. The rising failed and he abdicated in 1849. Tietze's engraving is from a daguerreotype made two years later.

generally known as liberalism; and of German liberalism there were two aspects: constitutionalism which demanded limitations upon arbitrary power and extension of popular control over the government, and nationalism which demanded at least advance towards the consolidation and unification of the German peoples who were included in the German Confederation. For reasons already explained those two aims were not always easily reconcilable; the existing union being a union of princes. The liberal ideal was a constitution not only in each of the states but for the Confederation as a whole. Metternich's ideal was a collection of despotic principalities dominated by Austria. In Germany, therefore, there was much alarm but nothing in the nature of armed revolt; but within a month of Louis Philippe's abdication the erratic king of Prussia had assumed the rôle of popular leader with a programme which included a new constitution for Prussia, and the calling of a pan-German parliament—to which the alarmed Diet (of Princes) yielded immediate assent—to



ARRIVAL OF FRENCH ROYAL REFUGEES SEEKING SHELTER IN ENGLAND

The French revolution of 1848 overthrew the constitutional monarchy which the rule of Louis Philippe had failed to popularise, and the king, in face of a powerful opposition, abdicated. With the connivance of the British consul at Havre, he and his queen escaped from France as 'Mr. and Mrs. Smith,' and in Pingret's painting the fugitives are seen arriving at New Cross Station. Louis Philippe died at Claremont, Surrey, which Queen Victoria placed at his disposal, on August 26, 1850.

*Aquatint by Cu villier and Bayot*



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draft a constitution for the Confederation. The parliament met at Frankfort in May.

BEFORE Frederick William moved, the Revolution had started in every

quarter of the Austrian empire, with the rest of Italy. In Austria proper, which was German, the demand was for a constitution. Elsewhere the motive was nationalist; Czechs, Magyars and South Slavs each demanded a constitution of their own, free from Teutonic domination but still subject to a very limited imperial sovereignty. The Italians went farther; they knew that there was no hope for Italy till the Austrians should be completely ejected.

Louis Philippe abdicated in the last week of February; in the first week of March, Louis Kossuth in the Hungarian diet called upon Hungary to lead the way in demanding autonomy and release from German domination for each of the peoples in the Empire. In Vienna the constitutionalists rose; by March 13 they were masters of the city. Metternich was in full flight for England, and the government was in the hands of self-

constituted committees which controlled the new ministry set up by the panic-stricken emperor Ferdinand; Prague was in the hands of the Young Czechs. A few days later the Hungarian diet had formulated the 'March Laws,' its demands for a constitution. By the end of the month the imperial government had conceded all the demands, virtually making Hungary an independent state linked to the empire

only by the crown. In another week the Czech demands, too, had been conceded. Only the South Slavs failed to draw a favourable response from Vienna, because their claims were incompatible with those of Vienna herself on one side and of Magyar Hungary on the other.

Meanwhile Italy was up in arms. Charles Albert of Sardinia had very recently granted the oft-demanded constitution in his own kingdom. His sympathies were liberal and nationalist. Though he was politically a timid person, it was only under his leadership that a common centre could be provided for an Italian attack upon the Austrian domination, though Pius IX had not yet shed his liberal professions. Charles marched into Lombardy, all Lombardy and Venetia rose, troops came up from the Papal States and even from Naples; and the Austrian Marshal Radetzky, grim and imperturbably confident, was driven within the strategic group of fortresses known as the Quadrilateral.

The Italian success was short-lived. Charles was inert, doing nothing.

Mistrust of the leader and dissensions as to aims and methods developed. Republicanism was a passionate faith with the most ardent of the patriots, not easily to be reconciled to the leadership of an apparently half-hearted monarch. Radetzky, who understood his business thoroughly, waited just long enough and then struck, inflicting a heavy defeat on the Italians at Custozza in July, which made



MARSHAL RADEZKY

The Italian revolt of 1848 was crushed by the energy of the Austrian commander-in-chief Josef Radetzky (1766-1858), victorious over the insurgents at Custozza (1848) and Novara (1849).

*From Dayot, 'Raffet et son oeuvre'*



JOSEPH JELLACHICH

The clever policy of Joseph Jellachich (1801-59), appointed governor of Croatia in 1848, of supporting the Croatian nationalist demand for independence of Hungary proved successful in preserving the Slav kingdoms for Austria.

*Engraving by T. L. Raab*

him again master of Lombardy and Venetia. It was only to avert the risk of French or British intervention that he consented to an armistice. Hostilities were suspended, and during the rest of the year the Italians were growing more disunited, Radetzky was gathering strength and Pius IX, terrified by the assassination of his liberal secretary Rossi, shook off the dust of liberalism from his feet and took refuge at the court of Naples—where Ferdinand had taken heart of grace and cancelled the constitution which he had recently been frightened into granting. Meanwhile the imperial government at Vienna had issued a new imperial constitution which satisfied no one and raised a new storm in the capital. The emperor retired hastily and secretly to the security of Innsbruck, and Vienna set up for itself a committee of public safety (May).

#### Democratic Movement fails in Austria

By this time the pan-German parliament had met at Frankfort, and proposed to include Bohemia among the German states. The great Czech majority in Bohemia was again threatened with

absorption under German domination. Prague countered by calling a pan-Slav conference, and proclaimed the separation of the Bohemian from the Austrian government. Ferdinand at Innsbruck acquiesced, but Vienna was irrevocably antagonised. The German and Czech factions in Prague rose against each other; whereupon Prince Windischgrätz, commanding the imperial troops; took matters into his own hands, brought cannon and bayonets to bear, promptly overwhelmed resistance, and established himself as master of Prague in the emperor's name. Bohemian autonomy had gone for good (June).

Hungary had won virtual independence, but the South Slavs in Hungary detested the dominant Magyars even more than the Germans. The new Hungarian government, nevertheless, ventured to appoint the Croat Jellachich governor of Croatia, and Jellachich made no delay in defying the authority of the government which had appointed him. But by his ingenious assumption of loyalty to the imperial as against the Magyar authority, the former was easily brought to support him, desiring nothing more earnestly than the humiliation of the Magyars, to whom it owed its own humiliation.

The tide in the Austrian empire had thus definitely turned by the end of July. Windischgrätz was master of Bohemia, Radetzky had fought and won at Custozza, Vienna's brief amity with the nationalist movement had dwindled on the discovery that it would involve the loss of the German ascendancy, Croatia and the South Slavs had declared against Hungary. Ferdinand returned to Vienna. The Magyars obviously would fight to keep what they had won and were now threatened with losing—but the Magyars were alone, save for their sympathisers among the Vienna democrats, and in September the risk of the revolutionary movement reaching the peasantry was removed by the general abolition of peasant services.

In September, Jellachich was marching on Pesth, the Hungarian capital; and the imperial commander in Pesth was murdered by the mob. In October, Jellachich was appointed to the general command, the mob rose in Vienna, and again Ferdinand

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took flight, to Olmütz. Windischgrätz, marching from Prague, treated Vienna as he had before treated Prague. Ferdinand, having appointed a new ministry under Schwarzenberg, who had no scruples and knew his own mind, abdicated in favour of his young nephew Francis Joseph (December); Hungary was completely isolated, while Radetzky in Italy, where the armistice was still in force, had the situation thoroughly in hand. It was announced that a new constitution for the whole empire was to be promulgated. Hungary replied by refusing to acknowledge the new 'king of Hungary' till he had sworn to the Hungarian constitution.

### Course of the Revolution in Germany

MEANWHILE the 'Revolution' was lapsing in Germany. The parliament at Frankfort was absorbed in working out a theoretically perfect constitution. It created an executive, wholly separate, of course, from the legislature, headed by an elected regent—and the regent elected was not the king of Prussia but the Austrian archduke John, whose appointment was confirmed by the Diet of Princes as of its own authority. The parliament had instructed Frederick William as its mandatory to intervene on behalf of Slesvig and Holstein; the Prussian troops had done so, for the moment effectively. But this had brought in emphatic protests from Palmerston on one side and from Nicholas, the unqualified champion of the Vienna settlement, on the other. Prussian popular sentiment was all on the side of intervention, but the Prussian government quailed before the Anglo-Russian threat.

Frederick William then concluded with Denmark the Convention of Malmö, which in effect recognized her claims, deserting the pan-German cause. Austria had no sympathy with that cause. Without the support of either Frederick William or the archduke-regent, the Frankfort parliament could talk and send sympathetic delegations to its friends in Vienna or elsewhere, but it could not act. It proclaimed the incorporation of German Austria in the German nation, and almost at the same moment the Slavs of the Austrian empire were declaring for the imperial unity

which was wholly incompatible with Germanism. Windischgrätz crushed the Vienna liberals; Frederick William's accord with the Prussian liberals was worn out, and he dissolved the Prussian diet and set up a reactionary Prussian ministry in December. At the close of the 'Year of Revolutions' the victory of the reaction, all over Europe save in France, was already almost a foregone conclusion. At the close of the next year, 1849, it was apparently an accomplished fact.

### Failure of the Rising in Italy

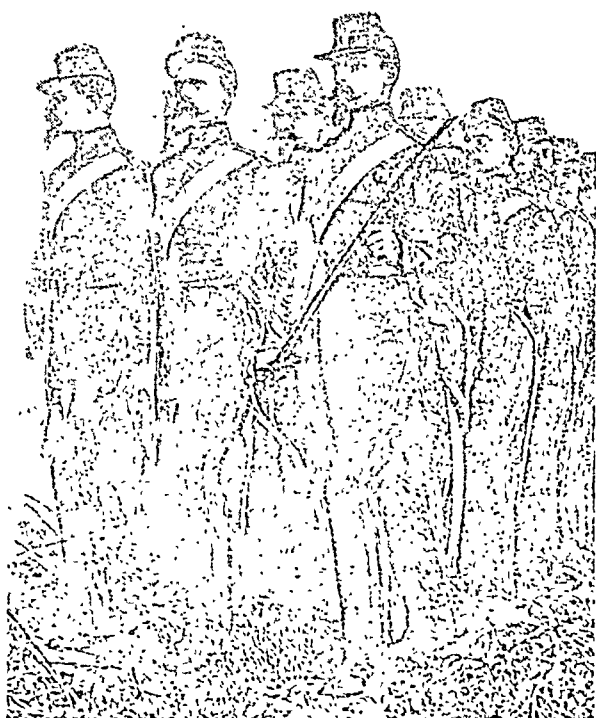
THE Italian question was the first to be settled. Ferdinand of the Sicilies had already recovered his ascendancy, and in the first months of the new year he crushed the Sicilian rebels with a vindictive savagery which won him his nickname 'Bomba,' and caused the Bourbon rule in the south to be more bitterly execrated than ever. Rome, deserted by the pope, declared itself a republic in February; Tuscany followed suit, deposing the grand duke; but the divergence between the monarchists of Piedmont and the republicans became the more emphasised.



FRANCIS JOSEPH OF AUSTRIA

Nephew of the imbecile Ferdinand of Austria, Francis Joseph (1830-1916) succeeded his uncle in 1848. His long reign was filled with vicissitudes and tragedy, culminating in the murder of his nephew, Archduke Ferdinand, in June, 1914.

*Engraving from a photograph about 1868*



AT THE SIEGE OF ROME

In 1849 France undertook to reinstate the pope in Rome whence he had been driven by the Italian revolution of 1848. Despite Garibaldi's defence, the city fell and papal power was restored. These soldiers are French artillerymen.

*From Dayot, 'Raffet et son oeuvre'*

Though Charles Albert, as the leader of the Italian cause, dared to denounce the armistice and again challenge Austria, he met with a crushing defeat at Novara. For him, it was equally impossible to carry on the struggle or to accept the humiliating terms offered by the victor. He abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel, to die shortly afterwards in exile. The Austrians offered the young king alternative terms: the prolonged occupation of Piedmont by the Austrian troops, with the payment of a crushing indemnity, or the abrogation of the constitution his father had given, involving the elimination of the Sardinian kingdom as a factor in the liberation of Italy; a course full of danger and bitterness, or a course of inglorious ease. Victor Emmanuel chose the former, and eleven years later he had his reward.

Rome and Vienna still held out. Rome would have no reconciliation with the papal renegade to the cause of liberty. Austria would certainly reinstate Pius by force, but was for the moment tied up

by the successes of the Hungarians. The president of the French republic reckoned on strengthening his own position by again asserting French as against Austrian interests in Italy, but also by winning the support of the Church. French forces appeared at Civita Vecchia. But it appeared that their intention was to reinstate the pope under guarantees. Rome refused to admit them; but though they were defeated in an engagement with Garibaldi they laid siege to the city, which had to admit them in July, and the papal government was restored—without guarantees. Being restored, it ruled in the old fashion, setting aside the constitution granted by Pius IX on his accession, while the French could only protest. In August Venice was once more under the heel of the Austrians, whose troops had been relieved from the Hungarian imbroglio by the intervention of Nicholas.

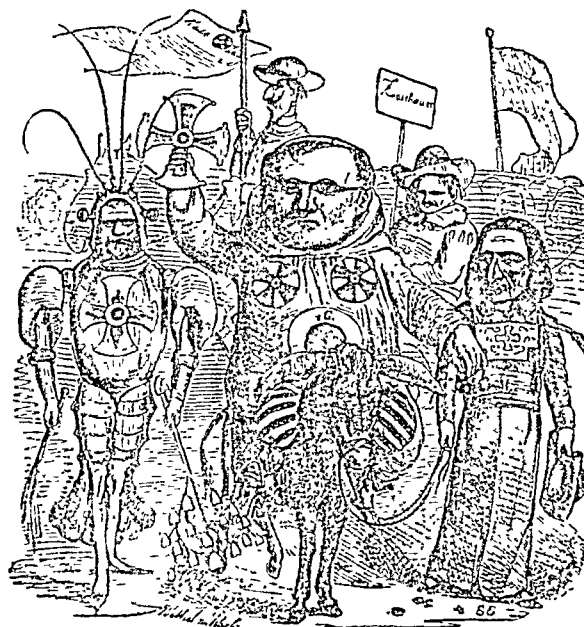
THE chances of the Hungarians when they refused submission to the new imperial government in December had seemed desperate; the Rumanian population in Transylvania had risen against their domination, which the German colony there also repudiated. But they found a brilliant guerrilla leader in Görgei. The advance of Jellachich on one flank and Windischgrätz on the other, and dissensions between Görgei and the political chief, Louis Kossuth, threatened the Hungarians with immediate destruction; nevertheless Görgei and a second guerrilla captain, Bem, achieved such a series of military successes that the imperial government was reduced to imploring the aid of Nicholas. In June the Russian armies were pouring over the border; in August the Hungarian resistance was overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers. When further armed resistance had become impossible, Nicholas withdrew unconditionally; having done what he conceived to be his duty in restoring despotism, he left the imperial government to enjoy an orgy of vengeance, in which it indulged itself to the full.

In Germany the movement was going to pieces. Pan-German national unity required an entirely German confedera-

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tion including German Austria and excluding the non-German divisions of the Austrian empire. Austria could assent neither to her own exclusion from a unified German confederation nor to her inclusion without the rest of her empire; pan-German unity and the unity of the Hapsburg empire were incompatible. That was the rock that wrecked the whole scheme. Actually, the condition of German unification was the exclusion of Austria, to which neither Austria herself nor the greater German princes were prepared to assent, however Frederick William might hanker irresolutely for a Prussian hegemony. When the Frankfort parliament actually propounded that scheme, offering to Frederick William the imperial crown of a confederated Germany without Austria, but with a constitution, in April, he rejected the offer.

The parliament had no means of enforcing its authority; one after another the princes withdrew their representatives. Frederick William, with a quite futile plan of his own, collected another dubious



### FRANKFORT CONFERENCE SATIRISED

A contemporary drawing by Wilhelm Scholz caricatures members of the Frankfort Conference who offered to Frederick William IV the crown of a confederated Germany, which he refused.

Left to right: Bismarck, Gerlach and Stahl

From 'Kladderadatsch,' 1849

league which produced nothing more than a general admission that the old confederation was still in being and the old diet still the supreme lawful authority, and the calling of another futile federal parliament to meet at Erfurt next year. The Erfurt parliament when it met could accomplish nothing; Frederick William's efforts to maintain an opposition to the dominant princes came to nothing; Austria's attempt to reorganize the diet on lines which would practically have made her supreme within it came to nothing; and in May, 1851, the confederation constituted as it had been before the revolutions began was again definitely established. The unification of Germany had to await the rise of Bismarck.



### LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT

Sebastien Cornu's painting, engraved by Pichard, portrays Louis Napoleon (1808-73), nephew of Napoleon I, in 1849, the year after he was elected president of France. In 1852 he ascended the imperial throne as Napoleon III.

From Flathé, 'Restauration und Revolution'

**I**N France affairs moved along very different lines. A republic had taken the place of the constitutional monarchy, with an elected president in place of a constitutional king; in actual fact a president whose character and abilities had been under no test, an adventurer who had carried the votes of the democracy by his name and nothing else, except his own restless ambition to follow in his uncle's footsteps. He had posed as

representative of the Napoleonic idea. To retain the position he had won, he must convince the French people that he was what he professed to be, the representative of stable and popular government at home and of glory abroad; convince them at least sufficiently to secure the retention of his power when his three-years' term of office should end.

He had come in upon the tide of the victory of the party of order over the new Jacobinism or socialism, and the Assembly and the ministry were perforce somewhat conservative. But the first Napoleon had proclaimed his own personal supremacy as the consummation of the Revolution, and that was a fiction which the new Napoleon must maintain. He could never be a Caesar without getting credit on one side and discredit on the other by the arts of the demagogue and by elaborate intrigue; and he had not behind him an army adoring him as a captain of proved invincibility.

### The Second Empire established in France

THE success of the intervention in Italy was a qualified one. In attempting to bring the Church to his side he had displeased the popular sympathy with the republicans; in his protests against the use made of its recovered power by the papal government he had shaken the confidence of the clericals. In 1850 he reconstructed his ministry, but the conservative Assembly changed the electoral law by restricting the franchise. The president posed as advocate of popular rights against a reactionary and unrepresentative assembly, thereby gaining popularity, but antagonising the Assembly itself. But legally a renewal of his presidency could be obtained only if authorised by a three-to-one majority of the Assembly. Failing that, a coup d'état—in strict accordance with Napoleonic precedent—was the only chance.

Openly, he intended to invite the Assembly's authorisation; secretly, he prepared the coup d'état, to fall back on if the Assembly failed him when the time came, in July, 1851. It did fail him; the majority was large, but not large enough. Palpably, then, the vote of a

minority in a reactionary Assembly had flouted the 'manifest will of the people.'

The sands were running out fast when in November the president invited the reactionary Assembly to revise the electoral law and restore universal suffrage. It declined. The war minister, the chief of police and the commander of the troops in Paris were in the president's plot, while an active agitation had been carried on in the country. On the morning of December 2 Paris woke up to find the streets placarded with proclamations and patrolled by soldiers, while during the night the leaders of the opposition had been arrested. There was active but unorganized resistance which was crushed in a couple of days, not without superfluous violence and bloodshed. Republican extremists and other 'dangerous' persons were imprisoned or exiled in batches; the 'saviour of society' appealed triumphantly to the people to confirm his re-election as 'prince president,' and a year later another overwhelming plébiscite proclaimed Napoleon III emperor of the French. For, as Louis XVIII had reckoned the short-lived son of Louis XVI as Louis XVII, so Louis Napoleon counted his uncle's dead son by Marie Louise as Napoleon II in the imperial dynasty.

### Friction between France and Russia

SINCE Waterloo there had been in Europe not a little fighting, but no armed conflicts between sovereign states except Russia and Turkey, and in 1848-9 between Austria and Sardinia; that much at least stood to the credit of the Vienna settlement. The twenty years following Louis Napoleon's coup d'état witnessed a series of such wars, of which all but the first were the offspring of the nationalist movement; and their issue was the consolidation of a new German empire and a new kingdom of Italy, the fall of the French Second Empire and the birth of the French Third Republic. But the first war was a quarrel begotten of international rivalries and personal ambitions.

France was by tradition the protector of the Latin or Catholic Christians in the Turkish empire, Russia of the Greek or Orthodox Church. France for a century

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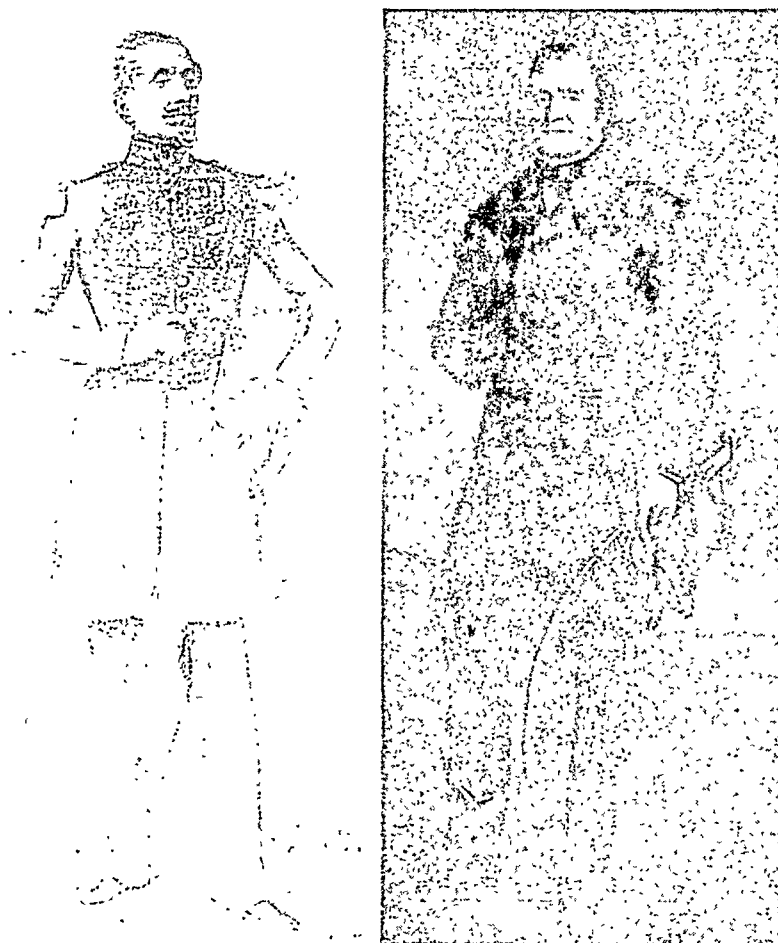
had neglected her proteges, while Russia had sedulously fostered hers. The result was that sundry privileges in relation to the Holy Places had passed from the Latins to the Greeks. Napoleon saw a double opportunity of strengthening his popularity in France by championing the Catholic Church and asserting himself against the tsar. He demanded from the Porte the restitution of the old Latin privileges. Nicholas claimed the right to veto the transfer, under the treaty of Kainarji. If Napoleon wanted to fight, he was ready. Neither would abate his pretensions.

Palmerston was not at the British foreign office; the British ministry was pacific and not over-friendly to Napoleon. Austria's dislike of Russian ascendancy in the Balkans told one way; her dislike of French influence in Italy told the other way. Her very recent debt to Russia in the Hungarian affair made her more resentful than grateful. To gain British support, Nicholas revived an earlier suggestion for a partition of the moribund Turkish empire between Russia and Great Britain. He failed to realize that British public opinion was entirely convinced that Russia wanted Constantinople as a stepping-stone to India; the effect of his proposal was precisely the opposite of what he had intended. Yet Nicholas still refused to believe that either England or Austria would act against him. The Porte was equally confident that both would do so.

In June, 1853, Russian forces crossed the Pruth; their right to enter the trans-Danube principalities under the treaty of Kainarji could hardly be questioned. Diplomatic notes passed between the five powers concerned; the

Porte would not concede the Russian demands; the tsar refused to evacuate the principalities, while declaring that he would not take the offensive—but on November 30 a Russian squadron sank the Turkish fleet in the harbour of Sinope, Turkey having in actual fact declared war. French and British naval squadrons entered the Black Sea in January, 1854; in March both the powers declared war as allies of the Turks. Austria gathered troops on the frontier, but merely as a precaution.

The Russian army did not roll irresistibly on to Constantinople. It was held up on the Danube by the indomitable valour of the Turks at Silistria, while the Black Sea fleet was shut up in its ports, and a British fleet dispatched to the Baltic could make no impression on the defences of Kronstadt. French and British troops

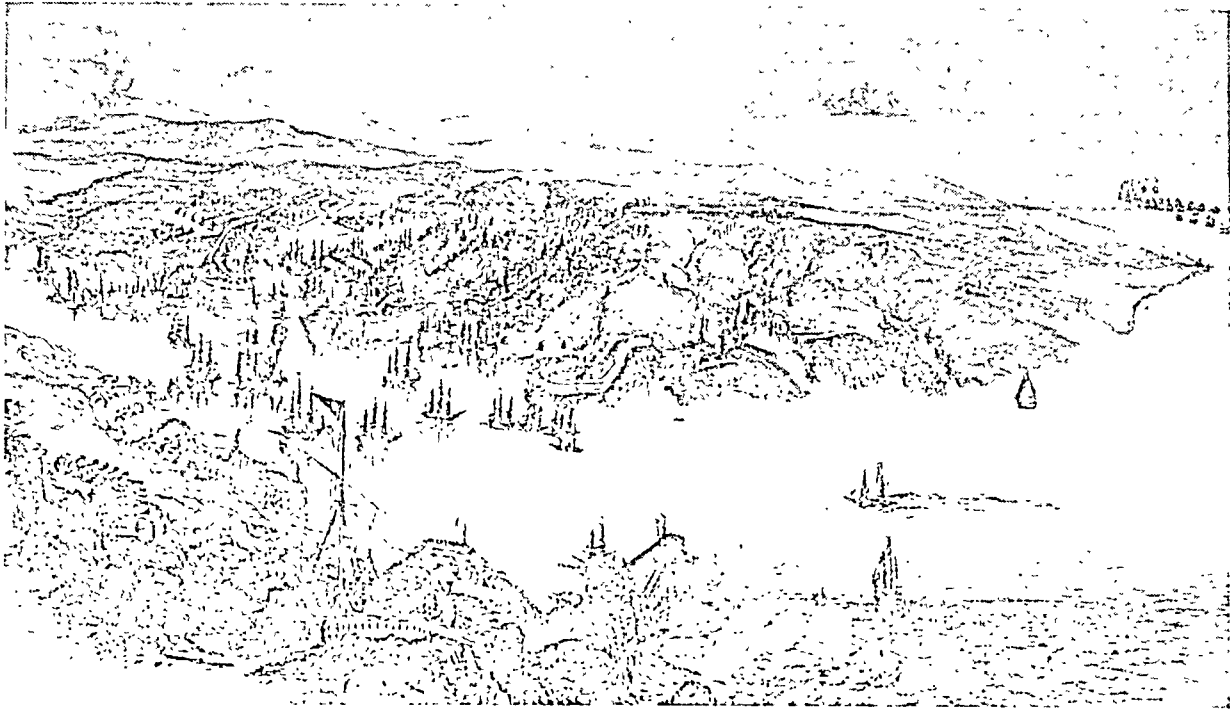


ALLIED GENERALS IN THE CRIMEAN WAR

Severe censure from press and public was heaped upon the conduct of the Crimean War by the British commander-in-chief, Lord Raglan (1788-1855), seen (right) in a portrait by Sir Francis Grant. Left: His French colleague, Marshal St. Arnaud (1801-54), who died a few days after the allied victory at the battle of the Alma.

From *Dayot, Raffet et son oeuvre* and (right) *Army and Navy Club*





SEVASTOPOL HARBOUR FROM ABOVE TELEGRAPH BATTERY

The English, French and Turkish forces in the Crimea were levelled against the capture of Sevastopol, whose harbour sheltered the main forces of the Russian fleet. The allies began their bombardment in October, 1854, the year in which Col. Beek made the sketches from which, with the aid of a Russian government survey, this view was drawn; and the town sustained a siege of eleven months, being evacuated by the Russians in September, 1855, after the French capture of Malakoff fort.

reinforced the Turks in June, with their headquarters at Varna, where cholera was soon raging. In July the siege of Silistria was raised, the Russian forces fell back over the Pruth, and Austrian troops entered the principalities. Russia could hardly have rejected terms which were not positively humiliating.

#### Outbreak of the Crimean War

**B**UT the war fever was high in France, whose troops so far had done nothing in particular, and in England, which had persuaded itself that the bombardment at Sinope had been an act of gross treachery, demanding condign punishment. The two governments concerted or instructed their generals, St. Arnaud and Raglan, to concert a joint attack upon Russia in the Crimea. In September a large Franco-British force was carried across the Black Sea to Eupatoria, routed a Russian force at the battle of the Alma, and, after a delay which gave the Russians time to strengthen materially the fortifications of the great arsenal of Sevastopol, laid siege to it, without being able to make the investment complete, while the Russian field army fell back. The harbour they

found blocked by ships that had been sunk for that purpose.

The British held the right of the besieging lines, with their supply base at the port of Balaclava. The Russian field force attempted to cut their communications but were foiled in the battle of Balaclava, famed in British annals for the two cavalry charges of the Light Brigade and of Scarlett's Heavy Brigade, the one a magnificent but useless blunder, the other a not less magnificent but successful operation of war (October 25). A few days later the massed attack of the Russians was again beaten off in the battle of Inkerman (November 5), fought in a heavy fog in which any common direction was impossible, and won by sheer disciplined valour. Then the siege settled down, the men holding on grimly through the terrible Crimean winter, perishing from the lack of necessary supplies, till a change of government at home with Palmerston as the new prime minister reorganized the utterly inefficient methods of the ministry which had plunged into the campaign, and the heroic Florence Nightingale with her band of nurses arrived at the hospital base at Scutari

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to inaugurate the hitherto undreamed-of activities out of which arose the Red Cross.

In February, 1855, Sardinia joined the allies, not because she had any eastern interests at stake, but because the political perspicacity of Victor Emmanuel's great minister Cavour perceived that by doing so she would compel her recognition as a power with a right to make her voice heard; and all the more because the attitude assumed by Austria at this moment was in the eyes of France and England tantamount to a desertion.

In March, Nicholas died—a tragic, almost an heroic figure who had striven all his life after a strange ideal all but unintelligible to Western minds; utterly convinced that salvation lay in the irresistible autocracy of princes, and that all that the West means by liberty is incompatible with the order which is Heaven's first



ALEXANDER II OF RUSSIA

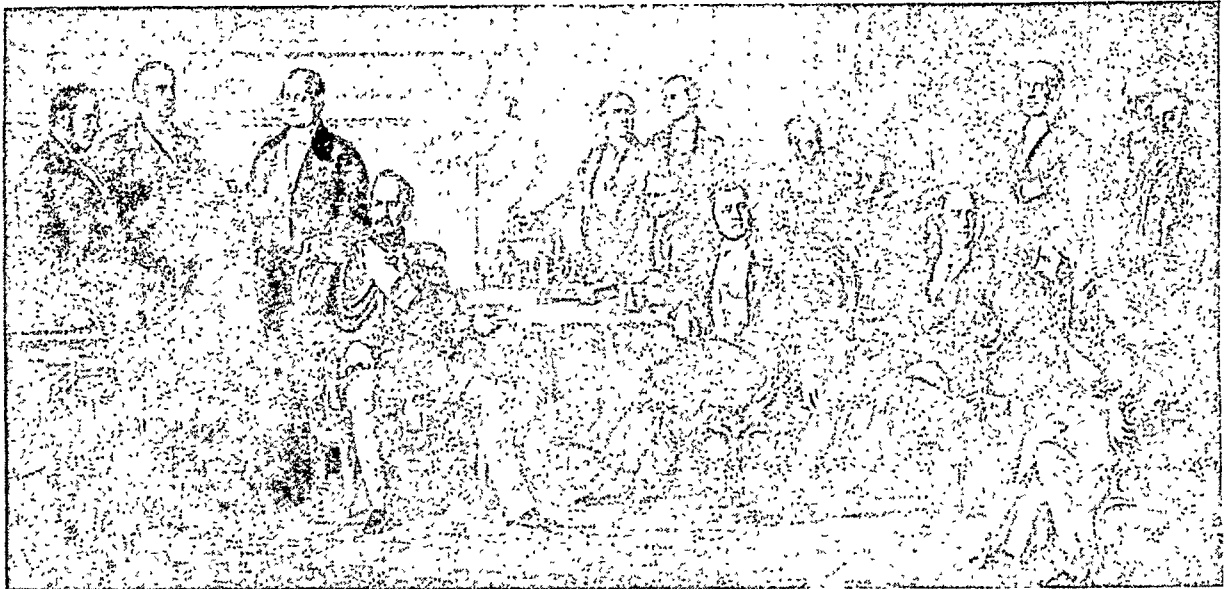
Resembling his visionary uncle Alexander I, Alexander II (1818-81) succeeded to the Russian throne in 1855. His most notable achievement was the emancipation of Russian serfs in 1861.

*Almanach de Gotha, 1856*

law; a supremely honest man who appeared to the world which misunderstood him to be the incarnation of perfidy. The son who succeeded him, Alexander II, should have been the offspring of the visionary Alexander I, for he, too, was a visionary who dreamed of Utopias. But the son's visions were scarcely more impossible of attainment than the father's ideals.

On Alexander's accession peace negotiations were opened, but broke down. In September, however, the capture of the Malakoff fort by the

French made Sevastopol no longer tenable, and its fall, which the French could claim as their own victory, gave the emperor some of that prestige in France which was so necessary to the maintenance of the Napoleonic legend. Diplomacy set to work again, and the war was ended by the treaty of Paris in March, 1856, Sardinia having secured her position as a member of the peace



THE CONGRESS AT PARIS THAT ENDED THE CRIMEAN WAR

The terms of peace that concluded the Crimean War in 1856 were arranged by a congress at Paris of the seven powers concerned—Great Britain, France, Russia, Turkey, Austria, Prussia and Sardinia—two plenipotentiaries being present from each, as shown in this engraving after Dubufe. Turkey's position as a European power was guaranteed, the neutrality of the Black Sea recognized and the Danube declared free for navigation.

*Musée de Versailles*

## Chronicle XXX. 1848-1878

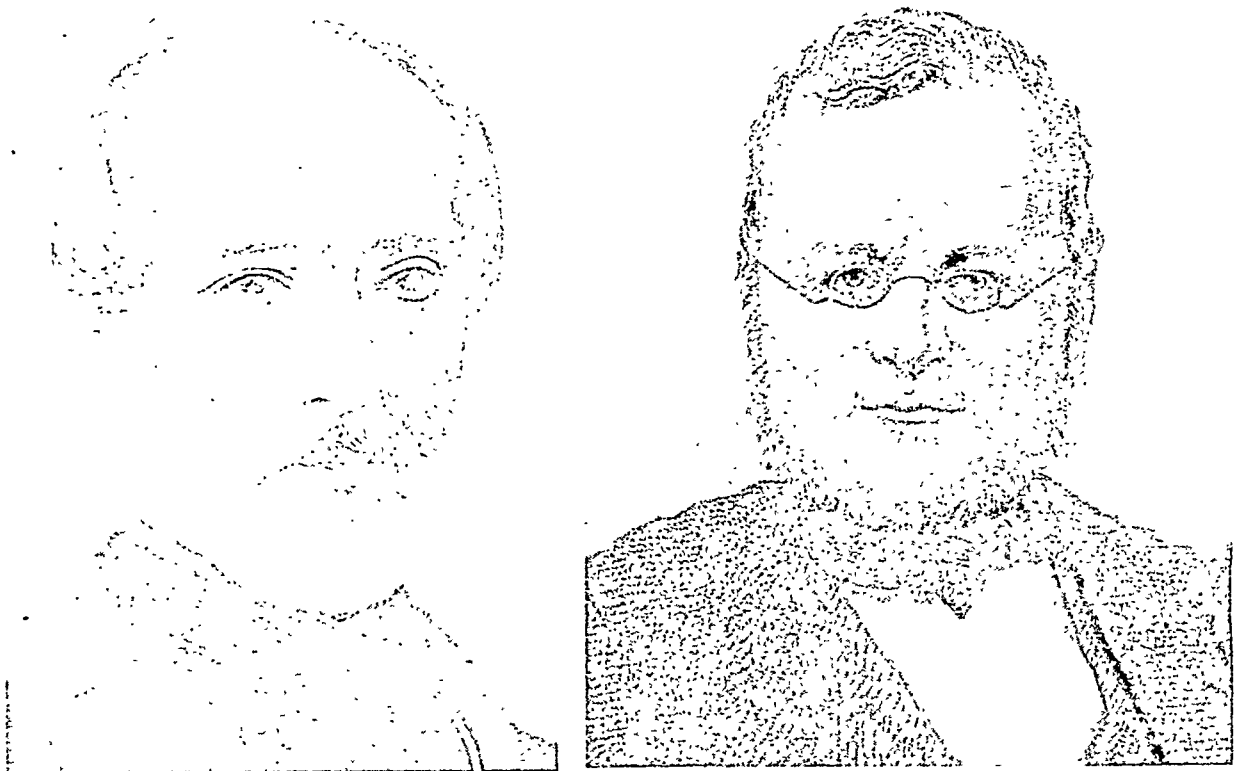
conference. All warships of all nations were to be excluded from the Black Sea, while it was made free to all merchantmen. Turkey, pledged to administrative reforms which in fact never materialised, was guaranteed her position as a European power with full sovereignty in her own dominions, and the Russian protectorates were annulled. All that England had fought for was secured—on paper.

### Sardinian Schemes for Italian Unity

THE Italian war of 1848-9 had made it certain that the liberation and unification of Italy could never be achieved except under the leadership of the Sardinian monarchy. Victor Emmanuel and Cavour recognized that the ejection of Austria needed the assistance of France as well as the recognition of the status of Sardinia by the powers. French assistance would not be given against the pope or for the establishment of a powerful Italian kingdom. Mazzini and his followers, the idealists whose inspiration alone had

created among the Italians the moral enthusiasm which was the life of the Italian movement, detested the policy which would make Italy owe her liberty to foreign aid, above all to the aid of the 'man of the coup d'état'; yet Cavour could not do without their co-operation, while Napoleon's aid would not be forthcoming except at the price of material advantages to France at Italy's expense. But the fact remained that the victory could not be won without him. England under Palmerston might be trusted to keep the ring and prevent external intervention on the Austrian side, but she would not herself intervene actively on the Sardinian side. Cavour's problem was intricate and difficult.

A great step had been taken when Sardinia ensured moral support and recognition from France and England by joining them in the Crimean War when Austria was holding aloof. Her position was again greatly strengthened when she turned the peace conference to account



FAMOUS FIGURES IN THE DRAMA OF ITALY'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

By his stirring writings, the patriot Joseph Mazzini (left) inspired the Italian people, crushed beneath a foreign yoke, with his own idealistic zeal for the liberation of their country. It was he who founded the influential movement of 'Young Italy.' The brilliant diplomacy of the Italian statesman Count Cavour (right), who arranged alliances with France and England, contributed vitally to the success of the Risorgimento. Born 1810, he died in the year of the unification of Italy

*Right, engraving after portrait by Metzmacher*

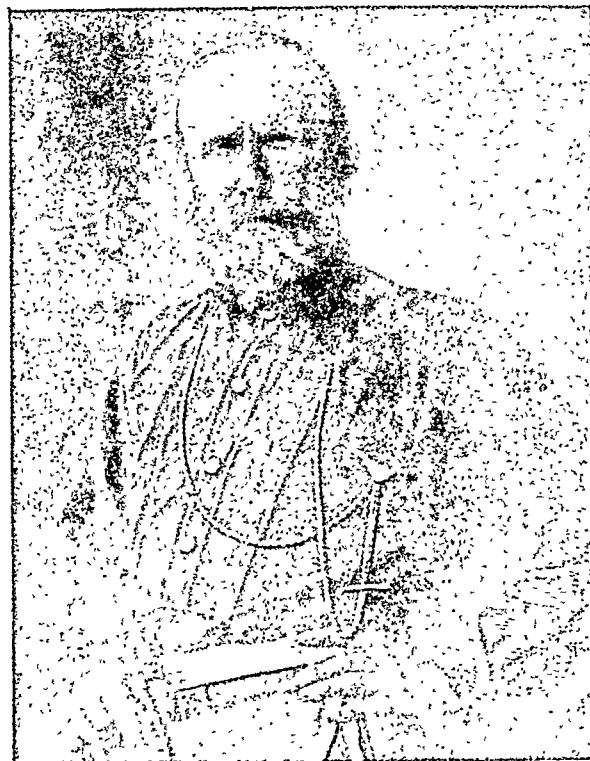
## Consolidating of the Great Powers

by emphasising the grievances under which Italy suffered. Napoleon, too, felt that the aspirations of France for military glory had not been satisfied by the Crimean War or the Crimean peace. In 1858 the French emperor and the Sardinian minister met unofficially at Plombières, and came to terms. France's intervention was to be rewarded by the cession of Savoy and Nice; and Austria was to be ejected to make way not for an Italian kingdom but for an Italian confederation under the pope's presidency. But France could not act unless Austria should appear as the ostensible aggressor.

### Cavour and Garibaldi in Italy

AT the beginning of 1859 Piedmont was obviously arming. So was Austria. Each was earnestly protesting that her own action was being forced on her by the other. England at the moment was under a ministry not too sympathetic to Italy. From Russia came a proposal that the Italian question should be submitted to a congress; Austria demanded Sardinia's exclusion from the congress, and then ruined her own case by an ultimatum to Sardinia demanding her immediate disarmament. Napoleon could no longer hold back; a week later France declared war and Austrian troops entered Piedmont (April 20). The Papal States revolted, Tuscany joined Piedmont, volunteers poured in; within six weeks the Austrians had met with a series of reverses, which culminated in the Franco-Italian victory of Solferino (June 24). Napoleon took alarm; the Italian triumph would mean the thing that he did not want—Italian consolidation under Victor Emmanuel. At Villafranca, on July 11, he arranged the betrayal with Francis Joseph. Sardinia could only bow to the inevitable. She accepted the terms by the Treaty of Zürich (November). Lombardy, but not Venetia, was to be ceded to France, which was to pass it on to Sardinia.

But Victor Emmanuel's acceptance left the central Italian states free. They had turned out their rulers; if they declined to reinstate those rulers there was nothing to prevent them from voluntarily joining



CHAMPION OF ITALIAN LIBERTY

Inestimable service was rendered to the cause of Italian liberty by its energetic devotee Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-82), leader of the victorious 'Thousand.' The photograph from which W. Holl made this engraving was taken about 1860.

themselves to Sardinia; that right Napoleon dared not veto. His own career had committed him irrevocably to the doctrine of the sanctity of plébiscites. He wanted, and he had not got, Savoy; from a congress he would never get it. The British government proposed that central Italy should decide its own fate by plébiscite. That solution was adopted, and the central Italian states voted themselves into the Sardinian kingdom, while Cavour could not escape from his old pledge at Plombières to cede Savoy and Nice, to the resentment of Garibaldi and other fiery patriots (March, 1860). The first parliament of the expanded kingdom was held at Turin in April. But Venetia was still in Austria's grip, Bomba's son Francis still misruled the Sicilies, and the pope, secure in the protection of France, still reigned over Rome.

The next episode was supremely dramatic. Sicily once more broke into revolt against the Bourbon tyranny. Sardinia had no excuse for interference; but Cavour could shut his eyes while Garibaldi

collected a band of enthusiastic volunteers, seized a couple of ships, sailed with his 'Thousand,' the Red Shirts, for Sicily, and landed at Marsala on May 11, having escaped the ostentatious vigilance of the Sardinian fleet. Within a week he had routed the government forces at Calatafimi; Palermo proved too strong for assault until he enticed the greater part of the garrison to pursue him into the hills while a picked troop effected an entry on May 30. Another victory a month later at Milazzo established him as undisputed 'dictator in Victor Emmanuel's name,' though without authority or official countenance from the king. In August he was over the strait, marching for Naples.

Cavour was anxious. If Garibaldi cleared the Bourbon out of Naples, would he be persuaded by the republicans to proclaim a Sicilian republic under his own dictatorship? Would he advance on Rome and bring down foreign interven-

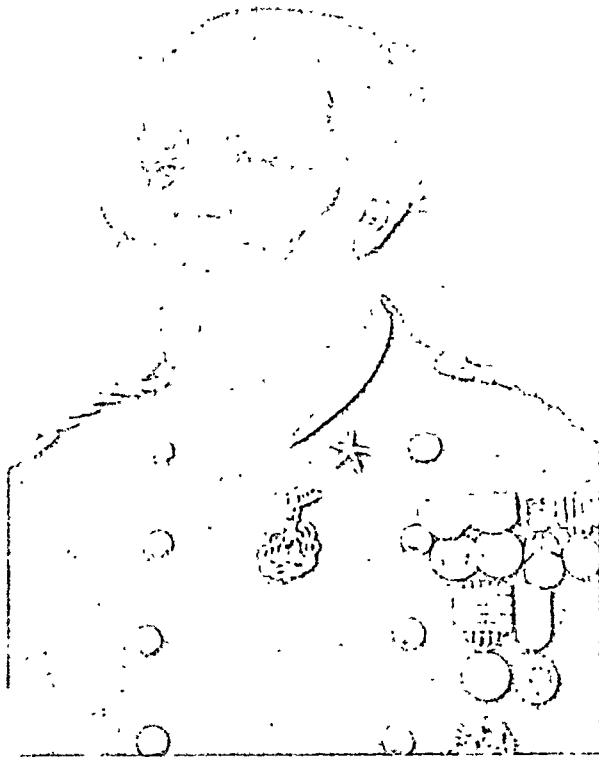
tion, fatal to the cause? It was more than likely. On the other hand, his possible defeat would be disastrous. Francis meant to fight for his crown, but Garibaldi's progress in the south was a sort of triumphal reception. The disloyalty of the troops in Naples was so manifest that on September 6 Francis beat a retreat from the capital, which Garibaldi entered next day.

Cavour made a bold move. He discovered that the foreign troops in the pope's pay were a menace to Italy, and demanded their dismissal. The demand was ignored and Piedmontese troops entered Umbria. Napoleon protested but sat still; he more than suspected that the papal government was fostering plotters for a Bourbon restoration in France. The papal troops were routed, but Rome and the Roman territory—the patrimony of S. Peter—were kept inviolate. By plébiscite, the rest of the territory joined the northern kingdom. On October 4 the Turin parliament ratified the incorporation.

### Birth of the new Italian Kingdom

MEANWHILE, Francis was making a stand on the Volturno. Driven thence, his troops held out in Gaeta. On October 13, Victor Emmanuel and the Piedmontese forces were over the Neapolitan border, pushing towards Gaeta—all that was still in the hands of the Bourbon. Plébiscites were taken in each of the Sicilies; both declared for annexation. Would Garibaldi the conqueror and his devoted followers accept the verdict? No one knew. On October 25 the king and the dictator, with their armies at their backs, came face to face, and Garibaldi hailed Victor Emmanuel as king of Italy. The cause was won.

Gaeta, covered by a French squadron, remained defiant. In January, 1861, the French squadron was withdrawn and Gaeta was occupied by the victors. The parliament of Italy met at Turin in February, and on March 17 the new kingdom of Italy was formally proclaimed; there remained outside it only Venetia and Rome. They were still outside when Cavour died, but their inclusion was not long postponed; though



VICTOR EMMANUEL II

Courageous and popular, Victor Emmanuel II (1820-78), who succeeded Charles Albert on the throne of Sardinia in 1849, was declared king of a united Italy in 1861. He showed great wisdom in his appointment of Cavour as premier in 1852.

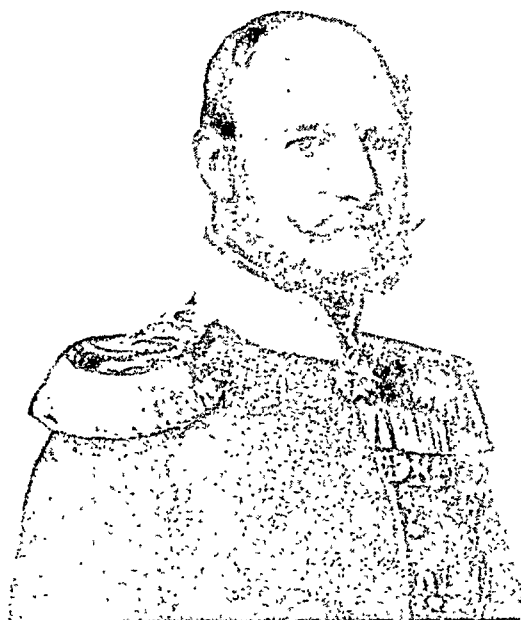
*From a photograph*

## Consolidating of the Great Powers

a desperate attempt by Garibaldi to capture Rome in defiance of the Turin government in 1862 had to be foiled at Aspromonte by the Italian government itself.

THE extrusion of Austria from Italy was the condition precedent of Italian unification; her extrusion from Germany was no less the condition of German unification, because German Austria could not be at the same time an integral portion of a German nation and an integral portion of an Austrian empire three-fourths of which was not German at all. When, after the Year of Revolutions, the old German and Austrian systems were both re-established, the prospect of German unity seemed as remote as ever. In the decade which followed, however, the power of Austria was weakened by the vacillations in the Turkish war which alienated her from both Russia and France, and by her defeat in the Italian struggle which made Victor Emmanuel king of Italy. On the other hand, Prussia and Prussian influence in Germany had been strengthened by Austria's failure to procure her inclusion in the Prussian customs union or Zollverein which gave free trade within Germany to all the rest of the German states while maintaining tariffs against the foreigner, and by the accession to the Prussian throne—though at first only as regent—of Frederick William's brother, William I, the king's health having broken down irrecoverably in 1857, though he did not die till 1861.

William was not an acute statesman; but he had the courage of his convictions, and on certain points his convictions were strong. Also he had the capacity for fixing upon abler men than himself whom he could trust and backing them up with an unfailing loyalty, provided always that his own conscience was satisfied. His primary conviction was that of the need for a military reorganization which should give the Prussian army the position in Europe which it had held in the days of Frederick the Great, and the men he chose to carry out the work were Von Roon and Moltke. But the scheme was costly and unpopular, demanding heavy taxation which the crown could not legally levy



FIRST GERMAN EMPEROR

William I (1797-1888) became king of Prussia in 1861 after acting as regent for his brother, Frederick William IV, since 1858. After the successes of the Franco-Prussian war he was proclaimed German emperor on January 18, 1871

*Painting by Winterhalter, 1854*

without the consent of the Assembly. It must be forced on the country in the teeth of an opposition which had the law behind it; and the man he found, with the audacity and the iron resolution to carry that policy through at the risk of revolution, was Otto von Bismarck. The scheme and the taxes were enforced, overriding the law. There was no revolution against the government; but the absolute authority of the crown was irresistibly established, and the new military machine was in full working order in 1864. And meanwhile Bismarck had also established an accord with Russia by supporting her, despite unavailing protests from France and England, in the crushing suppression of a Polish revolt, which left the unhappy Poles more helplessly at the mercy of the Russian government than ever.

Meanwhile also Austria's defeat in Italy had taught her that a reform in the administration of the empire was a necessity; but the changes she instituted still did not go far enough to satisfy her subjects. Moreover, in 1863 she propounded a new scheme for a German federal constitution. Bismarck was now strong enough to induce William to reject it, while at the

same time he attracted popular favour by declaring for a freely elected federal parliament. The German princes generally wanted not to be dominated by either Austria or Prussia, but to hold the balance, and they did not want a democratic parliament, though their subjects did.

At this moment the Slesvig-Holstein question again became acute. The duchies desired separation from the Danish crown, which had set at naught the treaty conditions under which the powers had confirmed it in the succession. The duchies desired incorporation in the German Confederation, under the rival claimant, the duke of Augustenburg. This would suit neither Prussia nor Austria; Bismarck induced Austria to intervene jointly with Prussia to demand of the new Danish king, Christian, the fulfilment of his treaty obligations. Danish public opinion practically forced Christian to refuse. In February, 1864, the Prussian and Austrian troops invaded Denmark, which had no chance against them. A conference of the powers came to nothing, because they could arrive at no agreement. Prussia and Austria were left to dictate to Denmark their own terms, which she was not in a position to resist. Prussia was to take over the administration of Slesvig, Austria that of Holstein; an arrangement by no means to the taste of the Confederation Diet, which the two powers agreed to ignore by a convention of their own at Gastein, in the following year.

### Bismarck outwits Napoleon III

**B**UT Bismarck, now that the efficiency of the new military system had been tested, was ready for the fight which it was now his business to bring about—as soon as he could make Austria the ostensible aggressor. His main difficulties were to persuade the king, who had a conscience, that conscience demanded the war, and to make Napoleon believe that the battle between Austria and Prussia would be to his own advantage. In both cases he was completely successful. The sphinx-like impenetrability with which the world at that time credited Napoleon III was as an open book to the apparently guileless German statesman by whom he was

entirely duped at an informal conference at Biarritz. Austria was thoroughly isolated as concerned foreign powers, but one finishing touch was desirable. Italy was craving for Venetia; an Italian flank attack at the convenient moment would be useful. By April, 1866, Bismarck had removed Victor Emmanuel's first suspicions, while Austria had rejected an Italian offer for the purchase of the coveted territory. The pact was completed. If Austria and Prussia declared war within three months, Italy would strike as Prussia's ally, and Venetia was to be her reward.

### Prussia victorious over Austria

**T**HERE was one other necessary preliminary — the manipulation of Prussia's relations with Austria so that the act of aggression should come from her. The Austrian government in Holstein was, it seemed, encouraging the view favoured by the German Diet that Augustenburg should be recognized in the duchies, to the resentment of the Prussian governor in Slesvig. In January, 1866, Austria, in spite of her compact with Prussia, was committing herself to that view. Clearly, the coming meeting of the Diet would be stormy. Then Napoleon proposed a congress and the cession of Venetia to Italy. Austria made the offer, which Italy found unsatisfactory, and also proposals with regard to the congress which would have rendered it futile. Napoleon reckoned that the war was coming, and that in due time—his own time—he would step in as arbiter.

The Diet met in June. Austria referred the Slesvig-Holstein question to it. Bismarck replied that the Confederation could have no voice in the matter till the reform of its own constitution was settled, and to that end he propounded his own scheme, which included a federal parliament and the exclusion of Austria. Prussian troops entered Holstein. Austria called upon the Confederation to assert its authority in arms, and when the Diet carried the Austrian motion Prussia withdrew from it (June 14).

The princes were with Austria; but in a fortnight the Prussian troops had



## Consolidating of the Great Powers

effectively paralysed North Germany and the Hanoverian army had surrendered (June 28). Meanwhile, the Italians, carrying out their programme, were defeated at Custozza (June 25). But on July 2 the Austrian and Bavarian forces were smashed by the Prussians at Königgratz (Sadowa). It was all over before Napoleon could stir. The Prussian troops occupied the South German principalities. On July 22 an armistice was declared, and on July 26 the peace preliminaries were signed, seven weeks after the explosion in the Diet. The actual Peace of Prague was signed four weeks later.

It was no part of Bismarck's policy to humiliate Austria—her friendship would be useful later on. Venetia must go to Italy, as promised, but not the Trentino, which had not been promised; and Austria must be excluded from the German system, because that was necessary to the Prussian hegemony of Germany. Napoleon's demand for 'compensation' on the Rhine was a mere futility which alarmed and antagonised the South German princes, making them feel their own dependence on Prussian protection. Russian uneasiness at the completeness of the Prussian triumph was placated by a hint that her expansion in Asia commanded Prussian approval and sympathy. So much for foreign relations. These were subservient to the main purpose—the creation of the Prusso-German Empire. First came the consolidation of North Germany by absorption into or dependence on Prussia, through a new North German Confederation and the Prussian annexation of Hanover and Hesse, completing the Prussian territorial continuity. The absorption of South Germany must be voluntary, not compulsory—a favour

granted to the South Germans in due time. Such was the outcome of the Seven Weeks' War and the treaty of Prague.

Bismarck did not intend to precipitate the next issue that he contemplated until he should be so thoroughly ready that rapid victory would be assured. France would have to be fought and very soundly beaten—and France must be the aggressor. For France would certainly do her utmost to prevent the consolidation of Germany—that had been an unfailing feature of her policy since the days of Richelieu—and the Rhine frontier must be rectified so as to render her powerless



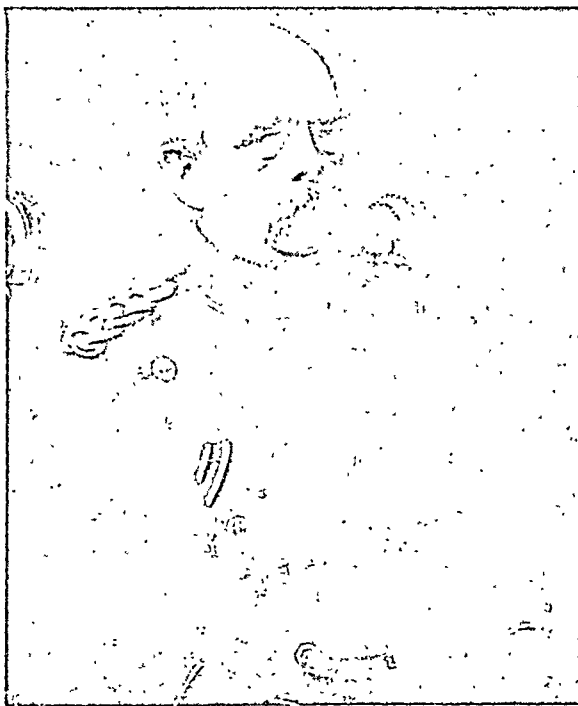
GENERAL PRIM ON HORSEBACK

The Spanish statesman Juan Prim (1814-70) joined with Francisco Serrano in 1868 to overthrow the unpopular government of Queen Isabella, who was strongly under Jesuit influence. The revolution was successful, but Prim fell a victim to assassins in 1870. Henri Regnault painted this portrait of him.

*Musée de Louvre; photo, Alinari*

for aggression. And before forcing the decisive conflict Bismarck wanted a solid Germany at his back. The Austrian war had made him a national hero for Prussia, instead of the bugbear of the German liberals, whose hostility vanished when he adopted the rôle of a constitutionalist who had only been reluctantly compelled by the urgent necessities of state to override the law for the time being—though with the happiest effect. Bismarck was quite ready to work through constitutional forms so long as his aims were not hampered thereby.

By a similar show of judicious concession he secured in his new North German Confederation an effective dictatorship for Prussia in the guise of a constitution with an assembly elected by manhood suffrage and a federal council representative of the several autonomous governments under the presidency of the king of Prussia represented by his chancellor. That Otto von Bismarck would know how to manage the council and that for practical purposes the sovereignty of the Confederation was vested therein, he had no manner of doubt.



OTTO VON BISMARCK

The foundation of the German Empire under William I of Prussia was achieved by the genius of Otto von Bismarck (1815-98), following the French defeat at Sedan. His dominating personality is apparent in this photograph.



LEOPOLD OF HOHENZOLLERN

William I of Prussia did not encourage the candidature of his relative Leopold of Hohenzollern for the vacant throne of Spain in 1870, and, in spite of Bismarck's approval of the project, Leopold declined to accept it.

The inclusion in it of the South German states whose commercial interests were bound up with the Zollverein, of which they were already members, would be merely a matter of time.

### Origins of the Franco-Prussian War

**I**N 1870, just three years after the establishment of the constitution, the crisis arose which enabled the chancellor to shatter France.

Spain was the occasion of the quarrel. The unhappy plight of that country under Queen Isabella has not demanded our close attention hitherto; it is enough here to say that it had been so unhappy that in 1868 General Prim headed a revolution, the queen fled from the country, and the general set up a provisional government which decided to offer the crown to a foreign prince, its own royal family having become impossible. After the consideration and rejection of various candidatures, the crown was ultimately accepted in 1870 by Victor Emmanuel's younger son, the duke of Aosta, who had already declined it once. But one of the princes whose candidature had been tentatively invited was Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a kinsman of the king of Prussia. William I did not countenance,

## Consolidating of the Great Powers

but quite unmistakably discouraged the candidature ; Bismarck secretly encouraged it : France's hostility to it was not disguised. Bismarck was defeated. Leopold definitely refused the offer (July 12, 1870), but William had not definitely vetoed it. For a moment Bismarck believed that his own public career was at an end. But on July 14 he had the game in his hands.

Napoleon's position in France was critical. His successes, such as they were, in Italy and the Crimea could hardly be regarded as brilliant. He had been palpably out-manoeuvred by Bismarck in 1866 ; he had intervened in troubles in Mexico (see page 4387), and his intervention had been a disastrous failure. The palpable clerical influence in his counsels was a weakness rather than a strength in France and had driven him to maintain the Papacy in Rome, while the sympathies of the country were with the republicans. In a very recent Roman rising Garibaldi had been defeated at Mentana by the ' chasse-pots ' of the French troops. He had lived on the Napoleonic idea, and the idea would be exploded unless he did something worthy of his mighty uncle's name. An overwhelming diplomatic success or a triumphant war had become almost a necessity. France believed fervently that the French army could repeat its triumphs under the first Napoleon, whereas he knew that the army organization was honey-combed with corruption ; but there was a gambler's chance of success, and the probable alternative was the collapse of the Third Empire. He did not want war, but he dared not exercise the necessary restraining influence. Yet the announcement of Leopold's refusal of the Spanish crown was, on the face of it, an immense diplomatic victory.

### Incident of the Ems Telegram

**T**his minister, Grammont, threw the victory away. The French ambassador was instructed on July 13 to demand from William, who was at Ems, a pledge that he would in no circumstances support Leopold's candidature. William replied with perfect truth that he never had supported it, that the refusal was final, but that to give pledges was out of the

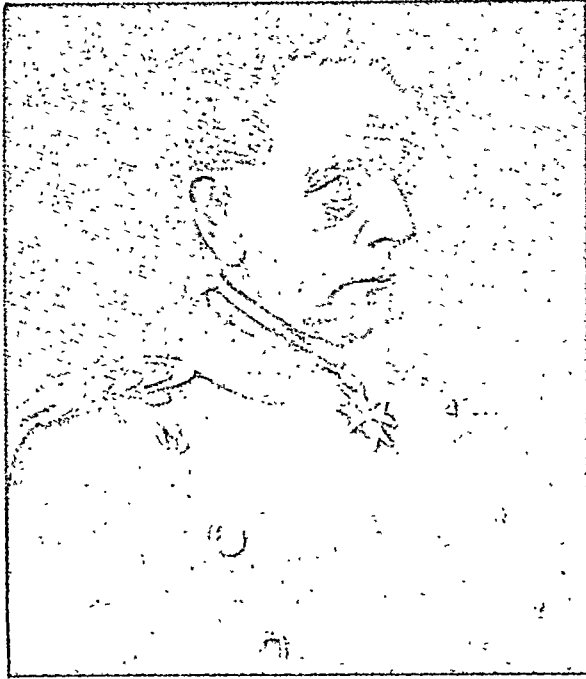
question. There, he supposed, the matter was ended, and he telegraphed a report of the interview to Bismarck at Berlin. Late that night the telegram appeared in a condensed form in the *Norddeutsche Zeitung*. The condensed telegram conveyed to all Germany the impression that an outrageous demand had been answered with firmness but without discourtesy ; to all France that an entirely justifiable demand had been met with insolent



**NAPOLEON III AS EMPEROR**

The force of the Napoleonic legend and his own ambition raised Louis Napoleon from French president to emperor in 1852. His attempts to satisfy the national desire for military glory ended in failure. Painting by Flandrin.

*Musée de Versailles ; photo, Neurdein*



COUNT VON MOLTKE

The German army that defeated France in 1870 was prepared by the genius of the Prussian field-marshal Helmuth von Moltke (1800-91), a master of military organization and strategy. His fine character won him universal admiration.

*From a photograph*

defiance. Twenty-four hours later Napoleon declared war, and the French armies began to mass on the German frontier.

The war was a plain duel between France and Prussia—but Prussia meant a solid Germany. On the face of things, it was quite impossible to claim that Prussia was the aggressor; though Germany might not have been solid and the French war fever would not have been so uncontrollable if the Ems telegram had not been 'condensed.' The South German states were under no obligation to take part in a Prussian quarrel with which they did not sympathise, but the telegram as published ensured their lively sympathy, and added fuel to the fire in France. And France's blunder had given to Bismarck and to the Prussian army precisely the chance Bismarck wanted, as Austria's blunder had given him his chance four years before. But he had been able to count on the first blunder; the second was a gratuitous gift. Russia could be relied on to keep Austria neutral, and British neutrality would be broken only if the guaranteed Belgian neutrality were violated, a blunder which Bismarck was too shrewd to commit. Since 1866 Moltke and Von Roon had brought the general German army organization up to the Prussian standard. France—not Napoleon



FRENCH CABINET COUNCIL WHICH DECLARED WAR ON PRUSSIA

The publication of the Ems telegram with its implied insult to France had exactly the result that Bismarck intended. The declaration of war that followed came from France, and in the ensuing hostilities Prussia achieved a signal triumph over her enemy. The group of ministers surrounding Napoleon III in this photograph, taken in 1870, comprises the cabinet council which reached the momentous decision to face 'trial by battle' with the Prussian foe.

## Consolidating of the Great Powers

*Mourir en son lieu*

*N'ayant pas pu mourir  
au milieu de mes troupes  
il m'en reste guère à remettre  
mon épée entre les mains de  
Votre Majesté*

*I m. de votre Majesté  
à bon point*

*Sedan le 7 Sept. 1870*

### NAPOLÉON III SURRENDERS HIS SWORD

After a desperate fight the army of the Emperor Napoleon III surrendered to the Prussians at Sedan on September 1, 1870. Napoleon's letter, written to King William I on the same day, expresses his regret that he did not perish with his fallen troops.

*From Oncken, 'Zeitalter des Kaiser Wilhelm'*

—believed that her own armies would march to Berlin; Bismarck knew that his would march to Paris.

The first collision was at Saarbrücken on August 2, where the Germans were forced to evacuate an advanced post they had occupied. But in the course of the month a succession of German victories at Wörth (August 6), Colombières (14), Mars-la-Tour and Gravelotte (16 and 17) shut up Bazaine in Metz with 170,000 men, and drove Macmahon to join the emperor at Sedan, where, after a hot resistance, Napoleon was forced to surrender with his whole force on September 1.

The emperor would perforce have accepted any terms but the Empire ended at Sedan. His ministry had already been swept away; the bubble had burst, and Paris for the third

time proclaimed the French Republic, with a 'government of national defence' under General Trochu, Jules Favre and Léon Gambetta. The empress with her son had taken flight to England, where she was ultimately joined by her husband. The Republic was willing for peace, but not at Bismarck's price, which included the cession of Alsace and Lorraine with Metz and Strassburg. On September 19 the Prussian crown prince's army was at the gates of Paris, which stood defiant and prepared itself as best it might for a long siege.

On September 27 Strassburg fell. The government shut up in Paris could do nothing outside the city; on October 7 Gambetta escaped in a balloon to Tours, where he became in effect the French



COMMANDER OF THE FRENCH

Distinguished for his services in Italian campaigns, Marshal Macmahon (1808-93) held high command in the Franco-Prussian war. In August, 1870, he was defeated at Wörth and, in September, wounded and captured at Sedan. Elected president of the French Republic in 1873, he resigned in 1879.

*Painting by R. Princeteau*

government and the inspiration of the French defiance. He raised new armies in the provinces, but on October 27 Bazaine and his great host in Metz surrendered. Gambetta proclaimed a levée en masse. The raw troops fought with heroic devotion, but the desperate successes they won were counter-balanced by far more crushing defeats; while Paris held out grimly till sheer starvation forced her to capitulate on January 28, 1871.

The Germans dictated their own terms to the French government, to the head of which was called the veteran Thiers, who had been a constitutionalist leader in the revolutions

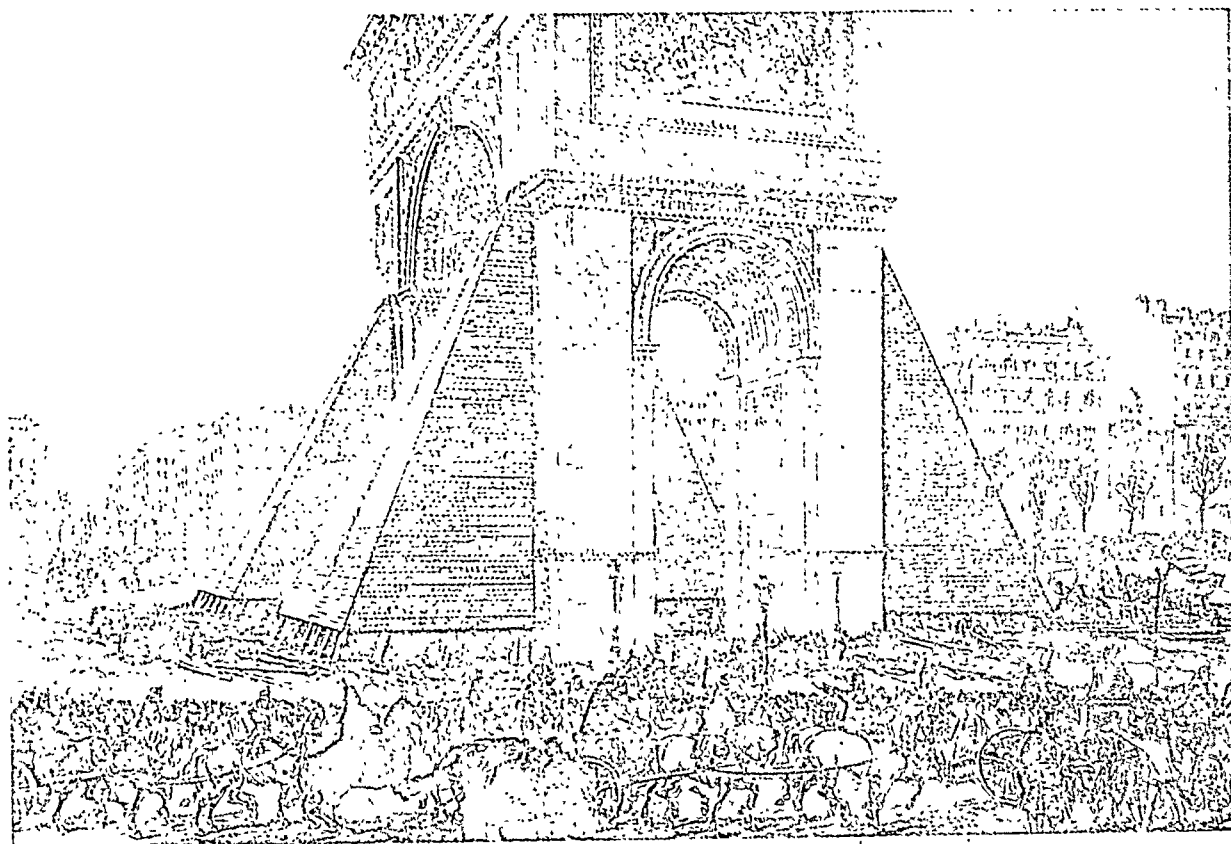


**LEON GAMBETTA**

Prompt to proclaim the third French Republic in 1870, Leon Gambetta (1838-82) became minister of the interior in the Government of National Defence, and president of the Chamber of Deputies in 1879.

of 1830 and 1848. The terms were crushing. The preliminaries were signed on February 26, and the definitive Treaty of Frankfurt on May 10. Alsace and most of Lorraine, with Metz and Strassburg, were ceded; an enormous indemnity was to be paid, German troops remaining in partial occupation till the process should be completed.

Bismarck's grand object was achieved. He had created a German Empire with the king of Prussia as hereditary emperor. While the war was in progress, one after another of the South German states had been admitted to the Confederation;



**A SORTIE FROM PARIS DURING ITS SIEGE BY THE GERMANS IN 1870**

Great fortitude was displayed by the heroic defenders of the French capital from the attacks of the opposing army in 1870. Much damage was done to property during the siege and the Arc de Triomphe, shown in this sketch sent by balloon post to an English newspaper, was protected against the heavy fire, while defence works were erected in the streets. Sorties were made at intervals in the hope of dislodging the invaders, but starvation at length enforced surrender.

## Consolidating of the Great Powers

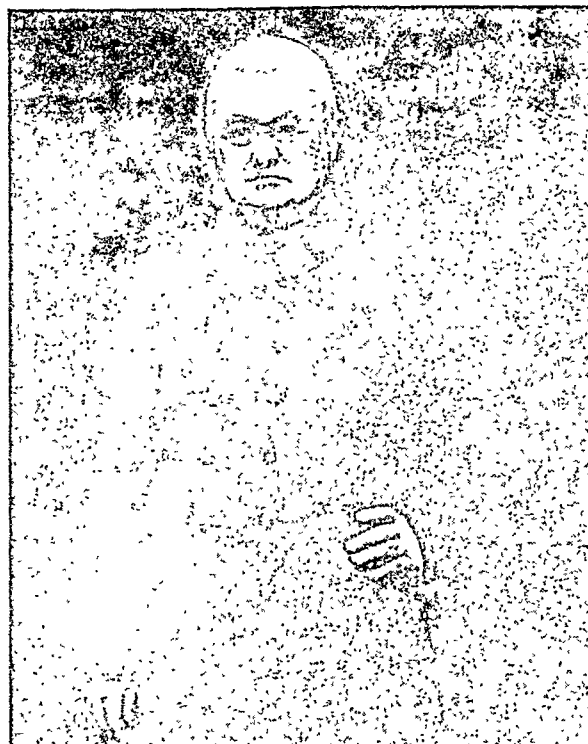
Bismarck had gradually overcome the opposition of the monarchs, including William himself, to the imperial project and on January 18, ten days before the capitulation of Paris, William I had been acclaimed German emperor by the assembled princes in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

Incidentally the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, necessitated by the war, enabled Victor Emmanuel, immediately after Sedan, to capture and incorporate Rome with the Italian kingdom; and make it the national capital, while the pope remained in the Vatican deprived of all temporal power; also Russia, supported by Bismarck, was able to procure the virtual abrogation of the Black Sea Treaty of 1856 by the Treaty of London of 1871. The results of the Crimean War were washed out. A burning hostility to Germany had been implanted in the soul of every Frenchman, and England was more convinced than ever that her own Indian empire was Russia's objective.

### French Intervention in Mexico

**I**n the period during which Italy and Germany were each achieving the unification which in the one had never been known since the days of the Roman Caesars and in the other had never been attained before, the great trans-Atlantic republic was working out a corresponding process under very different conditions, and was at the same time coming into line with the white peoples of the old world in the attitude they had so recently adopted towards the institution of negro slavery; an institution reconcilable with democratic doctrines only on the hypothesis that these apply to white races alone. In America the two questions were inextricably intertwined, because the maintenance of the institution was in fact incompatible with unification.

We turn then to the American developments that were contemporary with the European developments which have hitherto been the subject of the present Chronicle; giving precedence, however, to Mexico, because it was more directly connected with European affairs, and was among the subsidiary causes of Napoleon's



LOUIS ADOLPHE THIERS

In the critical days of French humiliation and defeat after Sedan Louis Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877) secured acceptance for the terms of peace dictated by the Germans, and faced the hard task of reconstruction under the new Republic.

*Painting by Bonnat; the Louvre*

downfall. The uneasy progress of the South American states is studied in Chap. 162.

Santa Ana's last dictatorship (see page 4277) was overthrown in 1855. After further faction struggles the anti-clerical Benito Juarez secured the presidency in 1860. Next year he met the financial difficulties in which the government was involved by secularising ecclesiastical estates and suspending the payment of Mexico's debts to her European creditors. Napoleon saw an opportunity for intervention, since the United States were at that moment entering upon a domestic struggle which must absorb all their energies for a long time, so that effective opposition from them, based on the Monroe doctrine, to European intervention in the western hemisphere was precluded. He proposed, with the support of the clericals in Mexico, to end the anarchy by giving her a constitutional monarch from Europe (who would owe his throne to France). Success would be at once a French and a clerical triumph, greatly increasing the stability of his own position at home.



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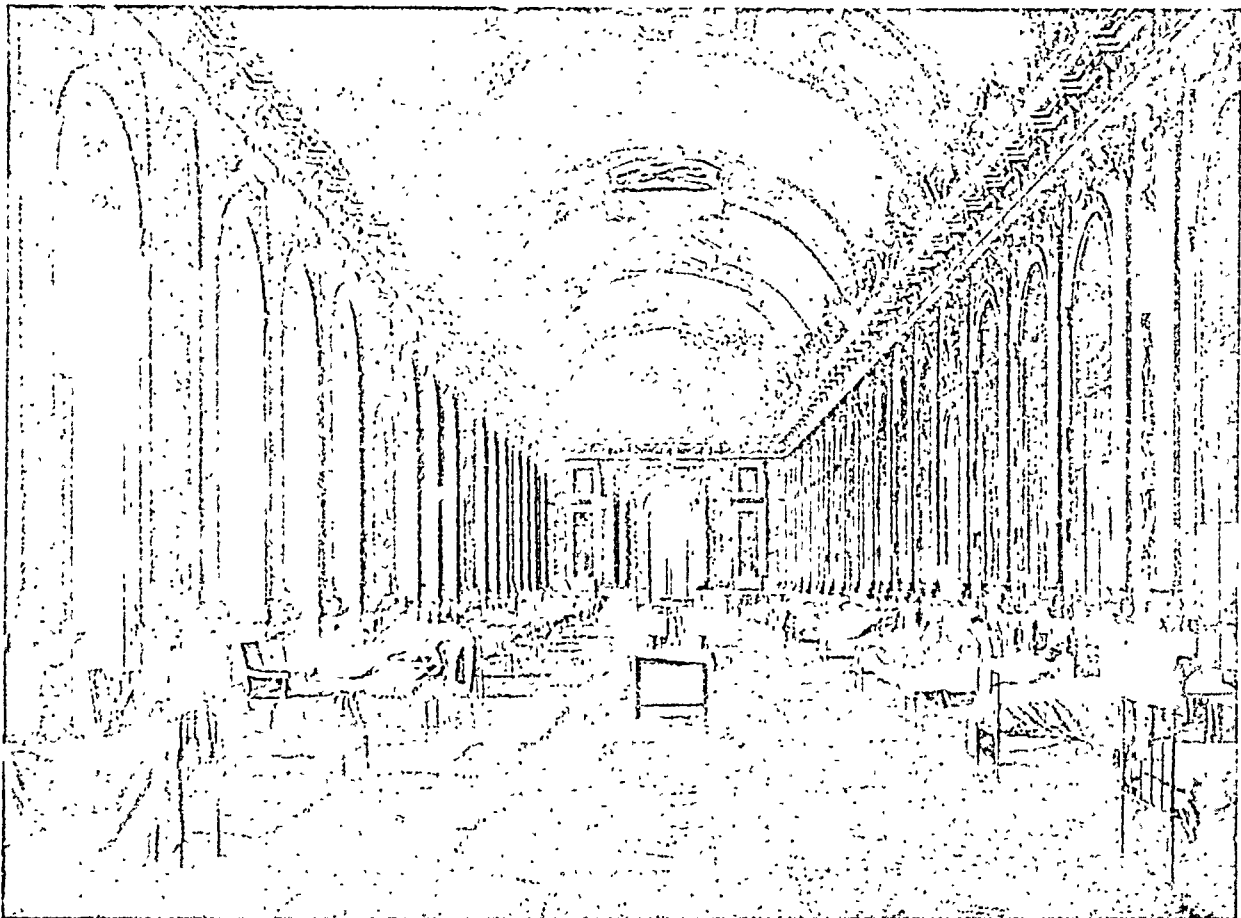
Austria would be conciliated by the nomination of the archduke Maximilian to the Mexican crown. Spain would co-operate, and perhaps England, which had financial interests in Mexico, though she would not go beyond what might seem necessary to procure the payment of the debts.

A joint 'demonstration' was arranged at the end of 1861—to insist upon the restoration of order and the payment of debts. But the Spanish commander Prim (who afterwards effected the expulsion of Queen Isabella) soon realized that he was intended to be Napoleon's catspaw, a position he had no intention of accepting, and the British were satisfied by the Mexican president's offers. Napoleon could not afford to stop, and France went on alone. The French and the clericals took Mexico city but Juarez and Porfirio Diaz maintained the struggle year by year. Maximilian arrived in person in 1864, but

decisive victory remained remote; Napoleon's resources were severely strained; no glory had been or seemed likely to be won; in 1865, the war in the United States reached a decisive conclusion and their intervention was imminent. In 1866 Napoleon left Maximilian to his fate. The success of the Republicans was now assured, but the 'Emperor' of Mexico would not desert his supporters, and in the next year he was captured and shot. Juarez was once more established in the dictatorship, in which he was succeeded five years later by Diaz.

### Causes of the American Civil War

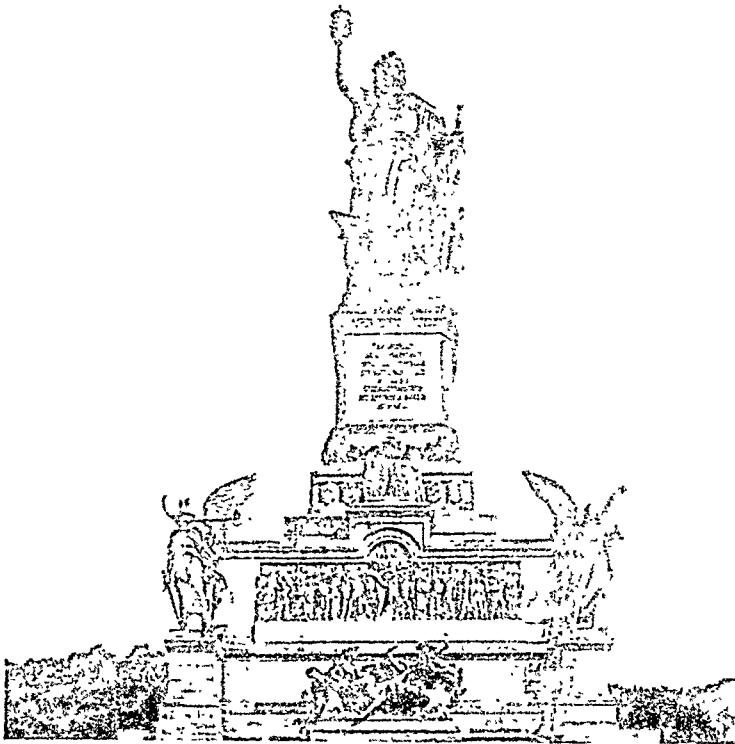
THERE were no serious questions pending between the United States and European powers in 1848. But their recent difference with Mexico on one side caused the fall of Santa Ana, and on the other the acquisition of California; and this soon brought about a new crisis in



### NOVEL USE FOR THE HALL OF MIRRORS IN THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

Many historic scenes have been enacted in the famous Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, which this photograph shows during its temporary conversion into a German hospital at the time of the Franco-Prussian war. Here, on January 18, 1871, King William I of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor, and within these walls was signed, on June 28, 1919, the treaty that ended the Great War.

## Consolidating of the Great Powers



GERMAN NATIONAL MONUMENT OF WAR

In commemoration of the German military triumphs of 1870-71, the Emperor William I unveiled this commanding statue of Germania on the crest of the Niederwald in 1883. The bronze figure, designed by Joannes Schilling, is thirty-three feet high. Allegorical figures and portraits decorate the statue's base.

*Photo, Neuen Photographische Gesellschaft*

the 'slave' or 'free' state question. New states must be created, and the Northern and Southern immigrants, swarming into the new territory in which gold had been discovered, were in hot opposition to each other. The new territories were partly north and partly south of the Missouri line, while the line itself could not be continued as a line of demarcation between new states. If the question, slave or free, was to be decided by local option—by each state for itself—the Northerners, being generally in a majority, would carry the day everywhere, and the preponderance of the North in the central government would be substantially increased.

The moderates on both sides desired a compromise; the extremists in the South were determined not to be swamped, those in the North were bent on swamping them. A compromise was, in fact, adopted (1850) introducing the principle of local option, accompanied by the 'fugitive-slave law,' which entitled slave owners to recover slaves who had escaped into free territory. But at the same time the

body of definitely abolitionist opinion was growing in the North, inflamed by the publication of almost the only work of fiction which has directly influenced the course of political events, Uncle Tom's Cabin—a lurid picture of the conditions of negro slavery which is open to criticism—and the enforcement of the 'fugitive-slave law' in the free territories was not only resented but openly resisted.

The atmosphere of acquiescence was not long preserved. More territory was occupied, reviving the question in 1854; local option was again proposed, though the whole Kansas-Nebraska area was north of the Missouri line. The abolitionists were up in arms, though there was no real doubt that local option would keep the whole area 'free.' Then a judgement of the

supreme court laid it down that slave



MAXIMILIAN I OF MEXICO

The Austrian archduke Maximilian (1832-67), victim of Napoleon III's America scheme, was declared emperor of Mexico in 1863. In time of need, French support was withdrawn and he was shot by the republicans in 1867.

*Engraving by Metzmacher*

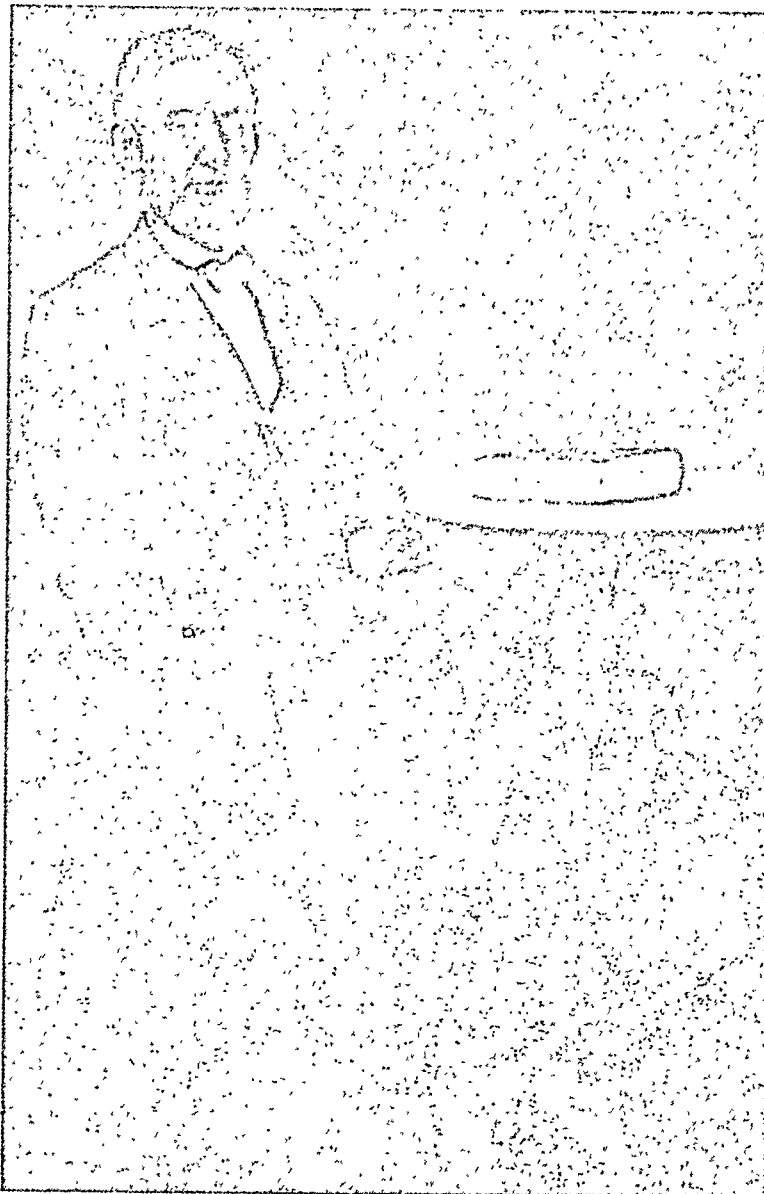
owners could retain their property in their slaves on free territory.

To most of the North the recognition of slavery at all upon free territory was a moral abomination, though only the abolitionist minority were ready to demand its suppression where it was already legally established. But the South, which regarded the institution not only as an economic necessity but as ordained by Scripture, felt that, with a great Northern predominance in the central government, abolition would be only a question of time. If the South was to be saved,

state rights as against the central government must be asserted even to the point of acting upon what it claimed as its legal right of secession from the Union. The crisis arrived with the presidential election at the close of 1860, when from the splitting of votes among four sectional candidates the lot fell upon Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln loathed slavery without being an abolitionist—abolition was still wholly impracticable as an avowed policy; but the South saw in his victory the certain presage of the gradual if not the immediate submerging of the Southern economic interests by those of the North. Secession was the only course left open.

Carolina led the way with an ordinance dissolving the Union in December. In February, 1861, six more of the Southern states drew up a constitution for 'the Confederate States of America' (the term confederate implying a union from which any member is free to separate itself, while the term Federal, adopted by the North, implies an indissoluble union); soon nearly all the slave states had joined the Confederates, and elected Jefferson Davis their president; while Lincoln in his inaugural presidential address declared his intention of enforcing the laws of the Union in all the states. On April 14 the Confederates seized and occupied the arsenal-fortress of Fort Sumter, and next day Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers.

The issue to be fought out was definitely the right of secession, not the retention or abolition of slavery, though the latter was indirectly involved in the former. Were there to be two American nations with conflicting interests, or was the American nation to be one? European



**PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN**

Abraham Lincoln (1809-65) was elected president of the United States in 1860 and entered office in March, 1861, a month before the Civil War broke out. This photograph was taken in the war years, throughout which the onus of carrying affairs to a successful conclusion fell mainly upon him.

*Robert Coster Collection*

## Consolidating of the Great Powers



### FEDERAL AND CONFEDERATED STATES OF AMERICA

Originating in the question of the abolition of slavery—passionately advocated in the North—or its retention—deemed necessary to the economic existence of the South—the American Civil War was definitely fought to decide the right of individual states to secede from the Union. In December, 1860, Carolina declared for secession, and in the following February the other slave states except Missouri and Kentucky joined the Confederate States of America in opposition to the Federal states of the North.

sympathies were divided on the question, the rights of minorities appealing on one side, the principle of unification on the other.

Bull Run, the first big battle of the war, was notable, apart from its results, as the first historic occasion on which the possession of a railway junction was the strategic objective of the opposing armies; and the victory was won by the Confederates through their successful use of the railway. It inspired the South with confidence and roused the North to a fuller consciousness of the magnitude of the struggle before it. In the autumn occurred an incident which nearly forced Great Britain into war with the North. On the standing principle of non-intervention in the domestic quarrels of foreign states, Great Britain refused to take either side, though recognizing the Confederates as belligerents—an attitude much resented by both, since each was firmly convinced that the justice of its own cause was so manifest that to refuse it support was inexcusable. Commissioners from the South for England who had



JEFFERSON DAVIS

Elected president of the Confederates in 1861, and re-elected in 1862, Jefferson Davis (1808-89) showed considerable skill in organizing the armies of the South, but he lacked the genius of his opponent, Lincoln, for managing men.

From Wilson: 'History of the American People'

taken passage on a British ship, the Trent, were forcibly removed from her by a Federal warship; war was only averted with extreme difficulty.

In the next year (1862) the area of the fighting was widely extended, and the naval superiority of the Federals enabled them to establish a blockade of all the Southern ports—a very serious matter for the South, which was dependent for its supplies upon imports and for money upon its exports. Incidentally, it produced a 'cotton famine' in England; where, nevertheless, the sympathy of the cotton operatives for the slaves in what now became definitely a war of emancipation was too strong to be overridden by the sufferings brought on themselves by the stoppage of employment.

The military operations of the year were indecisive; but in September Lincoln proclaimed that all slaves in all states which should be in arms against the Federal government at the close of the year would then be declared free. The emancipation proclamation was duly issued on January 1, 1863, and the South found itself not only threatened by the North but in danger of negro risings within its own gates. Yet for still another year the Confederate forces continued to hold their

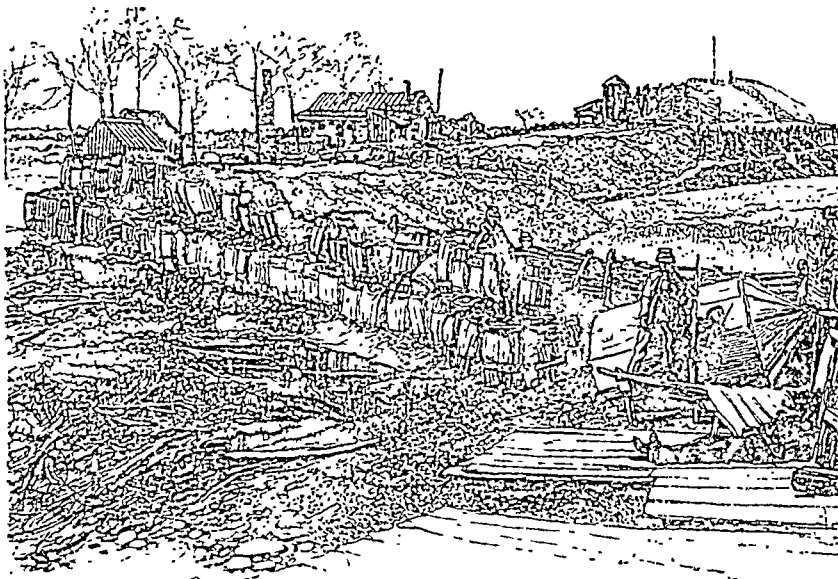
own in the field against forces often greatly superior to their own in number.

#### Victory of the North over the South

THE South, however, had almost no reserves of men to draw upon as their numbers became depleted, the slave labour hitherto employed in essential production could no longer be relied upon, and the blockade cut them off from imports; whereas in the North increasing numbers of volunteers could still pour in to fill up the military gaps without a dangerous depletion of productive power. The turn of the tide was marked by the check to the advance of the Confederate General Lee—against much larger forces—in the three days' struggle at Gettysburg at midsummer, 1863. From that time the Southerners were fighting with their backs to the wall against overwhelming odds.

In May, 1864, the supreme command of the Federal armies was given to Ulysses Grant; still, through desperate fighting, Lee held his own in Virginia, but no more. At the end of the year Lincoln was re-elected to the presidency. A second Federal army under Sherman worked its way to the south, ending up with the famous march to the sea, and in January began the northward march which the Confederate commander Johnston could only check at intervals. In April Lee was completely enveloped by Grant's overwhelming numbers, and had to choose between annihilation and surrender at Appomattox Court House; and his surrender (April 9, 1865) was the surrender of the South. Five days later Abraham Lincoln was shot by a crazed assassin.

The battle had been fought to a finish. Slavery was no more, and the political unity of the American nation was at last an established fact, though it was still long before the South could reconcile itself to



#### SITE OF TWO SOUTHERN VICTORIES

In the neighbourhood of Bull Run, in West Virginia, the Confederate troops were twice victorious. In July, 1861, it was Johnston who put the Federals to flight and in August, 1862, Lee himself was in command. This engraving after a photograph of the latter year shows Confederate fortifications at Manassas junction.

*From Johnson and Buel, 'Battles and Leaders of the Civil War'*

## Consolidating of the Great Powers



GENERAL ROBERT LEE

A great general and a benevolent man, Robert Lee (1807-70) commanded the Confederate forces in the American Civil War. His courage and tenacity were finally overcome by the numerical superiority of Grant's army.

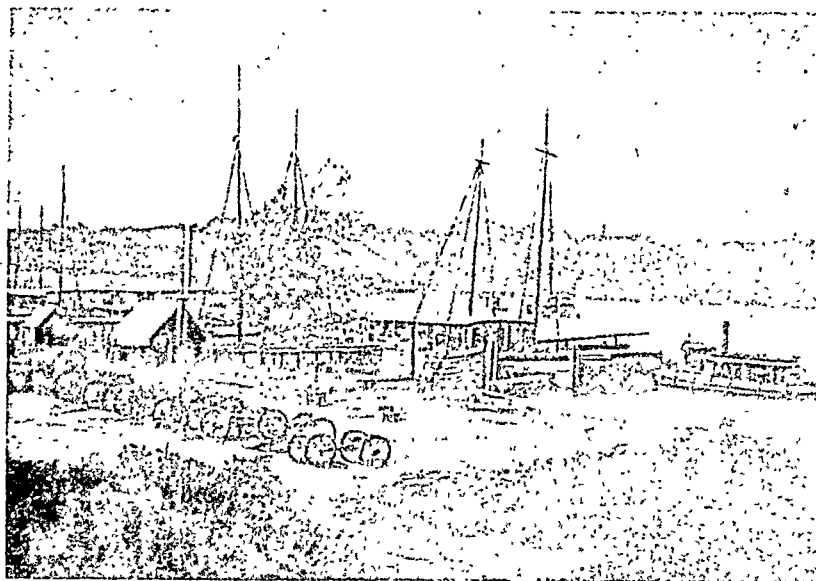
*After a photograph*

the new order. And, though slavery was gone, the negro problem remained.

**I**N the British Empire during these years all the greater colonies, after the Canadian precedent, were endowed with a very large degree of autonomy, with parliamentary constitutions varying according to their individual choice, and in full possession of responsible government as concerned their domestic affairs; and in North America all the colonies, with the exception of Newfoundland, were federated in the Dominion of Canada by the British North America Act of 1867. (See further in Chapter 172.) A considerable impulse was given to Australian colonisation by the gold rush caused by the

discovery of gold in large quantities in 1851. Hitherto the country had attracted mainly agriculturists; but now many industrials, who went out for gold, remained permanently, and with the presence of skilled artisans began the development of manufactures. Of the internal history of the British Empire in India more may be read in Chapter 166. At home the trade unions, a characteristically British creation, were on the point of receiving recognition as a legal and even a privileged form of industrial organization, at the moment when the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1867 was transferring the preponderant voting power from the 'middle classes' to the artisans.

**I**N the Far East revolution was in progress. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, when China was involved in her first war with the British as related in the last Chronicle, she had successfully maintained the barriers excluding European penetration. That war gave to the British not an open door but a chink; and other powers were soon pressing for corresponding privileges, France and the United States leading. Another collision with the British, known as the Arrow Incident, in 1856, brought on another



BROADWAY LANDING, APPOMATTOX RIVER

When the fall of Richmond became inevitable in April, 1865, General Lee retreated upon Lynchburg, but was intercepted by Sheridan at Appomattox Court House and compelled to surrender. Broadway Landing was one of several points at which the winding Appomattox river had to be crossed in the course of these operations.

*Contemporary photograph*

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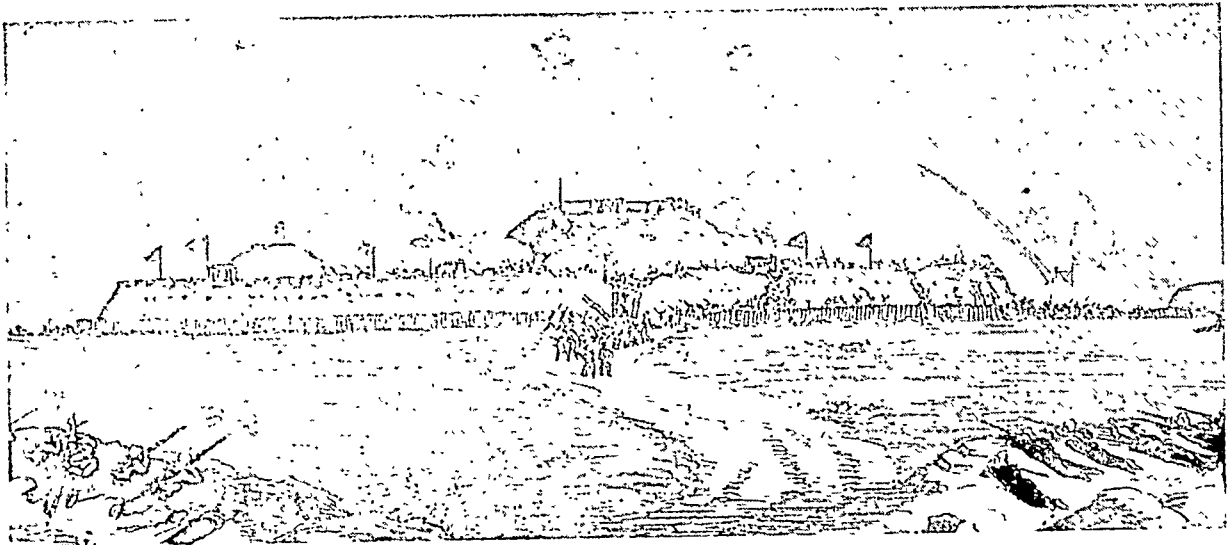
war, in which France, having grievances of her own, joined the British. The advance of the allies upon Peking induced the Chinese government to make concessions formulated in the treaty of 1858; but its failure to give the concessions effect caused the war to be renewed in 1860. Again the allies marched on Peking, captured it, and imposed upon it the permanent presence of official 'residents,' representing the European governments. The Peking government was the more amenable, because it was in danger of being overwhelmed by the long-growing Taiping rebellion, for the suppression of which in 1864 it was mainly indebted to American and European officers.

### Japan Opened to Western Influence

**I**N 1641 the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan had finally chosen its policy of isolation from all European influences, having already discarded Hideyoshi's schemes of imperial development on the Asiatic continent. All that Japan knew of the outside world was through her very slight intercourse with China and with the Dutch merchants to whom she conceded a very limited admission. She was not menaced with foreign attack, and until the middle of the nineteenth century there had been no urgent pressure to force commerce upon her.

For more than two centuries the hereditary shoguns had ruled her in peace and prosperity, unchallenged theoretically as the ministers of the semi-divine mikados, who in effect never sought to exercise the control which no one questioned their right to resume. But now the time had come when Japan had to face the European and American expansion which, as we have seen, began in the 'forties, to bring the West into collision with China. The awakening of Japan is the subject of a separate study in Chapter 165; but we must here summarise the movement which suddenly ended her isolation and brought her into the circle of the world states.

About 1846 the menace on the hitherto peaceful horizon began to obtrude itself. If Japan was to maintain her exclusiveness, she must be prepared to resist Western pressure. Not only the shogun but also the new mikado Komei awoke to the fact. The shogun was aware that Japan lacked the resources for suddenly bringing her defences up to the necessary standard. The mikado and the great majority of the nobles had no such fears and were bent on increasing the rigidity of exclusion; while there was a small but able and well informed minority who were convinced that exclusion was a fundamental error and that knowledge of, and



CAPTURE OF THE NORTH FORT, PEIHO

Treacherous breach by the Chinese of the treaty concluded with Lord Elgin at Tientsin in 1858 led to a second expedition being dispatched in 1860. French forces took part in this campaign and in August the allies again went up the Peiho en route to Peking. This drawing after a sketch by an artist with the expedition records the storming and capture of the Peiho forts on August 21, after which the allies marched to the capital where the Chinese opened negotiations and ratified the treaty of 1858.



## Consolidating of the Great Powers



COMMODORE MATTHEW PERRY

Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794-1858) crowned a distinguished naval career by his negotiation of the treaty, signed March 31, 1854, between the United States and Japan which reopened Japan to Western influence after 250 years' isolation.

*From a photograph*

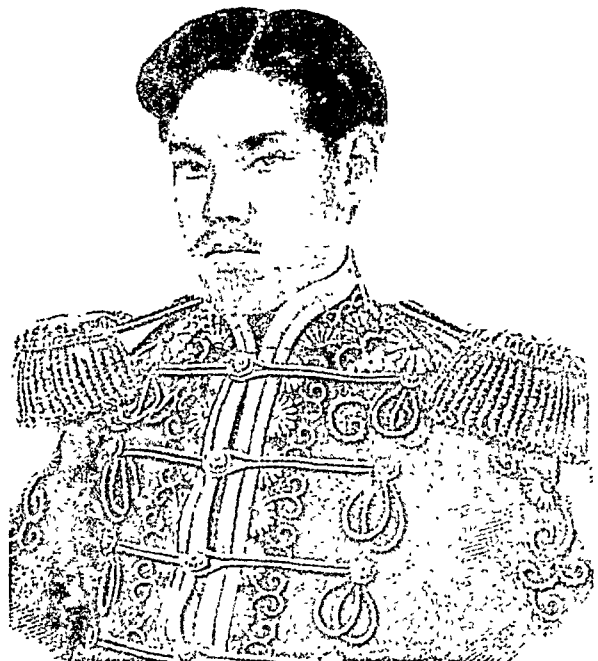
intercourse with, the West should be scientifically turned to advantage.

The shogun could not afford to associate his policy with this third group. If he set himself in opposition to the mikado, the titular sovereign would become the active sovereign, with the country behind him, the Shogunate would go—having no divine sanction behind it, like the Mikado-ship—and Japan would be plunged into a struggle with the Western powers which could end only in utter disaster. He must appear to be carrying out the popular policy and yet manage to evade the foreigner's wrath.

The appearance of the American naval commander Perry, in 1853 and 1854, with demands for an open door, brought matters to a head. The shogun, whom the West conceived to be the actual emperor, dared not refuse concessions, including the admission of an American consul. The popular resentment grew. Two years later the European allies were ominously hammering Peking. The consul demanded, and got, more concessions in 1858. There was a new and youthful shogun; the Shogunate policy was in the hands of the old shogun's right-hand man, Kamon no

Kami, and in 1860 he was slain by a band of Samurai, the military caste of the 'patriot' party. A series of attacks was made on foreigners, official or otherwise. British warships appeared; there was a collision between them and the forts of the baron of Satsuma. The shogun was compelled to order vigorous action against the foreigners; the baron of Choshu fired upon shipping passing through the Strait of Shimonoseki. His forts were bombarded, and he was forced to pay a heavy indemnity (1863).

The mikado and his party realized their blunder in forcing action, but threw the blame on the shogun and Choshu. The shogun reconciled himself with the mikado, but Choshu, arguing that he had acted under orders, revolted, demanding the removal of the mikado's evil counsellors. The shogun took counter-measures which deprived him of the mikado's support. Civil war was imminent. Then (1866-7) mikado and shogun both died. The new shogun was Kokei, his predecessor's minister and cousin; the new emperor was a boy, Mutsuhito. Events had coerced the Shogunate—including Kokei—to commit itself to a policy which



MUTSUHITO, EMPEROR OF JAPAN

Mutsuhito (1852-1912) succeeded his father in 1867 and did much to forward the establishment of Western civilization in Japan. His reign was signalised by victorious wars with China and Russia, and alliance with Great Britain.

*Almanack de Gotha, 1877*

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was not its own ; the policy which it would fain have followed from the beginning had become that of its original opponents, the party of the mikado. Kokei, moreover, could not be a party to the reinstatement of Choshu, to which the mikado was committed. The Shogunate had become incompatible with an active Mikadoship ; in 1867 Kokei solved the problem by a voluntary resignation, and Mutsuhito became emperor in fact as well as in name.

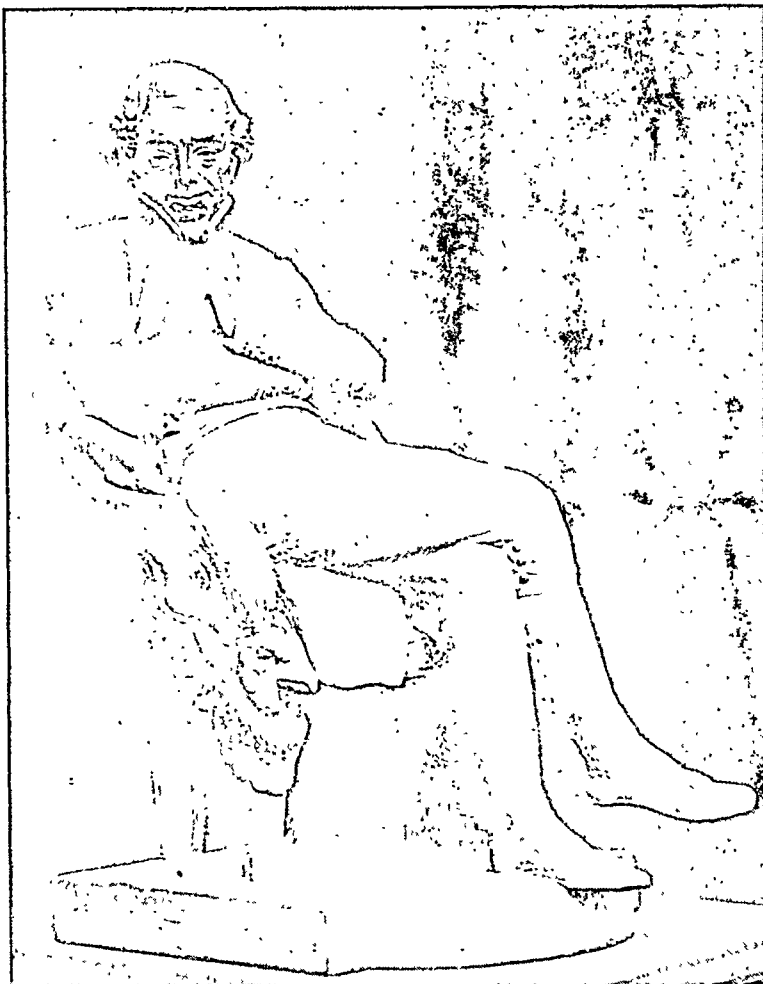
**I**N 1871, then, a new power, though one not yet recognized as such, had been created in the Far East. In the Far West unification had triumphed over the forces of disruption. In Europe, Italy was for the first time since the days of the Roman Empire united under a constitutional

monarchy. The Austrian Empire still had its problem of reconciling a central control with the divergent interests of the Germans, North Slavs, South Slavs and Magyars, for which it had found a partial solution satisfactory to Hungary, in the establishment of the Dual Monarchy.

In the Turkish Empire diverse Christian populations were still under the Ottoman sovereignty. Germany had for the first time in her history become united, and united with her own assent, under an irresistibly organized central government, which controlled an army incomparably the most powerful in Europe. France, shorn of her Rhine provinces and exhausted by a crushing war, had for the third time set up, though she had not yet established, a republic ; she had still a crowd of diffi-

culties to surmount before her old power could be restored—and it was the interest of her victorious neighbour to foster those difficulties.

Bismarck had no desire for a German expansion. What he did want was to secure the friendship of Austria, now that she could no longer be Prussia's rival in Germany, and to avoid the hostility of Russia, which would set an enemy on either flank of the new empire. When in 1872 he had established the unwritten 'League of the Three Emperors,' there was nothing to be immediately feared. But the danger point for the permanence of the new league lay in the Balkans, to which the eyes of Austria, now shut out from Germany, were more persistently turned. Austro-Russian rivalry for ascendancy in the Balkans might produce a breach, and Germany might be reduced to the painful necessity of taking a side. If she were, she would take Austria's—but such a contingency must not arise if it could be prevented. Russia must be encouraged to find in



EARL OF BEACONSFIELD

Benjamin Disraeli (1804-81), created earl of Beaconsfield in 1876, entered parliament in 1837 and after 1842 was the recognized Tory leader. As prime minister, 1874-80, he adopted an anti-Russian policy in the Eastern question. This statuette was modelled by Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower about 1878.

*National Portrait Gallery, London ; photo, Emery Walker*

## Consolidating of the Great Powers

Asia the field for the development of her ambitions. If that brought her into collision with the British, Germany would lose nothing. From this point of view Russia's progress in Turkistan during the last decade was quite promising. But the Balkans were uncontrollable.

Serbia, Rumania and Montenegro had all attained a tributary autonomy. But in 1875 the peasants of Herzegovina revolted against their Moslem masters. All their Slavonic neighbours actively sympathised. Both Russia and Austria had some title to pose as the natural protectors of the Slavs, Orthodox and Catholic respectively. The insurgents appealed not to one or the other, but to the powers generally. The Porte had given effect to none of its promised reforms; it was reasonable that the powers should insist upon them—the insurgents demanded no more, but they would remain in arms till they got something more substantial than promises on paper. The Porte had no sort of objection to making any number of promises, but an ineradicable objection to fulfilling them.

### The Near Eastern Question

**I**N May, 1876, the three emperors issued a memorandum to which they invited the assent of the other three powers. Disraeli, the British prime minister, declined; Turkey was not to be coerced—if the Turkish sovereignty were allowed to go, Russian ascendancy would take its place, and that was a thing Great Britain could in no wise permit. The memorandum programme was strangled at birth. At the same time the Bulgarians rose, and the atrocities with which the suppression of the revolt was accompanied stirred up a fiery anti-Turkish political campaign in England, though in parliament Disraeli's ascendancy was complete. The new sultan, Abdul Hamid, who succeeded in June, was defiant. In July, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey.

If a frank and cordial understanding between Russia and Great Britain had been possible, the Eastern Question might conceivably have been settled. Mutual mistrust made it quite impossible. The Beaconsfield cabinet (it was at this time



DEFENDER OF PLEVNA

Distinguished for military service in the Crimea and in Crete, the Turkish marshal Osman Pasha (c. 1835-1900) won highest renown for his gallant defence of Plevna for over four months against a heavy Russian bombardment in 1877

*After a photograph*

that Disraeli took his earldom) was divided on the question of armed intervention on behalf of Turkey. When Great Britain herself demanded from Turkey an armistice and a conference of the powers to be held at Constantinople in December, Abdul Hamid dared not refuse. But when the conference met he laid before it a full-blown scheme of reforms which he proposed to carry out—as a sovereign who would submit to no external control over his actions. The meaning of which was obvious. Diplomacy failed to find a way out of the deadlock; and in April Russian forces, having been granted free passage through Rumania, crossed the Pruth.

Austria had made a private compact of neutrality; Germany had no motive for intervention; Great Britain was satisfied to wait and watch. Three months passed before the Russians could effect their passage of the Danube; for the next month they advanced rapidly; then suddenly they found themselves held up by the Turks under Osman, who had seized and entrenched a flanking position at Plevna, whence the most desperate efforts, culminating in a grand attack on September 11, failed to dislodge him. But assault

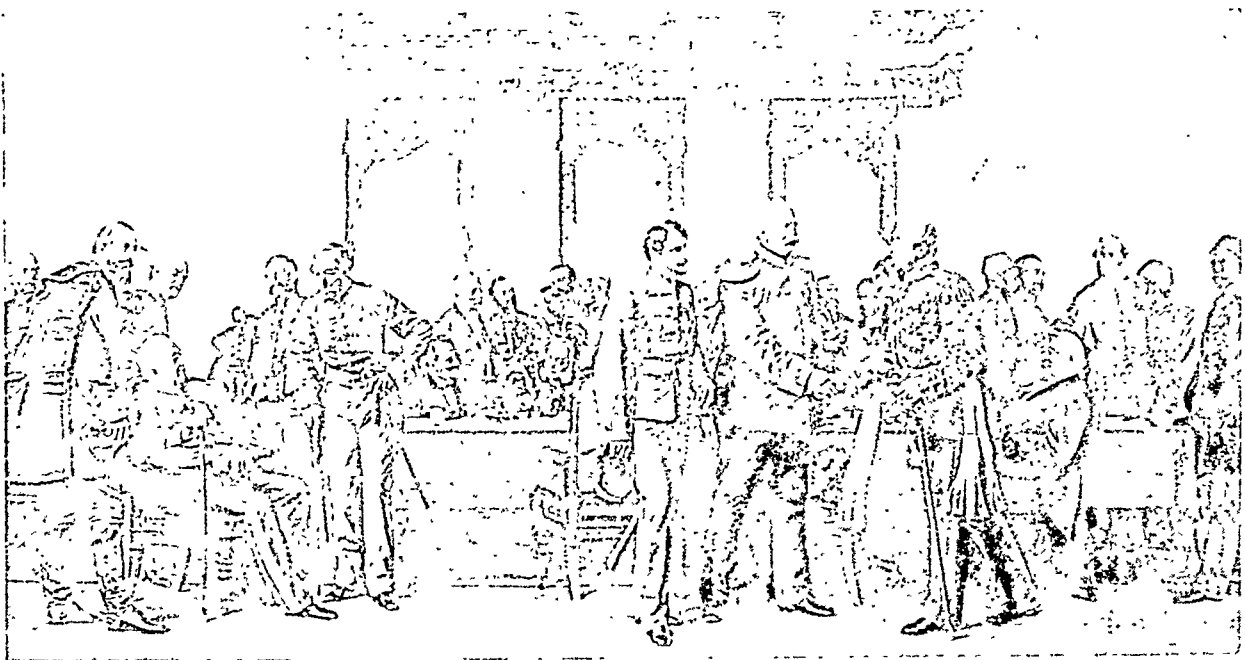
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was abandoned for investment; three months later, after a desperate attempt to cut his way out, Osman was compelled to surrender (December 10). In the east, too, the Russian advance through the Caucasus had been held up in the first months, but there, too, the tide had turned decisively before December. After the fall of Plevna the Turkish resistance began to crumble; on January 20, 1878, Russian forces were in Adrianople, where on January 31 peace preliminaries were signed. On March 3 the Adrianople Convention became the Treaty of San Stefano.

Meanwhile, however, the fall of Plevna had set the governments of the other powers in motion. A sweeping triumph might enable Russia to dictate terms destructive both of Austrian and of British interests—regardless of the conditions upon which those powers had observed neutrality. Neither Russia nor Britain wanted war, but the British government felt it necessary to demonstrate its readiness for that alternative, and through the first months of the year the tension was extreme. Austria proposed a conference, which ultimately took shape as the Berlin Congress, since the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano

intensified instead of allaying the perturbation of Austria as well as of England. The fundamental disagreement between the powers was on the question, how far had Russia the right to dictate her own terms, and how far had the powers concerned in the previous treaties the right to insist upon their own modifications?

The congress met in June at Berlin under the presidency of Bismarck as Germany's representative, in the character of the sincere friend of all parties, having no interests of his own at stake and desiring only to induce them all to accept equitable adjustments of their divergent or antagonistic interests. The result was the Treaty of Berlin, generally regarded as a triumph for Beaconsfield's diplomacy, since at the end of it very little was left of the San Stefano Treaty; while it was accompanied by independent pacts on the one hand between Great Britain and Turkey and on the other between Austria and Russia, which left the whole Eastern Question on a footing new but scarcely more harmonious than before. The treaty was in fact, the opening of a new phase rather than the closing of an old one, so that its provisions will form the starting point of our next Chronicle.



EUROPEAN PLENIPOTENTIARIES AT THE BERLIN CONGRESS IN 1878

The terms of the San Stefano treaty (March, 1878) concluding the Russo-Turkish war aroused so much dissatisfaction in Europe that Lord Beaconsfield secured the convocation of a congress of the powers at Berlin for the treaty's revision. In this painting of a session of the congress by Anton von Werner, Bismarck, who presided, is seen shaking hands with Count Shuvalov, and on the left Prince Gortchakov (seated) is engaged in apparently amiable conversation with Lord Beaconsfield.

## HUMANITARIANISM

The Appearance in England of a Spirit of Social Responsibility after an Age of complacent Optimism

By RAY STRACHEY

Author of *Frances Willard, her Life and Work*, *The Cause*, *Religious Fanaticism*, etc.

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THE Great Exhibition of 1851 showed forth the glories of England which the Industrial Revolution had created, and made plain to the whole world the present wealth and the stupendous future which sprang from the mechanical production of goods. But for all the splendour and magnificence there had been, and was still to be, a price to pay, heavy in social confusion and unrest, and in sheer human suffering.

Most of those who thronged the glittering halls in Hyde Park ignored this fact. Dazzled and delighted with the marvels of the age and filled with the agreeable belief that their own country in their own day was supremely great and powerful, the majority of the class which ruled the land looked upon the condition of society with complacency.

There were however in 1851 many signs of a change in this outlook. Among the visitors to the Great Exhibition there were several distinct groups of social reformers, and, in addition, there were the children, to whom the crowded galleries and the miles of complicated machinery became an indelible, wearisome memory. And these children, when the time came for them to take up the responsibilities of their elders, were found to have a different point of view. For it was the boys and girls of 1851 who plunged whole-heartedly into the humanitarian movement, and who spread broadcast through the educated classes the belief that it was the duty of the rich to improve the lot of the poor.

Even before this generation appeared, however, there had been signs of this tendency, and, although at first it was only to be found among small groups of enthusiasts, nevertheless several of its hardest battles had already been won.

The world at large for a long time ignored the problems and miseries which marked the beginning of the nineteenth century; but while the public conscience rested easy in the belief that society was developing according to inevitable economic laws, a certain number of enthusiasts had already started to shape and correct its development. The French Revolution, despite the fear which it inspired in England, and despite the horror of 'Jacobinism' and 'enthusiasm' which it engendered, sent out ripples of a new philosophy which could not altogether be suppressed, and Jeremy Bentham and the Utilitarians on the one hand, and Cobbett, Place and the Chartists on the other, stirred these ripples almost into waves.

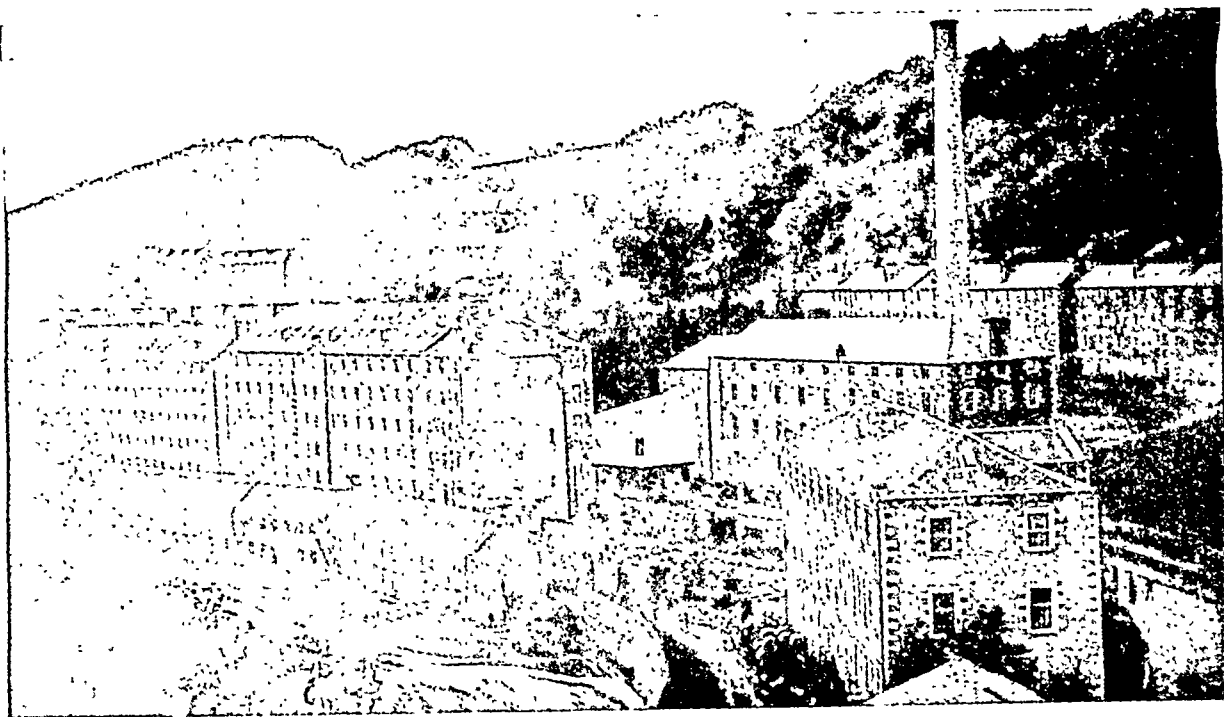
The agitations with which these men were connected had as their final object the improvement of the lot of the poor, and some of their manifestations, as, for example, the model factories which Robert Owen established at Lanark, were definite social experiments. But in the main their trend was theoretical and political rather than philanthropic, and they cannot be said to have formed part of the humanitarian movement itself. The Anti-Corn-Law League, too, which followed after the collapse of the Chartists, although it undoubtedly arose to put an end to the starvation period of the 'hungry 'forties' must be considered in the same light. These things were forerunners of the humanitarian movement, and they swept away some of the abuses which might have made its task even more hopeless than it actually was; but they were different in quality, and, above all, in method of advance.

More closely parallel to their later developments were the results of the evangelical revival of the last years of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries. The men and women who were caught up in this quickening of conscience had not, indeed, any desire to alter the structure of society, but they had an absorbing concern for individual souls, and this led them to actions which were quite definitely humanitarian.

Elizabeth Fry, the prison reformer, was one of these. She was a Quaker by birth and upbringing; and the evangelical movement when it enveloped her was a little softened and blurred, and left room for greater tolerance than it had hitherto permitted. Its vitalising influence, however, was as strong in her as in the most orthodox, and when she felt the call to minister to those in prison she was compelled to obey it. Her work was great and enduring, but it was curiously isolated. Although it was almost universally praised, and even imitated, it hardly spread beyond the prison gates, and set no general philanthropic fashion. It was genuine humanitarian work, but

it was confined to one class of the community; and did not seem to alter the general outlook of her contemporaries.

More popular, and yet in a way remoter still, was the crusade against the slave trade which Wilberforce led. Many people followed him with enthusiasm and even with passion moved by the belief that slavery was a sin. Their devotion to this cause carried it on from the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 to the abolition of slavery itself in British possessions in 1833 (see Chapter 172), and there was widespread satisfaction in the result. But, after all, there were no slaves at home. The whole thing lay far away across the seas, in Jamaica, or Africa, or other foreign parts; and the movement, noble and disinterested as it was, had but little effect upon the outlook of British people towards their own world. Perhaps its chief result, in domestic affairs, was that it lulled the conscientious with the belief that their duty was adequately done, and blinded them to the existence of the virtual slavery of the factory population upon which their own civilization was built up.



SCENE OF ROBERT OWEN'S GREAT EXPERIMENT: THE NEW LANARK MILLS

Robert Owen's observations of the factory system and the terrible sufferings it entailed upon the workers led to his experiment at New Lanark, near the Falls of Clyde, where he laboured enthusiastically from 1800 to 1828 to establish a model factory. Here, by the provision of higher wages, shorter hours and better homes, he sought to make his employees contented and comfortable. A striking feature of Owen's scheme was the interest displayed in child welfare and education.

*Courtesy of the Co-operative Union, Ltd.*



**FAINTING WOMEN AT THE TREADMILL**

The prison reformers of the nineteenth century were anxious to abolish the excessive tasks which female prisoners were compelled to perform. Hours of unremitting labour at the treadmill frequently culminated in collapse, and this broad-side showing the women at work includes two such casualties.

From Phillips and Tomkinson, 'English Women,' Oxford University Press

Curiously enough, while this blindness still obscured the misery of the children of the poor, it did not conceal the sufferings of animals, and quite early in the century this subject began to attract public attention. The champion who first brought the matter forward was Richard Martin, a man seemingly as unlikely to be concerned about it as anyone on earth.

Humanity Martin, as he came to be called, was a wild Irish squire, almost wilder and more reckless than can be credited to-day; a man who was famous for fighting more duels, on slighter provocation, than any other man alive. This bloodthirsty, hard-drinking, spendthrift fellow, however, cared desperately about the cruelty with which cattle and other animals were so often treated, and his persistence and his enthusiasm secured the passing of the act of 1822. This act, which was sometimes called the Cows' Charter, was the first of a series of laws intended to protect dumb animals, and its further extensions, which followed in 1835, 1837, 1849 and 1854, were secured through the active efforts of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, founded in 1824.

While this movement was gaining success and popular support, Hannah More was attempting the far harder task of

helping the defenceless human beings who lived in the remote country villages. Not that she was consciously humanitarian in her work, or even greatly concerned about temporal human suffering. What inspired her was the evangelical revival; and what set her to work was the discovery that most of the men and women in the country districts were without the means of grace. And in her anxiety for the saving of souls she started, or at any rate immensely popularised, the movement for teaching poor children to read. It was her friend Wilberforce who first called her attention to the fact that the people in the neighbourhood of Cheddar were wholly illiterate and



**PROMOTER OF PRISON REFORM**

The desperate need for reform in the conditions of prison life determined Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845) to devote herself to alleviating the wretched lot of prisoners, especially women. In 1817 she formed an association to this end

Engraving after Richmond



untaught, and that many of them had never heard of the Bible at all; and it was in order to rescue them from the danger of this religious ignorance that Hannah and her sisters took up their mission. The schools they opened, and the other similar efforts which sprang up more or less simultaneously in other parts of the country, set on foot the great Sunday school movement; and with this the real foundation of the humanitarian movement was laid. Not that it could yet properly deserve the name. Its effort, for a long time to come, was to teach the poor how to be good, and to urge the duty of contentment with their lot; and the practical help and general education which crept in with this teaching were merely incidental.

It was not long, however, before the soup and blanket charity of the lady bountiful came to be added to the more strictly religious fare, although for a long time the soup and the blankets, as well as the tracts, depended upon the orthodoxy of the recipient. But this practical widening of the original evangelical idea, partial though it was, proved to be the

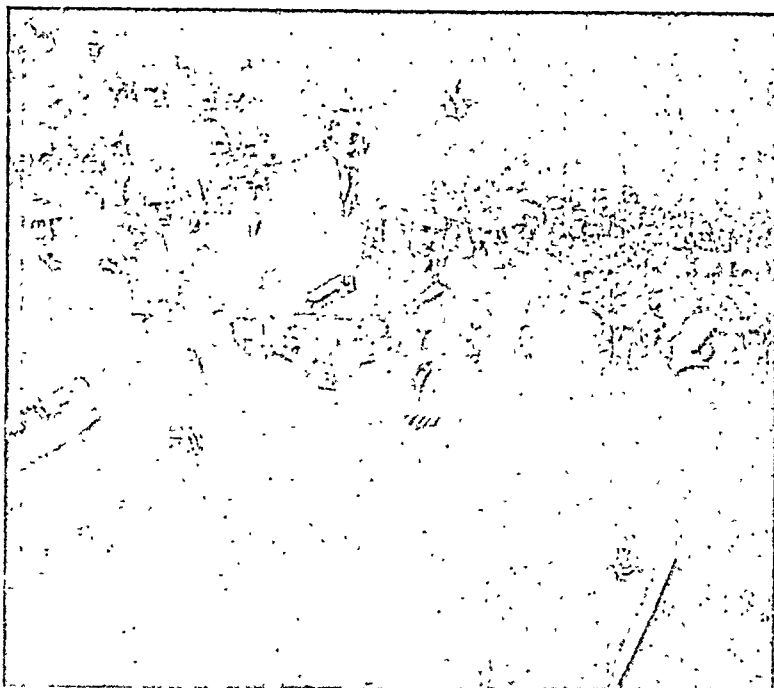


**WILLIAM WILBERFORCE**

Elected M.P. for Yorkshire in 1784, William Wilberforce (1759-1833) lost no opportunity of urging his anti-slave-trade views upon the House of Commons. His vigorous efforts were rewarded by the act of 1807 ending the traffic. *Portrait by Lawrence; National Portrait Gallery, London*

starting point of the new movement. Indeed, in spite of the inadequate, ill-advised and intermittent character of the tract-distributing, cottage-visiting and school-teaching charity of the early Victorian period, it was a social development of the utmost importance, and one which deserves more respect than, in these days, it usually receives.

Its outstanding novelty was not, indeed, in its nature or objects. Feeding the hungry and visiting the sick were acts of virtue from early Christian times, and were not the discoveries of the nineteenth century; but what was new, and what was important, was the class of lady bountiful which carried it on. For the charitable work of the first half of the century passed into the eager and enthusiastic hands of young ladies who had nothing else to do; and this fact, in itself perhaps rather damaging to the good sense of the affair, gave it such an impetus that it was able to outstrip in popularity the far more useful efforts of such men as Chadwick the sanitary reformer, or Owen the socialist.



**THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY MEETS**

B. R. Haydon's painting of a congress of the Anti-Slavery Society represents its vice-president, Thomas Clarkson, an earnest promoter of the cause, addressing some 130 persons. Passionately attached to their project of liberating the negro slaves abroad, these zealots have been criticised for their blindness to the equally bad conditions in the home factories.

*Law Courts, London; photo, Emery Walker*

At the time when this philanthropy began to spread, young ladies had no outlet for their energies at all. A little desultory reading, wool work, sentimental songs, the county ball and the hope of a speedy marriage were their chief interests. They might neither walk unaccompanied nor command the spending of any money, and they were the prisoners of convention. To such as these—and they comprised nearly one half of the so-called educated classes of the country—the prospect of even the mildest activity was dazzling in the extreme. The early novels of Charlotte M. Yonge describe this aspect of life in convincing and fascinating detail, and show how important a thing in English country life was the idea of 'doing good to the poor.'

The amount of solid good which was actually done by these eager and ignorant



#### BULL-BAITING : A BRUTAL SPORT

Cruelty to animals was not illegal before 'Humanity' Martin secured the passing of his famous Act of 1822, and even then bulls were not among the animals that received protection. I. Clark's engraving from Henry Alken's painting of 1820 illustrates the cruelty of the popular sport of bull-baiting.

*Courtesy of the R.S.P.C.A.*

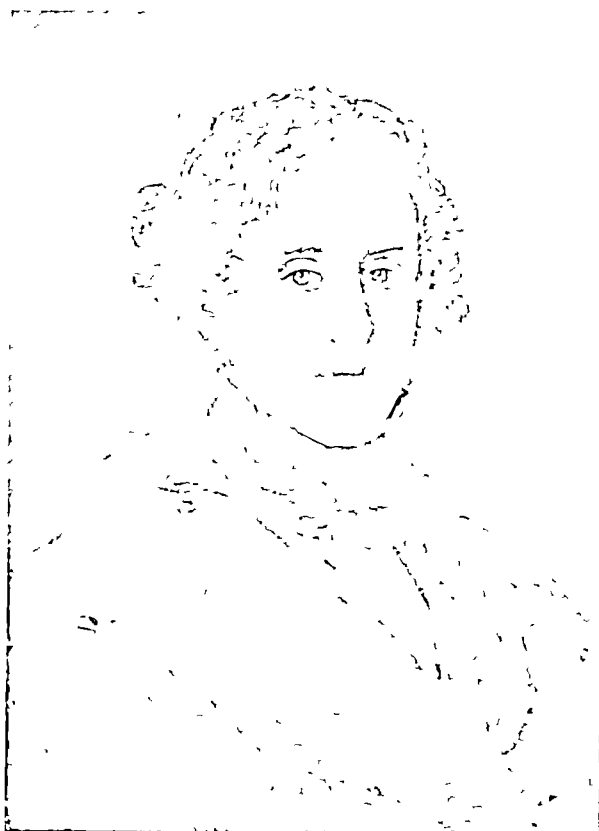
young ladies was probably very small, but the fact that they were doing anything at all was of incalculable importance. Not only were they themselves liberated—the Sunday school was the first forward



#### MEN WHO PLAYED IMPORTANT PARTS IN EARLY STAGES OF HUMANITARIANISM

Although wild and reckless in his way of life, Richard Martin (left) was roused to fierce indignation by the cruelty with which cattle were frequently treated, and it was due to his persistent efforts to secure some amelioration of their lot that an act for the protection of dumb animals was passed in 1822. In 1780 Robert Raikes (right, after Romney) began a Sunday School at Gloucester, and so founded an influential movement which spread rapidly throughout England.

*Left, courtesy of the R.S.P.C.A.*



#### CHAMPION OF THE CHILDREN

Years of conscientious work bore fruit in Lord Shaftesbury's acts of 1833 and 1842, protecting children in factories and prohibiting underground labour for women and children. Engraving is by H. Robinson after Sir Charles Ross, R.A.

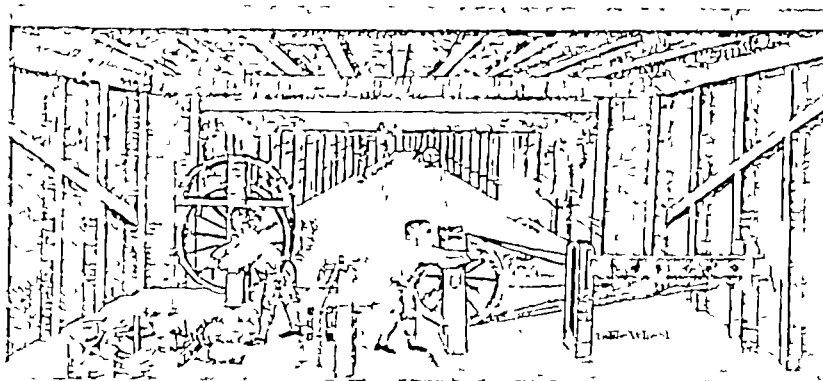
step in the emancipation of women—but their participation raised philanthropy to a new plane, the plane of things suitable for discussion at home; and with this change the humanitarian movement began. No longer were the privations and miseries of humble lives shut away out of the sight of the great; no longer was all talk of reform unsuitable in drawing-rooms. The public conscience was set free, by the fashion of Sunday school work, from the fetters of polite convention, and developments were bound to ensue.

About the time that piecemeal personal philanthropy became fashionable, a number of public events took place which threw an even stronger light upon the rotten state of society, and showed the intelli-

gent people of the time the need of drastic measures of reform. These shocks all came more or less together, and all sprang from the abject distress of the new factory population which had come into existence so much more rapidly than provision had been made for its needs.

Public opinion did not turn towards the state of factories and the condition of the people who worked in them till some time after the Napoleonic wars, and when it did it found a state of complex misery which it seemed almost hopeless to touch. The new towns which had grown up beside the mills and factories were squalid, filthy and unwholesome; the workers were toiling for unlimited hours, and breeding a population which was unhealthy, underfed and wholly untaught. The little children were absorbed into the machine almost as soon as they could walk, and were growing up savage and stunted, beaten by their parents to make them start for work before the day had begun, and beaten again at night to keep them awake long enough to eat the food they had earned so bitterly.

This condition of the children was the first thing to rouse the public conscience, and Lord Shaftesbury, Sadler and a few other men espoused their cause with earnestness and zeal. The general trend of economic thought was strongly against any interference with industry, and the 'laissez faire' theory was a hard one against which to fight. But the reformers thought, and thought rightly, that if



#### CHILDREN TOILING IN A ROPE FACTORY

The worst evil of the factory system was the intolerable demand that it made on young children. The callous treatment and long hours endured by juvenile workers roused the deepest anger of philanthropic men. The children in this eighteenth-century engraving are virtually part of the machinery they are manipulating.

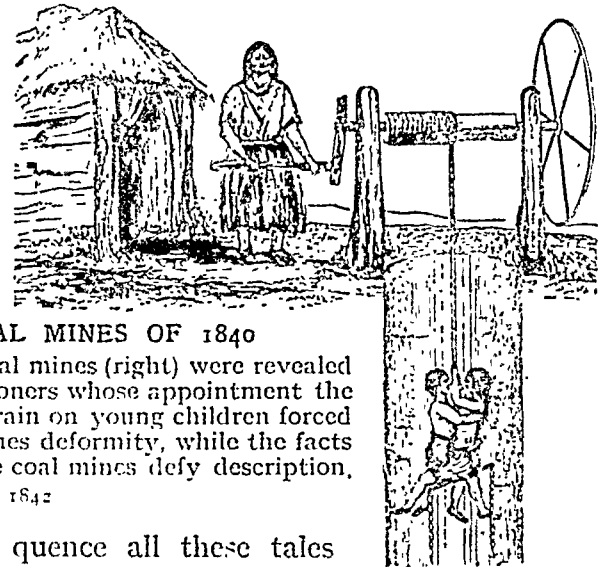
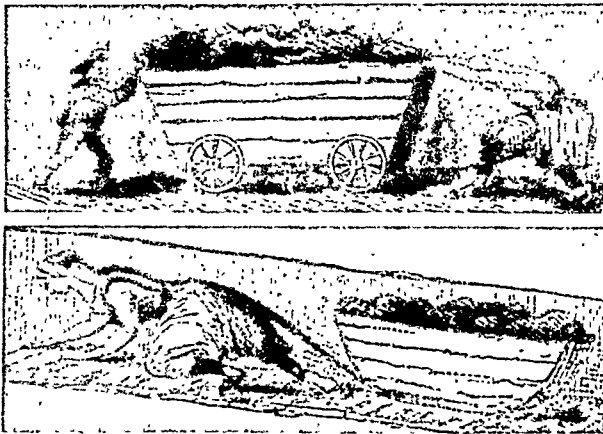
From Turberville, 'English Men in the 18th Century,' Oxford University Press

they could once make the facts of the situation generally known, improvement was bound to come ; and so they directed their first efforts to securing the appointment of commissions of inquiry into the conditions of employment of children and of women in mines and manufactories.

The first reports of these commissions began to appear in the 'forties, and the facts that they brought to light were so shocking that no one could face them calmly. They showed children of four, and even younger, working at lace making

whole thing, however, acted and reacted upon the public conscience, and helped to swell the feeling of social responsibility that the new generation was experiencing.

Two other new influences also arose, in the decade before the Great Exhibition, to quicken their uneasiness into activity, and of these the outburst of realistic literature was the earliest. The tragedies and horrors which the commissioners were exposing in the early 'forties contained subject matter for the most thrilling drama, and the novelists and authors of the day very quickly seized upon it. No one who studied the conditions of life of the poor at the time could remain unmoved by the picture, and in conse-



WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE COAL MINES OF 1840

Tragic stories of the sufferings of children in the coal mines (right) were revealed in the report made in 1842 by the royal commissioners whose appointment the reformers had secured. The excessive physical strain on young children forced to draw trucks (top) caused ill-health and sometimes deformity, while the facts concerning the tortures endured by women in the coal mines defy description.

*Report of Royal Commission, 1842*

for twelve hours a day ; they showed little boys and girls driven up to sweep hot chimneys, and sometimes burnt alive or smothered in soot ; they showed women harnessed like ponies to trucks in the mines, and crawling on their hands and knees along the rough and dripping galleries. These horrors, and a hundred more, began to be made known as the commissioners' reports came out, and a strong movement for the control of working conditions began to grow up. The struggle for factory inspection and for the regulation of hours was a long one, and undoubtedly formed part of the humanitarian movement ; but it had, of course, its other and more democratic side ; for the workers themselves took a share in it, and by their participation they took away some of its philanthropic nature, and brought it more into the sphere of political development. The

quence all these tales and novels came to have definite philanthropic purposes. Thomas Hood's *Song of the Shirt*, which appeared in 1844, and Kingsley's *Alton Locke* revealed the plight of the tailors ; Elizabeth Barrett Browning in *The Cry of the Children*, Frances Trollope in *Michael Armstrong*, and indeed a dozen others, wrote of the evils of child labour ; and one by one the different classes of distress became the subject of romance. Charles Reade, Disraeli, Mrs. Gaskell, Charlotte Brontë, Harriet Martineau and almost every writer of importance made mention of similar themes, and factories, orphanages, workhouses, prisons and gipsy vans became the scene of stories which in another age would have been staged in castles, in gardens or in ballrooms.

The greatest of these writers, and the most influential of them all, was Charles

Dickens His own childhood, and his own personal experience among the outcasts of London, had given him a special insight into the life he described, and his extraordinary genius for characterisation and caricature burnt his pictures indelibly into the consciences of his readers.

During the long space of time, when his novels were appearing, that is to say from 1837 to 1870, the influence of his books was enormous, nor did it stop with his death. Everyone knew and everyone was convinced by his descriptions of what was called 'low life,' and *Oliver Twist*, *Saurey Gamp*, *Little Dorrit* and the rest were more influential than many a living reformer. *Jacobs Island* remained filthy and sodden for a good many years after *Bill Sikes* met his death in that unsavoury spot, but in the end it was cleaned away, and all over the land greedy, stupid and self-interested Bumbledom had good cause to hate the name of Charles Dickens.

While imaginative writers were forging the strong weapon of publicity, the second new influence was at work in a different, and at first sight a much less effective

direction. This influence was the teaching of Frederick Denison Maurice and the little group of Christian Socialists who met at his rooms and discussed so earnestly and so high-mindedly the problems of the day. Their theories were built upon what seem to-day to be fantastically insecure foundations, and their main preoccupation was an anxious effort to reconcile the world as they saw it with a Church of their dreams. Their theological hair-splitting was prolonged and most of the subjects of their anxiety have ceased to trouble the religious world. Nevertheless, for all their cloudiness, they were in some ways extremely practical, and of all the humanitarians of that generation they were the only ones to attack the causes, and not the symptoms, of social disease.

Two examples will suffice to show both the problems they faced and the kind of remedy they proposed, these two being the dressmakers and the governesses.

The first of these came into prominence after 1843, when the Report of the Second Commission on the Employment of Women and Children appeared. The occupation of milliner, sempstress or dressmaker was almost the only one open to large classes of women at that date, when female shop assistants, clerks and telegraphists were unheard of. And yet then, as now, there were thousands upon thousands of women for whom the earning of a living was a necessity. In consequence of the overcrowding in the trade, as well as of the general outlook of the day, the conditions of work were appalling, so bad indeed that the average working life of those who were fortunate enough to secure employment was not more than three or four years.

'If a constant accession of fresh hands from the country were not provided,' a witness told the Commission, 'the trade could not be carried on.' 'Young persons were often in a state of debility and faint-



#### DICKENS AS PROPAGANDIST OF REFORM

By his creation of the immortal *Saurey Gamp* and her colleague, *Betsey Prig*, whose features are perpetuated by *Phiz* in his original illustrations to *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Charles Dickens drew attention to the lamentable state of the so-called nursing profession in 1844 and prepared the way for reform.

pass from excessive toil and want of rest,' and during the busy season 'the hours of work are almost unlimited.' A witness reported that 'on the occasion of the general mourning for H.M. William IV she worked without going to bed from four o'clock on Thursday morning till half-past ten on Sunday morning; during all this time witness did not sleep at all. In order to keep awake she stood nearly the whole of Friday and Saturday nights, only sitting down for half an hour to rest. Two other young persons worked at the same house for the same time.'

So desperate was the need to work, however, and so limited the opportunity, that even in the face of such conditions the stream of new recruits was forthcoming, eager to earn the four shillings and sixpence a week which their toil commanded.

The Christian Socialists tried a practical plan to deal with this problem. They opened workrooms for tailoresses in which reasonable hours and tolerable pay were assured, and they

Failure of Christian Socialism planned to pay their way by the elimination of the middleman and the system of co-operative purchase and production. But their workrooms failed, and their efforts had to be abandoned. The facts of supply and demand and of the seasonal nature of the trade continued to govern the situation, and dressmakers were sweated and exploited for at least half a century more.

In the second instance, that of governesses, the efforts of Maurice and his friends were more successful, though even there the results of their schemes were hardly apparent in their own lifetimes.

The trade or profession of teaching was in a very similar plight to that of dress-making. It was absolutely the only one open to women of gentle birth, and it was appallingly overcrowded. Again and again girls who had been brought up in comfort or even affluence found themselves entirely unprovided for when their fathers died, and were left to face the world not only without money but without training or education or experience of any useful kind. They knew next to nothing, and had no fitness to teach, and it was natural that as governesses



FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE

One of the leaders of Christian Socialism, Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-72) was earnest to improve conditions among the poor, and a supporter of educational movements. Samuel Lawrence painted this portrait of him.  
*National Portrait Gallery, London*

they commanded neither respect nor high wages. Their work was unprofitable to others, and was miserable and uncertain for themselves, and the only thing they got from it was the dim satisfaction of being still 'gentlewomen.' Even this, however, had its drawbacks. It exposed them to the agonies of slighted dignity, and compelled them to try to dress suitably upon their miserably small salaries. To do this on the £25 a year, which was their normal pay, and in addition to help the destitute mother or young brothers or sisters who were so often dependent upon them, and then to save for illness and old age, was a sheer impossibility, yet it was constantly attempted. And nervous breakdown caused by worry and despair was the all too frequent result.

In 1841 there came into existence a Governesses' Benevolent Institution for the assistance of these ladies. It gave small annuities of £20 or £25 a year, and it was, of course, besieged with pitiful cases. For one grant there were, for example, 150 applicants, all of them reared in affluence, all of them over fifty years old, of whom 83 had not one penny in the world. In the face of such

conditions one institution, however benevolent, could be of little effect.

Frederick Maurice and his friends discussed this problem very earnestly from every point of view. They approved of the benevolence, of course, but they wanted a more far-reaching remedy, and they finally decided that the right thing to do was to try to improve the standards of work, so that governesses could command more adequate salaries. This decision led them to institute lectures for ladies, and in 1848 Queen's College was opened by their efforts. For some time, it is true, little change in the general situation of governesses followed, but the movement for the higher education of women, combined with the gradual opening of other professions to the same class of worker, effected the cure which the Christian Socialists had anticipated, and solved the problem which they had faced.

The method of direct practical attack upon the causes of social problems, which

Maurice and his friends were the first to use, was a new thing in the world, and had important results. It did not greatly matter that the co-operative workrooms failed, that the lectures to working men reached only a tiny handful of students and that the sweated trades resisted all their onslaughts, for they had accomplished a wider thing than any individual reform. They had set rolling the snowball of practical sociology; and had started a movement which was to gather momentum with every year that passed.

While these influences were at work, rousing and stirring the young people of the day, the Crimean War fell upon the country, Work of Florence and the revelations of Nightingale official incompetence which followed startled everyone profoundly. The scandals which Florence Nightingale was sent out to cure, and the terrible indictment which she brought home, shook public confidence to its foundations. No more would people have faith in the management of hospitals, or even workhouses, orphanages or asylums. Everything official was suspected, and generally rightly suspected, of being both incompetent and corrupt. Each case which came to public notice revealed new abuses. In one place orphans were underfed; in another, lunatics were kept chained together in damp and dismal cellars; in another bed-ridden workhouse inmates were left to the care of blind or epileptic nurses. Everywhere scandals came crowding to light, until the mind was appalled by their number. How, people began to wonder, could England have lived so long upon so rotten a foundation? And how, above all, could one take pride in the glory of a nation where such horrors were allowed to exist?

In the early 'sixties thoughts such as these were beginning to displace the individual philanthropy which had seemed so sufficient a generation before. Ideas began to widen beyond the single case to the general cause, and even the young ladies, circumscribed and thwarted as they still were, began to dream of organization and co-operation in good works. And here and there one man or woman arose with



HEROINE OF THE CRIMEAN WAR

Magnificent work among the sick and wounded was performed in the Crimea by Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) and her staff of nurses. This portrait shows her at the age of sixty-seven; compare the earlier photograph in page 377.

Portrait by Sir William Richmond at Claydon



courage and opportunity to start a new scheme—a Ragged School, a Shoe-black Brigade, a Rescue Home, or the like. All over the country these things multiplied, blessed by the older reformers, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Brougham and the rest, and eagerly discussed and imitated by the younger generation.

The general humanitarian fervour found expression, after a time, in a regular organization, the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, which was founded in 1857. Once a year under the auspices of this body the philanthropists of England, Scotland and Ireland met together to read and listen to papers on social problems, and, more valuable still, to talk earnestly and enthusiastically to each other of their own pet plans for the reformation of the world.

From these meetings dozens of new efforts took their rise; societies for the promotion of emigration, for the diffusion of sanitary knowledge, for workhouse visiting, and for a multitude of other causes, sprang into existence. Every movement, wise or foolish, which had for its aim the betterment of social conditions flourished exceedingly, and legislation was gradually pushed along the new lines. Bills for the regulation of factory workers secured new support, public commissions inquired into education, charitable endowments and municipal government, and progress appeared to be made. In the meantime, however, the growing



LUNATIC IN CHAINS

The inhuman treatment commonly meted out to the insane was among the glaring evils of the nineteenth century. The patient in G. Arnold's sketch from life had for years been chained to an upright iron bar.

Etching by George Cruikshank

fashion of doing philanthropic work spread from circle to circle, and while the more thoughtful worked at real and lasting reforms the more foolish took a mania for 'slumming,' and with ill regulated benevolence pauperised their pet 'poor.' In the early 'seventies it was almost essential for a fashionable lady to have some charity of her own—costermongers, orphans, prostitutes, newspaper boys, flower girls or match-sellers; activities which were of little intrinsic importance indeed, but which mark plainly enough the trend of opinion at the time.

There was much more than merely casual charity going on, however. General Booth and the Salvation Army were no less a part of the humanitarian movement than the Baroness Burdett Coutts and her philanthropic millions, and everything ran in the same direction. Many serious schemes were set on foot in those years; housing schemes,

for example, such as the one started by Ruskin which led to the development of Miss Octavia Hill's system of rent collecting as a form of social work. The club movement, too, had its origin at this time, as had also the establishment of district and workhouse nursing, and the movement to provide recreation rooms for soldiers and sailors. For these and the multitude of similar causes a host of societies began to be organized, such as the Girls' Friendly Society, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the



OCTAVIA HILL

Eagerness to improve housing conditions in London inspired Octavia Hill (1838-1912) to buy houses in poor districts and, by herself collecting the rents, to establish contact with the tenants.

Courtesy of Charity Organisation Society

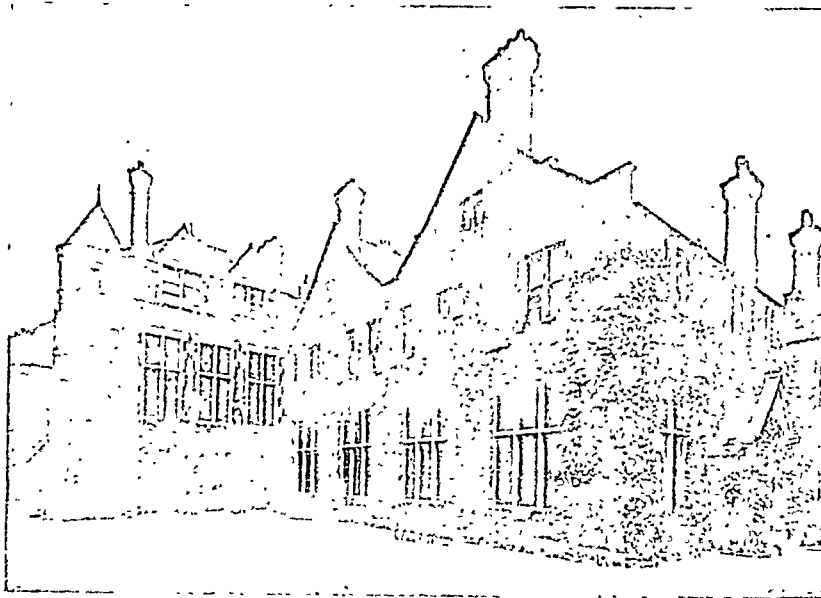
multitude of bodies which have come to be known in English life by their initials: the M.A.B.Y.S., the S.P.C.C., the I.C.A.A., the N.U.W.W. (now the N.C.W.), and the rest.

Once this ball had been set rolling, it moved of its own momentum. The Charity Organisation Society seemed to spring inevitably out of the excess of separate philanthropies, and from the C.O.S. the scientific study of poverty inevitably followed. Surveys of housing and sanitary conditions, the compilation of statistics and registers, became the preliminary to the administration of relief, and investigation took precedence over enthusiasm. Not that enthusiasm did not still exist; the fact was that, with the growing revelation of the size and the difficulty of the problems of poverty, it only deepened its force, and the impulse which led to the foundation of the settlement at Toynbee Hall was more passionately humanitarian, as well as more seriously sustained, than the old impulsive charities.

And so, amid the enthusiasm, science and prosperity of the latter days of Queen Victoria's reign, the 'laissez faire' theory vanished away, and with its disappearance the humanitarian movement reached its climax. Out of the multitude of individual efforts there had grown the new conception of social service, wider and much

more complex than personal charity. Just as the trained nurse had replaced the squire's daughter by the bedside of the dying cottager, so the trained social worker had replaced the fashionable young lady in the East End. 'Problems' seemed to have grown wider and less easy to solve by the end of the century; people talked of the duty of the state rather than of the duty of the rich; old-age pensions, school meals and the insurance acts came into sight, and the humanitarian movement drifted off into the political field, and was swamped, or, more properly speaking, merged therein. As democracy progressed, the methods of advance were changed; but the object remained as clear as ever, namely, the improvement of the standard of life.

The humanitarian movement cannot be said to continue to-day, for a larger outlook has replaced it; but in its day and generation it was undoubtedly a fine and an inspiring thing. It sheltered follies and mistakes, as all movements do; it included worthless and frivolous people, covering with its mantle of righteousness their vanity and emptiness, and it was based on most inadequate theories of economics. Nevertheless, under its aegis a great advance in civilization was certainly made. Society can never again rest content upon the misery of human beings, or find completely satisfying justifications for poverty, illness and distress. The world is perhaps as far from having cured these evils as it was when the Great Exhibition was set up in Hyde Park, and the bulk of human suffering may even at this day be greater than it was in 1851. Yet the public conscience has been absolutely and permanently changed, and complacency has gone. And with it, surely, has gone for ever the worst barbarism of the British race.



UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT AT TOYNBEE HALL

Opened in 1884 in Commercial Street, Whitechapel, Toynbee Hall was the first institution of its kind. University graduates lived there, and, by their intercourse with inhabitants of the East End, obtained a first-hand knowledge of social problems. It was called after Arthur Toynbee, whose work inspired its foundation.

## THE MAKING OF MODERN JAPAN

How Dai Nippon passed in a single Generation from  
feudal Obscurity to the Rank of a first-class Power

By J. O. P. BLAND

Author of *China, Japan, and Korea, etc.*

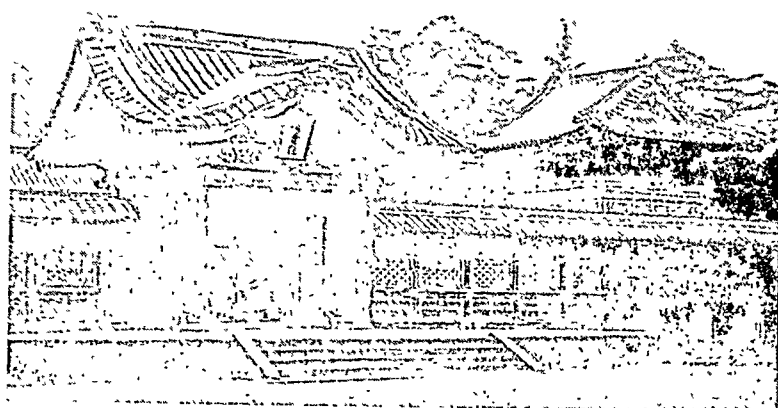
IN studying the evolution of modern Japan, the swift emergence of a comparatively obscure Oriental nation to the rank of a great power, it is important to keep continually in mind certain qualities, inherent in the structural character of the nation, which particularly distinguish it from the passive non-resisting type of Asiatic peoples. There is probably nothing more remarkable in the whole sphere of modern world politics than the successful adaptation by Japan to her own ends of the military, political and industrial machinery of the West, achieved without serious dislocation of her own national life or violation of its traditions and sentiments.

In estimating the several factors which made it possible for the nation to pass in fifty years from feudalism to constitutional government, from medieval armour to machine guns, due credit must be given, not only to the genius of her statesmen and the spartan discipline of the samurai class, but even more to the deep-rooted patriotism of the common people, to their simple virtues of self-denying fortitude and loyal obedience to constituted authority. The student of history cannot fail to note the divergent results produced in China and Japan by Confucian ethics and Buddhist teaching—the foundations of morality in both countries—and to speculate on the racial, climatic and geographical causes which, in the course of centuries, have produced such profound differences in national character. It is of particular interest to observe how 'bushido' (the 'religion of the warrior'); originally influenced by the doctrines of the Zen sect of Buddhism (see page 2551) and the Sung school of Confucianism, eventually developed into the samurai's creed of feudal

loyalty and self-sacrifice, and how, after the passing of feudalism, it became identified with national ideals of patriotism and duty. Finally, in considering the effect of the impact of the West upon the feudal Japan of the 'fifties, it is necessary to remember that the Japanese people had never been lacking in enterprise or in readiness to accept new ideas.

By an edict issued by the shogun Iyemitsu in 1636 all Japanese were forbidden to go abroad, the tonnage of native ships was reduced so as to prevent them undertaking ocean voyages, and all foreigners, except a few Dutch and Chinese traders confined to Nagasaki, were excluded from Japan. The last of the Roman Catholic missions, whose activities dated back to 1547, had been expelled in 1614, and their converts thereafter fiercely persecuted. When Commodore Biddle, with two American warships, arrived in Yedo Bay in 1845, charged with a mission to establish trading relations, the policy of seclusion prescribed by the Tokugawa Shogunate had remained unchallenged for two centuries. This long-maintained hostility to foreigners was reflected in the government's refusal to enter into any negotiations such as the United States desired; at the same time, the signs and portents of impending change were recognized by a number of the intelligent clan retainers who, behind the scenes, directed the affairs of the Shogunate.

During the fifteen years of confusion, strife and rebellion which followed the signature of the treaty insisted upon by Commodore Perry (March 31, 1854; see page 4395) the question of foreign intercourse assumed ever-increasing



ENTRANCE TO THE TOKUGAWA TOMBS

Amid the trees of Shiba Park in Tokyo there stand, a blaze of red-painted wood and gold incrustation, the tombs and mortuary temples of the Tokugawa shoguns. All but seven of the great line of shoguns founded by Ieyasu that ruled Japan from 1615 to 1868 lie buried here.

importance. It contributed, indirectly but powerfully, to the fall of the Shogunate, and to the restoration of direct imperial rule, by producing a gradual movement of the leading clans to the support of the court, or anti-foreign party, and by loosening the feudal ties which for cen-

turies had bound the territorial nobility to Yedo and to the Tokugawa line of shoguns. But it is worthy of note that, even if the introduction of steam navigation had not brought American whalers to the Sea of Okhotsk and opened up the new Pacific highway to the trade of the Orient, even if the bombardment of the Shimonoseki forts and the presence of British and French armed forces at Yokohama had not convinced the best brains of the nation that the cumbrous system of feudal dyarchy would never meet the inevitable exigencies of

international intercourse, the house of Tokugawa could not have lasted much longer. Its prestige and power to govern had been steadily declining from internal causes; the forceful impact of the West simply hastened the collapse of a structure already obviously tottering. Had there



ALLIED SQUADRON DEMOLISHING THE SHIMONOSEKI BATTERIES

The imperial court of the mikado and the administrative court of the shogun were sharply divided on the question of policy towards foreigners. As a result of a decree issued by the mikado, without the shogun's knowledge, the head of the Choshu clan in 1863 turned his batteries at Shimonoseki on to foreign vessels; an allied (largely British) squadron demolished his forts and routed his troops; and by this forcible argument he was converted from an exclusionist to a progressive.

*From Aimé, Humbert, 'Japon illustré,' 1870*

Even no foreign powers, backed by superior force, insisting on the opening of treaty ports for their trade, another Shogunate would no doubt have been established at Yedo, by one or other of the leading clans.

The united movement of the powerful southern clans which overthrew the Tokugawa administration, and eventually restored direct imperial rule, was at the outset a purely military movement; it

was only gradually that the collective intelligence of the leading clans perceived the new dangers threatening Dai Nippon from without, and were thus led to unite and direct all their forces, with the restored throne as rallying point, into new channels of national patriotism. The first wave of popular enthusiasm aroused by the campaign in favour of concentrating authority in the hands of the sovereign owed much of its strength to the avowed intention of the imperialists to drive out all foreigners, or at least to keep them at arm's length. It was only later, as knowledge concerning the outside world increased, and as the prudent counsels of the wiser leaders came to outweigh the swashbuckling chauvinism of the military class, that the slogan 'expel the foreigner' was dropped. There came then to the front a group of leaders who, fully conscious of Japan's military weakness, realized the necessity of a policy of national reconstruction on Western lines. The abolition of feudalism and of the old territorial nobility was speedily recognized as a matter of imperative necessity by the men who directed the nation's difficult course during the period immediately following the Restoration, and whose names have since been household words in Japan. That they were able to bring about so momentous a change with comparatively so little disturbance of the national life affords in itself a striking proof of their self-denying and intelligent patriotism.

During the fourteen years which elapsed between the signature of Perry's treaty and the fall of the Shogunate, the country was torn by internal dissensions and dominated by anti-foreign agitation. It was only after the Restoration that the reorganization of its institutions and

administration, the evolution of modern Japan, commenced. Before considering the nature and results of the reforms instituted under the Meiji Era—the 'Era of Enlightened Government'—it is advisable that the reader should understand the main features of the dual system of government, based on feudalism, which had been in force since the twelfth century, for the reason that certain features in this system—peculiar to the character and political instincts of the Japanese people—remained untouched by the Restoration and are reflected to this day in many aspects and phases of the national life.

In the first place the word 'Restoration' may be misleading, unless the fact be borne in mind that at no period in the history of Japan has there ever been any record of direct participation by the sovereign

#### Dual System of Feudal Government

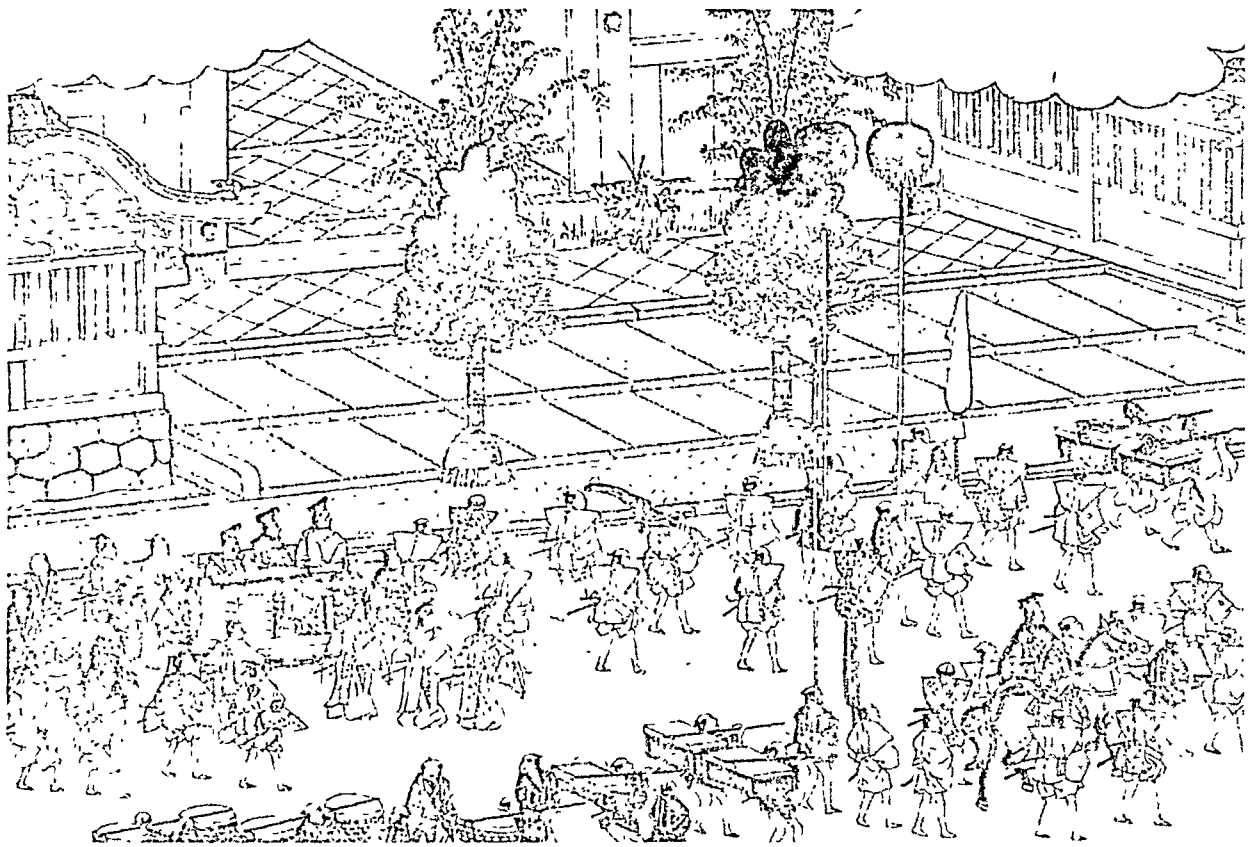
in the administration of government. The advent to power in 1155 of Yoritomo, the first shogun, resulted in the establishment of a new seat of military administration at Kamakura and the creation of the feudal system. As time went on, the Shogunate gradually assumed all the executive functions of rulership, while paying lip-service of reverence to the sovereign and the official hierarchy of the court at Kyoto. This system, carried on by various lines of feudal chieftains, reached its highest prestige and most effective organization under the Tokugawa Shogunate, established at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The authority of the Shogunate under the earlier Tokugawas was recognized by the country at large, and the 'Era of Great Peace,' as their 250 years of rulership is named in Japanese history, was marked by enlightened reorganization of the feudal system and by noteworthy progress in art, literature and general culture.

But it is to be observed that the Shogunate, like the monarchy, even under the most capable of shoguns, was always a figurehead system of government; that is to say, that no more direct personal rule was exercised by the shoguns than by the mikado. Their methods of government reflected, in fact, the instinctive disposition towards impersonality the tendency

to govern by proxy, inherent in the character and traditions of the Japanese people. The two parties to the dual system of government were alike, in that administrative policy and executive functions were generally exercised by individuals or groups working behind the scenes. The outward and visible signs of sovereignty, the pomp and panoply of power, were attached to the institution of the Shogunate and, in a different way to the throne; but the real authority was vested in the unseen hands of those hereditary feudal retainers and subordinate officials who supplied the active intelligence of the centralised feudal bureaucracy. It is important to note this absence of personal rule as a persistent principle of the science and art of government in Japan, because it has in no wise been eliminated by the introduction of parliamentary institutions, nor by any other of the political innovations borrowed from the West.

The overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the restoration of the throne's

supreme authority were brought about by a united movement of the four great clans of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen; the subsequent voluntary surrender to the throne of the feudal territories and prerogatives of the feudatory daimies was inspired and carried out by the leaders of these same clans. Early in the first year of the restored imperial rule, these four powerful daimies memorialised the throne, offering to surrender their hereditary dignities, territories and privileges in order that 'one central body of government and one universal authority might be established.' The great majority of the lesser feudal chieftains followed the lead thus given. The momentous change having been formally approved by the assembly of the daimies, their territories were taken over by the government (the daimies becoming pensioned governors under the throne), and in August, 1871, by an imperial decree the clans were abolished and prefectures created in their place. At the same time the old court nobility



THE PROCESSION OF RENUNCIATION AS SEEN BY A JAPANESE ARTIST

After the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1867, there was a hiatus in which it was uncertain whether the head of some great clan might not attempt to set up a new administrative authority at the expense of nation-wide bloodshed. The impasse was solved in 1869 by the resolution of the four southern feudatory chiefs—those of the Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen clans—to surrender their fiefs to the throne; an example followed by all but seventeen of the other daimies.

*From Official History of the Empire of Japan, Chicago Exhibition, 1893*

(*kugé*) and the feudal chieftains became one class under a new name; the samurai, or warrior class of clansmen, became merged in the new class of gentry; and the pariah class (*éta*) became members of the 'heimin,' or common people.

It is important, however, to remember that these sweeping changes were voluntary on the part of those chiefly concerned; also that, although the dual system of government was ostensibly abolished and the direct rule of the throne established by the restoration, what actually occurred was that the virtual power passed directly into the hands of the men who had inspired and led the confederacy of the four clans against the Tokugawa regime; in other words, the dual system was re-established under a new form. Later, after the unsuccessful rebellion of the Satsuma malcontents and irreconcilable conservatives, the administration of the government became practically a monopoly of the two great clans of Satsuma and Choshu, a state of affairs which has survived many perils of change.

The evolution of modern Japan may fairly be said to have begun on April 6, 1868, the date on which the young mikado took the oath after the formation of the reorganized government. The nature and proclaimed policy of this 'charter oath' pointed unmistakably to the reforming zeal and energy of the younger clansmen, several of whom filled minor



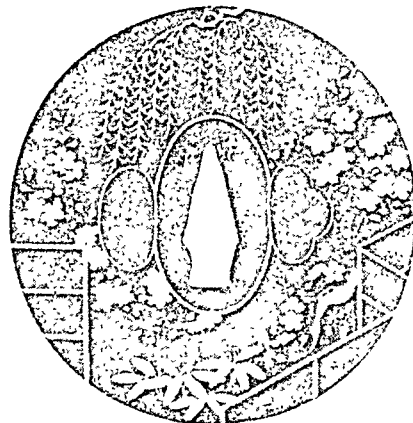
#### SAMURAI IN OLD-TIME GARBS

A warrior class corresponding to knights or squires, the samurai were merged in the gentry or 'shizoku' and forbidden to wear arms by the 1871 decree. The trousers of their court dress, illustrated here, were designed to suggest an attitude of kneeling.

*From Siebold, 'Nippon'*

posts under the newly created administration. It announced the government's intention to introduce deliberative assemblies and representative government and to 'seek for knowledge throughout the world.' In the inspiration and execution of the all-important initial reform, whereby feudalism was abolished, there was evidence of the progressive influence of men such as Iwakura, Okuma, Goto, Okubo, Ito and Inouye, who recognized the urgent need of reforms modelled on Western methods. Among the leaders of the military class who came to the front in organizing and directing the imperial movement, these and others formed a group of pioneer reformers who knew that their country could only

hope to hold its own against the Western powers by a radical reorganization of its military, economic and political systems. Their influence increased in proportion as the nation's knowledge of the outside world confirmed their foresight and weakened the authority



#### EXQUISITE SAMURAI SWORD GUARDS

The art of the finest metal workers in the land was lavished on the mounts of the samurai's sword, his most prized possession. The sword guard on the left (19th century) is of pierced iron to imitate a gourd vine; the other (18th century) a garden of copper alloy inlaid with gold, silver and black composition.

*Victoria and Albert Museum*



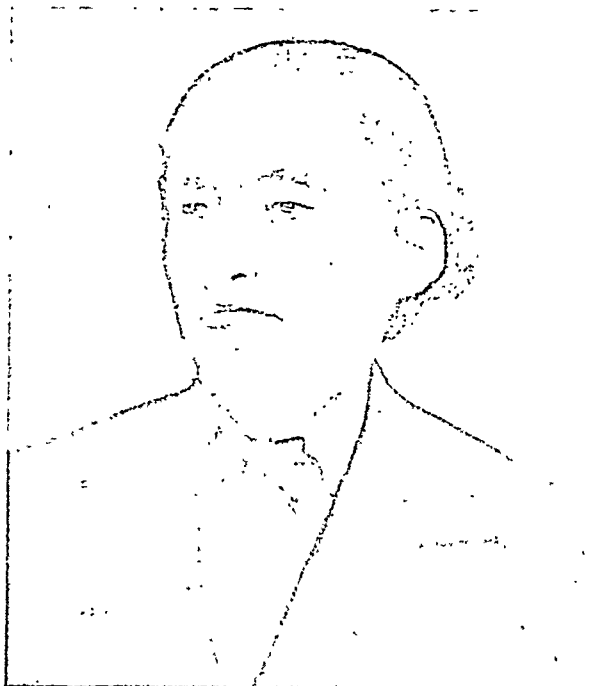
of the conservative elements in the bureaucracy. The vernacular press, which made its first appearance, under official control, during the critical days which preceded the abolition of feudalism, was chiefly inspired by the younger reformers.

In the same year which witnessed the surrender to the throne of the daimios' feudal fiefs, the government took steps to fulfil the 'charter oath' promise of 'seeking knowledge throughout the world,' by sending an important mission to Europe and the United States; its membership included Iwakura, minister for foreign affairs, and two councillors of state. Among their large suite were several young men (notably he who became Prince Ito); their subsequent careers afford instructive examples of the silent, self-denying type of



OFFICERS OF THE SATSUMA REBELS

In 1876-7 the samurai of the Satsuma clan, enraged at the curtailment of their feudal privileges, rebelled to the number of some 40,000, but were finally wiped out by government troops. This was no haphazard insurrection, but one of trained fighting men with Western equipment, as suggested by this group of officers.



PRINCE TOMOMI IWAKURA

Head of the first mission sent by the new government in 1872 to study Western methods in Europe and America was Prince Tomomi Iwakura (1835-83), minister for foreign affairs. He had originally been strongly anti-foreign.

*After a photograph*

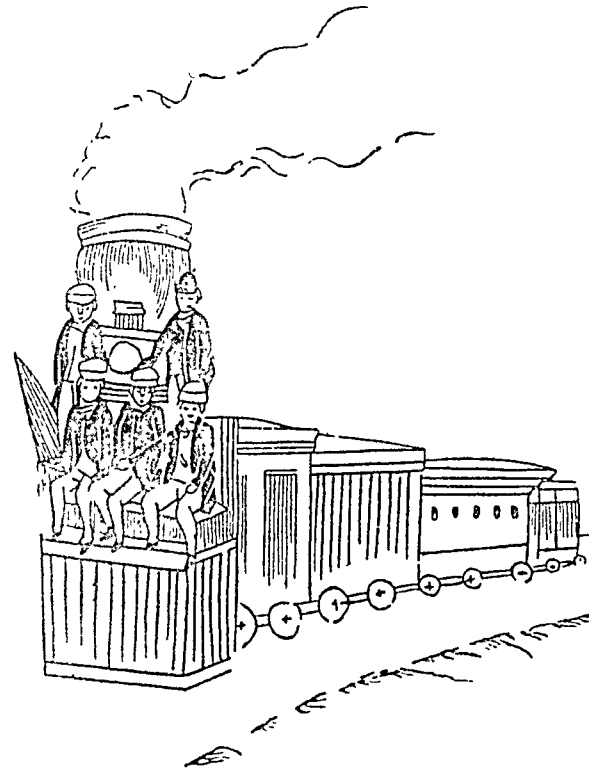
patriotism of which the ruling class in Japan is capable and which explains the rapidity of their country's attainment to the rank of a first-class power. The mission's work lasted over two years. Its first object was to induce the leading powers to consent to a revision of the treaties, with a view to abolishing the extra-territorial privileges claimed and enjoyed by foreigners in Japan. In this it was unsuccessful. It was not until twenty-two years later that, following the lead of Great Britain, the powers consented to revise the treaties on terms which no longer offended Japanese pride by the implication of an inferiority of civilization.

The rebuffs suffered by Iwakura's mission in Europe and America on this subject, though deeply resented at the time and provocative thereafter of continual agitation, were probably a blessing in disguise; for they undoubtedly served to unite all the patriotic and progressive elements of the nation in the determination to remove the stigma of inferiority by the indisputable evidence of progressive achievement. The record of the progress actually accomplished under this impulse, in every field of national activity, during the fifty years between the abolition of feudalism and the

Versailles Conference is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of civilization.

Within five or six years of the abolition of the feudal system the evolution of modern Japan was well under way, and, despite the commotion of the Satsuma rebellion, steadily maintained. The changes in land tenure and taxation, entailed by the surrender of the feudal fiefs, had been successfully carried out by the Ministry of Finance; the organization of a national army, under foreign military instructors, had been undertaken, and a system of conscription, based on the German model, introduced; the construction of railways, dockyards and telegraphs had been begun and a postal system organized; orders had been placed in England for the first warships of the new navy, and the services of British naval experts engaged. The Gregorian calendar had been adopted; a university founded at Tokyo; and financial reform undertaken by means of a bimetallic system of currency, national banks and a government mint. The assistance of experts from various countries had been engaged to lay the foundations of knowledge in medical science, engineering and agriculture, and American advisers consulted on the subject of national education.

The first step towards the political reconstruction promised in the 'charter oath' was taken by the creation of a senate in 1875. This was followed, in 1878, by



#### TRAIN THROUGH JAPANESE EYES

The first Japanese railway, covering 18 miles from Tokyo to Yokohama, was opened officially in 1872. That it met with opposition can be understood from this earlier impression made by a railway train on the Japanese mind.

*From Aimé, Humbert, 'Japon illustré', 1870*

the issue of regulations for local administration and by the convening of an annual assembly of provincial governors. The beginnings of judicial reform were made by the engagement of French advisers and the creation of a high court of justice. In the same year, the ministry



#### FRENCH-DRILLED NUCLEUS OF JAPAN'S FIRST CONSCRIPT ARMY

The greatest significance in the defeat of the Satsuma rebels was that, while these were the flower of the warrior class, the army opposing them was recruited from all sections of the population, traditionally without fighting qualities. It had its inception in the work of Omura Masujiro, who organized military schools from 1868, and was definitely formed by an imperial decree imposing universal conscription in 1873. Its first instructors were French, and this print of 1870 shows a march-past of French-drilled cadets. Eventually German models were adopted.

endeavoured to meet the agitation for representative government by promising the introduction of prefectural assemblies, at an early date, as a preliminary to popularising the basis of administration.

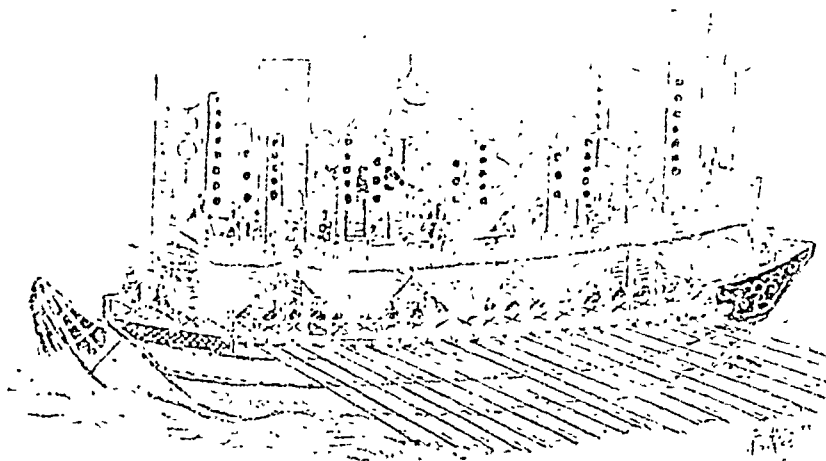
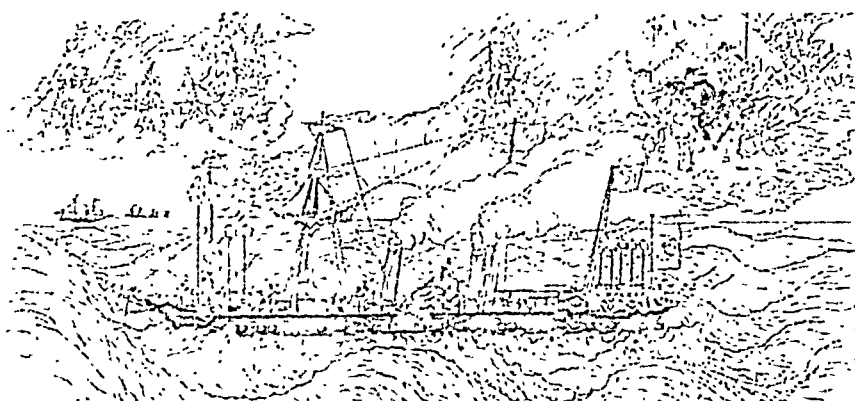
Meanwhile, the awakening of the people to the new aspects and prospects of national life created by these and other reforms proceeded rapidly, thanks to the fusion of classes which followed the Restoration; education, formerly confined to the samurai and Buddhist priesthood, became available for all alike. The press had developed with such rapidity, and had become so active in organizing agitation for representative institutions, that in 1875 the government promulgated the first of a number of press laws designed to check activities which threatened its stability. At this date the ministry was already passing under the control of the Satsuma and Choshiu clans, a state of affairs which reinforced the ranks of the

connexion with the government early in 1876, to mark his dissatisfaction at their refusal to proceed with the creation of a national parliament. Okuma, the Hizen leader, had left the ministry in 1871. After Itagaki's resignation, a definite rapprochement, for purposes of political agitation, took place between the Tosa and Hizen clansmen, thus creating a radical opposition to the more cautious and conservative tendencies of the Satsuma-Choshiu ('Satcho') leaders. The result, for many years, was continual agitation on one side and repressive legislation on the other. Looking back, one finds it difficult to say how far, at any period of the country's subsequent history, this opposition represented a genuine conflict of political ideas and methods, or the antagonism, natural in party warfare, of the 'Outs' towards the 'Ins.' A survey of the course of events, frequently disturbed by grave disorders, between the establishment of

prefectural assemblies in 1880 and the creation of the Diet and the constitution in 1890, would appear to justify the conclusion that the opposition's violent insistence on the introduction of parliamentary government was not without its effect in speeding up the ministry's policy of

advanced constitutional reformers with a large number of disbanded and discontented samurai, who invested political agitation with dangerous clan jealousies and a spirit of turbulence.

Prominent among the advanced reformers at this period were certain members of the Tosa clan (one of the four whose alliance overthrew the Shogunate). Their leader, Itagaki, who had been a councillor of state in the administration since the Restoration, severed his



#### NAVAL PROGRESS OF THIRTEEN YEARS

Few things so bring home the rapidity of the change in Japan as her naval development. The lower print of about 1850 shows the type of warship then to be seen in the feudal fleets. Above is the ship on which the 'taikun' (real ruler of the shogun's court) voyaged from Kyoto to Yedo in 1863, with the blessing of his country's gods.

*Top, from Aimé, Humbert, 'Japon illustré,' 1870*

gradual reform, coincident with the political education of the electorate to be. At the same time, the very unruly character of the opposition's agitation, on more than one critical occasion, constituted in itself a sufficient justification of the government's cautious conservatism.

The imperial decree, announcing 1890 as the date for the inauguration of parliamentary government, was issued in October, 1881. Six months later Mr. (subsequently Prince) Ito, accompanied by a large staff, set out, under imperial instructions, to study the actual working of the world's different systems of constitutional government and their results, an investigation which occupied him for nearly two years. During this period several new groupings of politicians and reformers took place, resulting in the creation of a number of ambitious but short-lived parties. The right of free speech and public meetings became a burning question, frequently expressed in disorders of a serious nature, in which the clanless 'ronin' class played a conspicuous and turbulent part, finding in political strife an outlet for their suppressed martial energies and a hope of redressing their grievances. At various times and places, during this period, the country gave evidence of grave unrest in outbreaks and plots directed, generally by ex-samurai malcontents, against the government. These manifestations of rebellious tendencies, and the severe measures of repression with which the government met them, were the natural consequences of the abolition of feudalism and the resultant social and economic upheaval.

Despite them and many other difficulties, however, the work of reconstruction, education and preparation for new political conditions went steadily on, the wisdom of the 'elder statesmen' guiding the ship of state, while the younger generation was acquiring the knowledge which in due time enabled them to vindicate their country's claim to an honourable place in the comity of nations. The new army and navy were being formed and trained to the standard of efficiency which astonished the world in 1894. Last, but not least, definite



**HIGH PRIEST OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT**

Born in 1841, Prince Hirobumi Ito was studying Western methods in Europe when barely twenty. Minister of the interior, 1878, and premier, 1885, he drafted the 1889 constitution, and was resident-general of Korea when assassinated, 1909.

*Photo, W and D. Downey*

progress was being made with the legal and judicial reforms which were recognized as essential preliminaries to treaty revision. All classes and parties were by this time agreed in regarding the extra-territorial rights claimed by foreigners as derogatory to the dignity of the nation; they were determined to leave nothing undone to establish Japan's unfettered jurisdiction within her own territories. Treaty revision on equal terms became, therefore, after the Restoration, the first consideration and objective of the Japanese government. Early in 1882 a new criminal code and a code of criminal procedure were promulgated and came forthwith into operation; these represented the result of seven years' steady work, carried out with the advice of French jurists. In the following autumn negotiations for treaty revision were set on foot. These led, four years later, to an international conference at Tokyo, and eventually, in 1899, to the achievement of the end desired—a footing of equality with the Western powers.

The Ito mission returned to Japan in September, 1883. Early in the following

year Count Ito was appointed Minister of the Imperial Household and entrusted with the work of framing the constitution, which was to come into effect five years later. From this time forward, until his death at the hands of a Korean assassin in 1909, Ito's influence steadily increased; his progressive initiative, combined with prudent statecraft, made itself felt in every department of the national life. The reorganization of the administrative system which, under his guidance, was effected in 1885 was largely based on the German cabinet system. The number of state departments was increased to nine; their ministers, together with the

Constitution as  
framed by Ito

premier, or Minister President, constituted the cabinet. The latter's proceedings and policy were practically controlled by the premier, who, like the German chancellors, was directly responsible to the throne and ex officio head of all departments. Similarly, in framing the constitution, Count Ito elected to follow the German political system, retaining the maximum of real power in the hands of the throne, which, in practice, meant the hands of the elder statesmen behind it. He realized that, if Japan was to become a world power, the problems of reconstruction which the best brains of the ruling clans would have to solve were very similar to those which Bismarck had successfully solved in the consolidation of the German Empire. The constitution, drawn up under his guidance, emphasised the supreme authority of the crown, leaving the sovereign and his cabinet virtually independent of parliament.

At the same time, everything possible was done by those in charge of national education to create and develop a new spirit of patriotic loyalty to the throne, in place of the old feudal traditions of loyalty to the chief of the clan. This process of education had already been begun in the early days of the Restoration, its object being to provide an effective rallying point for the nation and the foundation of a new kind of unity. Under Count Ito's guidance it was widened and deepened until, with the issue of the imperial rescript on education, promulgated in 1890, it provided for a system of

instruction in 'morals' and citizenship, by the elementary and secondary schools, which has probably contributed more than anything else to the successful evolution and progress of modern Japan. In every elementary school throughout the land a copy of this rescript is displayed, together with a portrait of the emperor. Every Japanese child is taught from a series of text books which, beginning with the fundamentals of Confucian morality and covering the whole duty of a loyal citizen, stimulates an intense pride of race and devotion to the imperial house.

By this process of elementary education, the youth of the nation at its most receptive age receives the foundation of a wholly national culture, untouched by Western influences. Yamato Damashii, 'the Japanese spirit,' is thus passed down, unquenched, from one generation to another. It is not the least of the achievements of the elder statesmen who guided the destinies of Dai Nippon during the Meiji Era that they built up this bulwark of patriotism and loyalty against foreign foes and internal demoralisation.

It is the same in the spheres of religion, literature and art. The Shinto cult, the 'Way of the Gods,' has been deliberately moulded into a national faith, calculated to develop reverence and loyalty for the imperial authority, combined with fervent patriotism. This faith is stimulated by the building of shrines and the official encouragement of pilgrimages to them. A lecturer at Tokyo University has attributed the extraordinary stability of Japanese political institutions to this state-fostered religion, whereby individualism is completely subordinated to the interests of the state or nation, organized on the principle of imperial sovereignty. In art the peculiar, almost self-consciously national Japanese style that produces its marvelously delicate effects without the aid of perspective or chiaroscuro, engrained into the character of the people during six centuries of achievement from Cho Densu through Hokusai to Hiroshige and Shofu Kyosai, still subserves the spirit of Yamato Damashii. Although some modern artists have been experimenting with Western

Japanese Spirit  
in Religion & Art

methods this, as in the larger sphere of social life, has involved no loss of the national stamp. In literature, the influence of the West has perhaps been greater, through the medium of the press and of numerous translations.

Although Count Ito's political instinct led him to model the constitution and administrative system of modern Japan upon those of Germany, he was not uninfluenced by the undercurrent of public opinion which favoured the adoption of British institutions. The strength of this undercurrent was recognized by the inclusion of English (on the instance of Viscount Mori) in the curriculum of the primary schools in 1886, a step which led the younger generation to form its conception of the outside world largely on English ideas. From 1880 until the end of the victorious war against China, in 1895, the influence of German ideas was supreme in administration and military science; to this fact, coupled with the exclusive control of the army and navy by the Satsuma and Choshu clansmen, the growth of a strong military party and the policy of national expansion were due. The war with China, which put an end to the latter's claim to suzerainty over Korea, was the first outward and visible sign of this policy and of the nation's steadily developing military strength. It is interesting to observe that Germany's action in combining with Russia and France to deprive Japan of the chief fruits of her victory produced a revulsion of feeling against Teutonic, and in favour of British, influence, which found expression seven years later in the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

The period immediately preceding the proclamation of the constitution was

marked by the widespread agitation of political malcontents and secret societies to force the hand of the government in the matter of treaty revision, by this time associated in the minds of the educated classes generally with a deep sense of national humiliation. Severe measures of repression were instituted against the agitators; but these did not interfere with the government's introduc-

tion of measures preliminary to the establishment of a national parliament. In April, 1888, the privy council was created, a body invested with purely advisory functions, but by the nature of its membership possessed of great political and legislative influence. The first duty of this council was to discuss the draft constitution; the importance of the occasion was impressed upon the nation by the presence of the emperor at its deliberations. The constitution was proclaimed from the throne by his Majesty, attended by the empress, on February 11, 1889, in the presence of a great assembly of princes, dignitaries and officials. On the same day an imperial decree announced the convocation of parliament to take place in November, 1890.

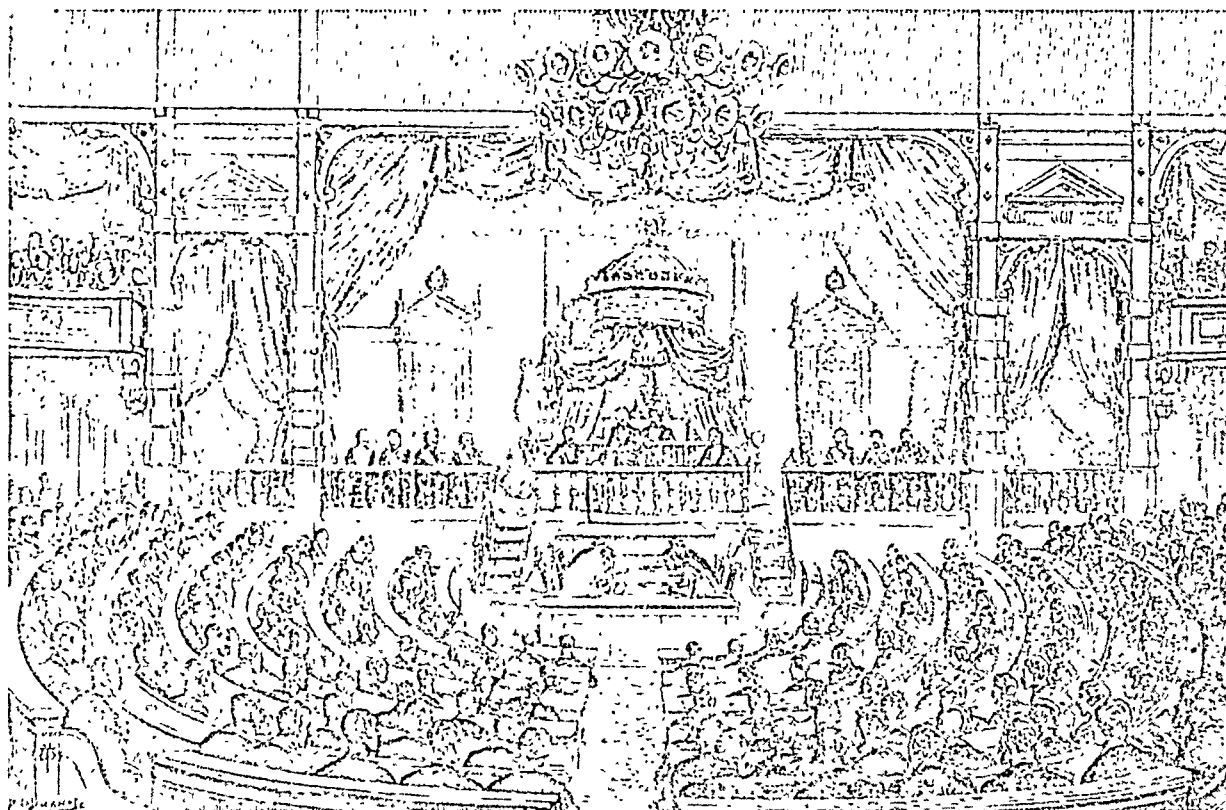
The scene in the throne room of the new palace at Tokyo on this historic occasion was extremely impressive, because of the **Unprecedented scene** pomp and dignified in the Throne Room ceremony observed; it was also deeply significant of the forces that were remoulding the outward and visible signs of power in modern Japan, and of the nation's adaptability in conforming to inevitably changing conditions. Never before had the profound seclusion of the imperial precincts been disturbed by the intrusion of mundane affairs; never had the sacred presence—much less his consort—appeared in person to take part in public affairs. The promulgation of the constitution marked a definite break with the past and the adoption of Western political ideas. Equally significant, however, was the oath taken by the emperor at the Shinto shrine invoking the protection of the imperial ancestors and vowing to maintain the ancient form of government. Noteworthy, also, were the numerous clauses in the constitution defining the imperial prerogatives (including the right to declare war, to make peace and conclude treaties), and the fact that the constitution itself cannot be amended except on the initiative of the sovereign.

The imperial parliament (or Diet) prescribed by the constitution consists of a house of peers and a house of representatives. The membership of the lower house,

originally 300, was raised, by virtue of a new electoral law in 1902, to 381, representing 308 rural and 73 urban districts. The cabinet, directly responsible to the throne for the government of the country, is independent of the Diet, but this particular feature of the Japanese parliamentary system is to some extent offset by the fact that the Diet can force a dissolution and hold up an unpopular budget by refusing to vote supplies. In that event the government is confined to the limits of the budget voted in the previous financial year. Under these conditions it was inevitable that, pending the wider interest in foreign politics which gradually grew out of Japan's increasing importance as a world power, the activities of the opposition in the Diet should be chiefly confined to matters of finance. In practice, as experience of parliamentary procedure developed, the stormy scenes and unceasing conflict of the earlier sessions of the Diet gradually became assuaged, as the result of the cabinet's recognition of the necessity for tactful

modification of its constitutional independence of parliamentary control. Thus, in the 1894-5 session, it was enabled to count on the support of the Liberals.

In 1898 persistent opposition in the Diet to the principle of clan government resulted in the formation of a cabinet in which, for the first time, clans other than those of Satsuma and Choshu were represented, though the latter still retained exclusive control of the army and navy. The reorganization of the Liberal party (known henceforth as the 'Seiyukai'), under the leadership of Marquis Ito in 1900, marked a notable stage in the constitutional struggle between the supporters of clan rule and the advocates of the party system of government, a struggle which began with the creation of the Diet and has continued ever since with varying insistence. Generally, however, although the differences between the government (with the elder statesmen in the background) and the opposition have repeatedly led to acute parliamentary crises, these differences have rarely been



SESSION OF THE JAPANESE PARLIAMENT

Owing to an imperial decree of the previous year, the first Japanese parliament met on November 29, 1890. It consists of a house of peers and a house of representatives; this drawing in a London illustrated newspaper dated January 17, 1891, shows the mikado presiding over the formal opening of the lower house, which is being addressed by a member of the cabinet.



of a nature to prevent popular support of the government, in and out of the Diet, on broad questions of policy, wherever the national honour or vital interests have been involved. It is only in quite modern times that the lower house has reflected and expressed a genuine opposition to the naval and military expansion with which clan government has always been identified.

The signal successes achieved by the Japanese army and navy against China in 1894, and the prestige thus acquired by Japan, not only strengthened the position of the two-clan government in the eyes of the nation, but justified the existence of the militarist element, which for the next twenty years be-

Final goal of  
Treaty Revision  
became the most important  
factor in Japanese policy  
and supplied the motive  
power of national expansion. The position of the government was also strengthened at this period by the successful conclusion in London of its long-drawn negotiations for treaty revision. By the terms of the new treaty with Great Britain (July 16, 1894) Japan's unfettered territorial jurisdiction was to be restored in five years' time, provided that by then her new codes of law had been put in force.

The treaty was welcomed by the whole Japanese people as marking the end of a period of galling and undeserved inferiority. By the recovery of their judicial and fiscal autonomy they could henceforth deal with the powers of the West as equals. The sagacity of the elder statesmen's policy of patient preparation and efficient adaptation of Western methods was thus finally justified, their foresight and tenacity vindicated. The Japanese nation embarked upon the war with China (declared two weeks after the signature of the British treaty) with a heartening sense of recovered dignity and confidence in their rulers. Incidentally it may be observed that, by taking the initiative in the matter of treaty revision, Great Britain laid a foundation of Japanese good will which was destined to play no small part in world history.

The several subsequent stages of Dai Nippon's rapid advance to the rank of a first-class power need only be briefly enu-

merated. The co-operation of a Japanese force with the allied expedition for the relief of the Peking legations in 1900 gave the world some indication of the military efficiency which, four years later, drove Russia from Manchuria and restored to Japan the position of advantage on the Liaotung peninsula, of which the triple intervention of 1895 had deprived her. The Anglo-Japanese alliance, concluded in January, 1902, placed the rulers of Japan in the position, for which they had been waiting and working, to challenge at the moment of their own choosing the power that was blocking the path of their expansion on the Asiatic mainland. Nothing in the history of the country is more eloquent of the nation's untiring industry than the silent work done between 1895 and 1904, in strengthening the army and navy.

The defeat of Russia was followed by the establishment of a protectorate over Korea (November, 1905), and five years later by the annexation of the peninsula. At the same time, by virtue of the Treaty of Portsmouth, and a con-  
Colonial growth  
of Japan  
firmatory convention with

China (1905), Japan was enabled to establish herself on the Liaotung peninsula and to lay the foundations of these 'special rights and interests' in Manchuria and inner Mongolia which her rulers had come to regard as a matter of vital necessity. Coincident with the rapid growth of its naval and military strength, the nation had achieved equally remarkable progress in scientifically organized industrialism and international commerce. In manufactures, shipping, banking, transportation and business organization Japan had proved that she could hold her own with the Western nations; this was clearly demonstrated, after 1910, by the scientific efficiency with which Korea and Manchuria were developed, as producers of raw materials for her home industries and food for her redundant population.

The results of attempts to reduce the pressure of population in Japan proper, by encouraging emigration to Manchuria and Mongolia, were disappointing. They proved, as similar experiments in Yezo and Formosa had proved, that, while highly successful as emigrants to settled

countries, the Japanese working classes have no liking or aptitude for the life of pioneer colonists in undeveloped regions. As traders and shopkeepers, as manual labourers and farmers, as fishermen and fruit growers, Japanese emigrants have made their way to Australia, India, Malay and the coasts and isles of the southern Pacific, successfully competing with other races. But as colonists of China's northern dependencies they are unable to compete with the Chinese settlers who, since the beginning of the century, have been swarming into these fertile regions. This fact is of more importance than may appear, inasmuch as the inability of Japan to get rid of her surplus population on the Asiatic mainland, combined with the restrictions placed on Japanese emigration by the Asiatic Exclusion Acts of America and Australia, lies at the root of most of the social and economic problems with which modern Japan is confronted. For the population of the Japanese Empire—which was 33 millions at the beginning of the Meiji Era—is nearly 80 millions to-day, of whom over 60 millions live in Japan proper, a number considerably in excess of the country's maximum food resources.

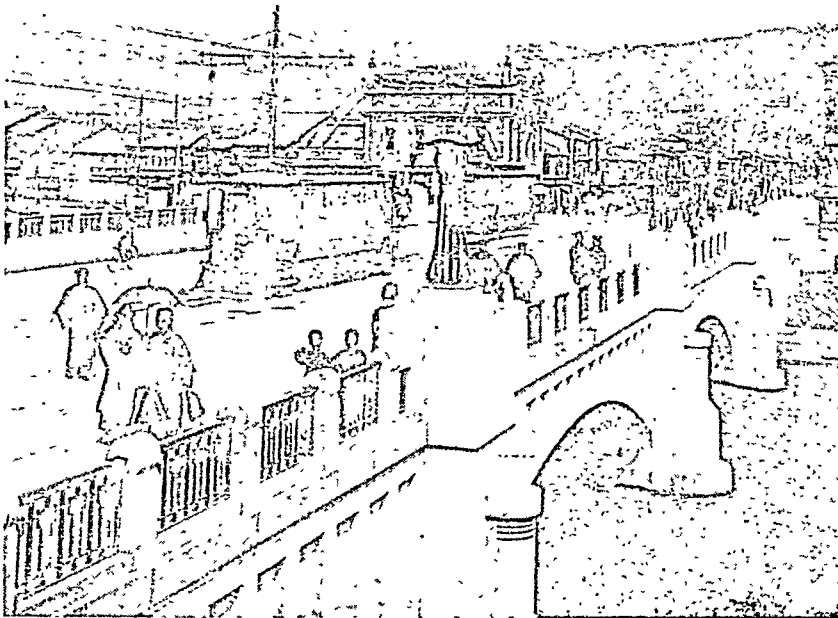
Hence an increasingly intense struggle for existence, which in many industrial districts is carried on under conditions and influences inevitably productive of new types of malcontents. Since the beginning of the century the problems which confront Japanese statesmen all centre ultimately, like those of Great Britain, in the problem of providing imported food for a rapidly increasing population.

The social system which has produced Japan's civilization differs from that of China in that, while both start from the same philosophical and ethical principles, the Japanese rests

Adaptability of  
Japanese regime

on the physical basis and the mechanics of an organized economic society. It has therefore repeatedly demonstrated its ability to adapt itself rapidly to a new environment, acquiring the superior civilizations of other countries and moulding them to its own purposes. But, side by side with this remarkable adaptability, the collective intelligence of Dai Nippon has also displayed an almost Chinese conservatism in matters of national sentiment, religion and political economy. Thus, for example, it will be noted that, whereas in China the

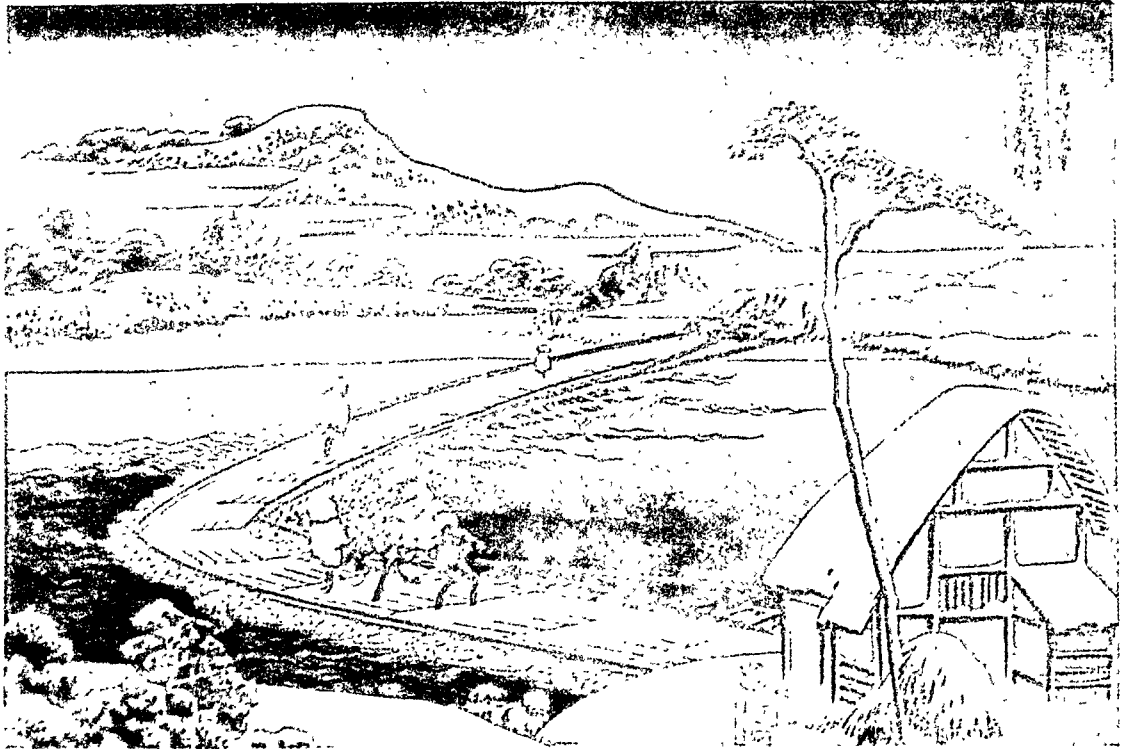
political platform and the press have remained alien and exotic innovations, in Japan the parliamentary system and the press have become part of the fabric of national life, possessing many characteristics of their own, in which the old traditions, the spirit of Japan, are preserved. Thus also, while the rulers of modern Japan have been able to sanction the prospect of manhood suffrage, and test the temper of their own electorate, with less uneasiness than was shown by most European countries, the traditional and almost religious reverence for the throne remains, to all appearances, as firmly rooted as ever in the soul of the people.



MODERN JAPAN IN THE 'ERA OF ENLIGHTENMENT'

The Japan that has resulted from the political changes described in this chapter is typified by the view above, where a modern bridge bears tram-car traffic over the Kamogawa in Kyoto, while brick-built houses in Western style are still backed by the low roofs and spreading eaves of native architecture.

Photo, Ewing Galloway



Japanese painting derived from Chinese but soon acquired a distinct national style. Close contact with Chinese culture, however, kept the exotic tradition alive, and the history of the art consists of an alternation of Chinese, Buddhist and native schools. It was about 1680 that the 'popular' school (Ukiyo-ye) arose under Moronobu, Hokusai (1760-1849) being its last and most famous exponent. His *Bridge of Boats at Sano*, above, shows how he enriched it with all the resources of a master in landscape



Colour printing from wood blocks, perhaps an independent Japanese invention, was used extensively by all artists after the seventeenth century, as in these examples by Hokusai and Hiroshige. The latter (1797-1858) belonged to the 'naturalistic' school that followed the popular; landscape and nature had always been among the chief inspirations of the Japanese artist, but a certain amount of conventionalisation was now discarded, nature observed more closely, and a sense of atmosphere conveyed as in this *Moonrise at Seba*.

#### JAPANESE COLOUR PRINTING : HOKUSAI AND HIROSHIGE

*British Museum*



One foot peeps daringly from beneath the long skirt worn by the lady on the left and coloured ribbons float from her artfully tilted hat. She illustrates a modish 'walking dress' in the *Lady's Magazine* in 1825. The popularity of plaids and stripes, wide skirts and tight waists is shown in the central group of July fashions for 1846. With her evening dress of about 1851-2, the wearer (right) carries a posy to match the one which adorns her corsage.



With their shawls and hooped skirts, beribboned bonnets and restrictive stays, the women of the eighteen-fifties looked far older than their years. Left: three fashionable, but to modern eyes over-dressed, women of 1854, at about the time when the crinoline was introduced from France. This revival of the older hoop skirt (cf., colour plate facing page 3983) held sway until the end of the 'sixties, being still in favour in 1862, for which year the October fashions on the right were designed.

THE ENGLISH GENTLEWOMAN : FORTY YEARS OF VICTORIAN FASHIONS

# THE GROWTH OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES

What the new Aristocracy of Wealth did for England  
and its Appearance in the chief Continental Countries

By E. LIPSON

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THE origin of the middle classes is to be found in the growth of urban communities. Rural society was composed of two main elements: landlords and labourers; and an industrial and trading middle class, distinct from a military land-owning aristocracy on the one hand and peasant cultivators of the soil on the other, was the product of town life. On the Continent the development of a middle class was arrested by adverse political circumstances. In England alone did the middle classes achieve an uninterrupted growth, economic and political—thanks to her geographical position, which protected her from foreign invasion; the political stability of her institutions; her comparative freedom from violent turmoil, industrial restrictions and internal tariffs; her adoption of a fiscal system in which the revenue expanded with the growth of trade, and of a banking system which afforded opportunities for the accumulation and application of capital; and, lastly, her wealth of mineral resources.

For centuries most English towns were in a wretched, squalid condition, mean and poor, sparsely inhabited, scarcely more than large-sized villages. But in the later Middle Ages there emerged into prominence a manufacturing class, composed of men who pursued the 'art' or 'mystery' of manufactures (see Chapter 113). This advent of a manufacturing class was a momentous event. Its importance is seen especially in the remarkable development of town life which took place in the fifteenth century. Of the wealth of London there is striking testimony in the words of a Venetian who wrote at the end of the century. He tells

us that 'in one single street, named the Strand, leading to S. Paul's, there are fifty-two goldsmiths' shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in all the shops in Milan, Rome, Venice and Florence put together I do not think there would be found so many of the magnificence that are to be seen in London.' Other towns besides London were advancing in prosperity. Everywhere a class of rich burgesses came into existence, whose houses and plate and tapestry all bore witness to their material progress, who entertained kings at their table as their guests and in the assessment of taxes ranked with earls and barons.

Their prosperity was evinced also in a fine display of public spirit: in the foundation of hospitals and schools, the repair of roads and bridges, and many other spheres of public utility which in the olden days were matters of private benevolence. The reign of Henry VI was specially noteworthy for the benefactions of wealthy London citizens. Richard Whittington, the hero of legendary exploits and an abiding witness of the triumph of merit over adversity, devoted his wealth to the erection of the London Guildhall and its library. Other citizens supplied the City with water or built granaries for the storage of corn against times of scarcity. Signs of industrial wealth meet us, indeed, on every hand—in the erection of churches and town halls, market crosses and paved streets, gates, bridges and harbours. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that industry was proving more attractive than husbandry. It offered a wider scope

to men of initiative and enterprise, and opened up a great career where wealth and prestige lay within the grasp of all who could approve themselves worthy by their skill and resources. The growth of industry—especially the woollen industry (see Chapters 113 and 135)—afforded fresh openings in life, and all the ambitious spirits who were discontented with their mode of existence flocked into the towns to seek more profitable sources of livelihood.

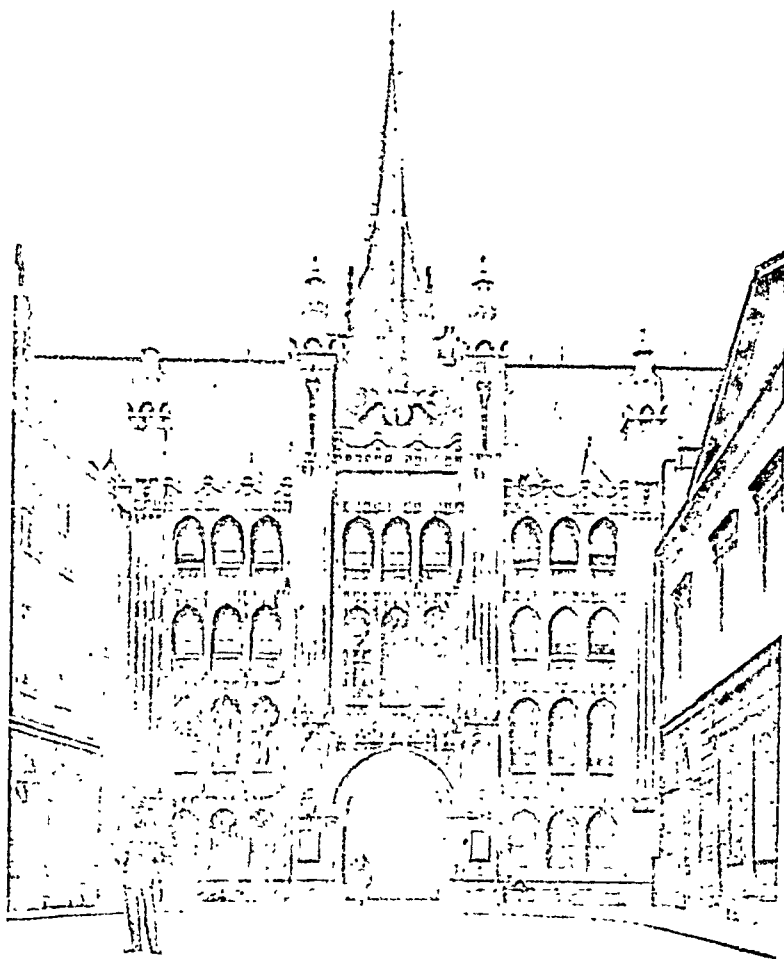
Two elements were comprised in the middle classes, one an industrial element, the other a trading element. By the sixteenth century the industrial element in the middle class had begun to assume the aspect which it has ever since retained. It was essentially an employing class, which rapidly gained control of industry, and established an economic ascendancy

over the great body of industrial workers whose welfare and even existence were now dependent upon it.

The Tudor monarchy disliked the development of a capitalist system, partly, at any rate, because the expansion of industry was producing the familiar phenomena of social unrest arising out of unemployment and wage disputes. The grievance of low wages in particular was as old as the capitalist system itself. As early as the fifteenth century a popular pamphlet, *On England's Commercial Policy*, summed up in a telling phrase the economic position of the workers under a capitalist regime: 'The poor have the labour, the rich the winning.' In the reign of Elizabeth a great labour code was framed which imposed restrictions upon industrial capitalism. It provided that wages should be

fixed by the local magistrates, applying a principle which was first adopted in the fourteenth century; it made compulsory a seven years' apprenticeship; and it compelled every master in the textile industry who had three apprentices to employ a journeyman. These regulations set limits to the growth of capitalism, which was also kept in check by restrictions on the number of looms, and by the intervention of the privy council on behalf of unemployed artisans—employers being warned that 'those who have gained in profitable times must now be content to lose for the public good till the decay of trade be remedied.'

The system of state control over the economic activities of the middle classes depended for its successful working upon the extent to which the absolute monarchy, acting through the agency of the privy council, maintained its hold over the local authorities. But when the Civil War destroyed the power of the absolute monarchy the authority



MAIN ENTRANCE TO LONDON GUILDHALL

Increasing prosperity among the English industrial classes in the fifteenth century early manifested itself in the erection of numerous public buildings. The London Guildhall, built at the expense of that Richard Whittington who was four times lord mayor, is a splendid monument of one citizen's generosity.

*Photo, Donald McLeish*

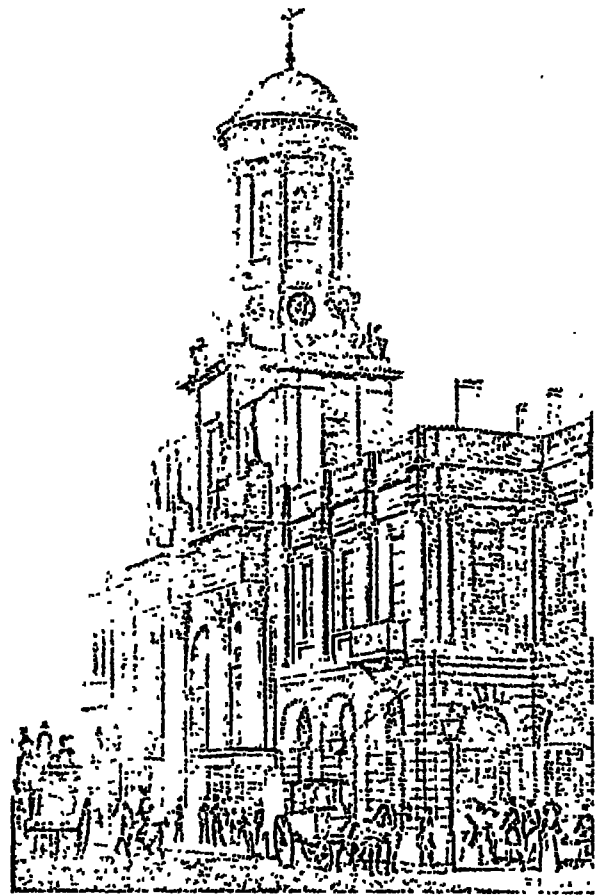
of the privy council was fatally impaired, and the industrial legislation of the sixteenth century was allowed to fall into disuse. The Revolution of 1688 completed the process of disintegration, and Parliament came directly under the control of the capitalist classes, who now demanded their liberation from the shackles of state control. The instantaneous success of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, published nearly a century after the Revolution, was largely due to the fact that he gave articulate expression to ideas towards which the leaders of industry had long been feeling their way. From the opening of the eighteenth century there was an unmistakable trend of economic policy towards *laissez-faire* and a growing relaxation of industrial restraints. Not until the nineteenth century, as a consequence of the new problems created by the introduction of the factory system, and the awakening of the working classes to political and economic self-consciousness, was the principle of state control once more revived.

The trading element in the middle classes consisted of retail dealers, wholesalers and merchants engaged in overseas trade. The differentiation between retailer and wholesaler was an indication of that economic specialisation which is the hall mark of an expanding commercial system. But it was primarily in foreign trade that the nascent trading element achieved the wealth and importance which conferred dignity and prestige on the English middle classes.

There is a widespread misconception that down to the Industrial Revolution foreign trade was almost non-existent. England is represented as a self-sufficing country living on her own.

**Extensive** products, and importing but  
**Foreign Trade** little from other countries.

No picture can be farther from the truth. By the end of the sixteenth century the foreign trade of England was already assuming a world-wide character. Her exports penetrated into nearly every part of the globe. Her imports comprised the products of four continents. A large portion of her population was now dependent for its livelihood upon foreign markets, and



LONDON ROYAL EXCHANGE OF 1829

Three times has a Royal Exchange been built on the same site in Cornhill to serve as a rendezvous for London merchants. Of the second building, shown in this engraving of 1829, all but the clock tower was burnt in 1838.

at the first rumour of war or interruption of trade found itself deprived of employment. Her commercial organization was highly developed on the basis of companies, while the working of the credit system and the foreign exchanges reproduced in its essentials the mechanism of modern business life. In short, the economic destiny of the country was closely interwoven with that of other nations, and trade was not only national but international.

The direction of foreign trade was in the hands of merchants. In the sixteenth century the rapid growth of a merchant class had been deplored as 'a marvellous destruction to the whole realm,' but in the next century the merchant was acclaimed 'the steward of the kingdom's stock.' 'All other callings,' it was now asserted, 'received their vigour, life, strength and increase from the merchant, to whose extravagant and hazardous, as well as



prudent and cautious, undertaking this nation chiefly owes all its wealth and glory.' The status accorded to the merchant was a recognition of the importance of commerce as the lady—so wrote a seventeenth-century writer, Roger Coke—'who in this present age is more courted and celebrated than in any former by all the princes and potentates of the world.' Taken in all, the merchants were a numerous body. After the Restoration London contained over three thousand merchants accustomed to assemble in the Royal Exchange, of whom more than half were engaged in foreign trade. In addition must be reckoned the merchants in the outports, including Bristol, Exeter, Hull, Newcastle and Ipswich.

They were recruited from the wealthier sections of the community, and it became the normal practice in England, in contrast with the Continent, for the younger sons of gentlemen, and sometimes of the nobility, to be bred to trade. The drift of younger sons from the country into the towns indicates one of the sources whence the English middle classes have sprung; and it often happened that a scion of a landed family, acquiring riches in trade, bought back the ancestral domains after they had passed out of the hands of an impoverished elder branch.

The peculiar circumstances in which oversea trade was carried on in former times imposed on the merchant class functions which should have been assumed by the state—maintaining embassies, erecting forts, repressing piracy and providing in other ways for the security of English traders abroad. To carry out these functions organization was needed.

**Evolution of Trading Companies** Two types of companies were evolved—the regulated and the joint-stock. In the former each member traded on his own capital, subject to the common rules laid down by the fellowship to which he belonged. In the latter the members traded as a corporate body, and the profits or losses were distributed among the members as shareholders. The enemies of the companies were the 'interlopers,' who were outside their fellowship but 'intermeddled' with their trade. They appealed to the tradi-

tional 'Englishman's liberty'—though in the economic sphere this traditional liberty was largely a traditional myth—and in their struggle against the companies, culminating ultimately in their complete triumph, the growing spirit of individualism among the middle classes asserted itself in a fresh direction.

The growth of the middle classes in England was revealed not only in the successive stages by which they established their economic ascendancy over the rest of the community, but also in their gradual acquisition of political power. The spirit of independence and self-assertion, which has always been

the marked characteristic of the English middle classes, was already in evidence in the Middle Ages, when they did not hesitate to challenge the two strongest forces in the state—the Church and the Monarchy.

The conflict between the towns and the Church presents one of the most striking episodes in the history of the Middle Ages, and it is in marked contrast with the view that medieval folk were held in complete subjection to ecclesiastical authority. Many of the towns belonged to the Church, as others did to secular lords. But no town could hope to attain prosperity, or a thriving trade, so long as it lay in the power of an alien ruler to impose his own will at every turn upon its concerns.

From generation to generation the burgesses of the towns carried on the struggle for municipal freedom, and the struggle was marked in every stage of its course by extreme violence and bitterness. The prior of Dunstable has left on record an account of his acrimonious relations with the burgesses, who eventually made preparations to abandon their homes. Undaunted by a threat of excommunication, they determined 'to descend into hell altogether' rather than submit to the arbitrary taxes of the prior. At Bury St. Edmunds in the fourteenth century a great riot broke out, in which the monastery was forcibly entered, its servants beaten and wounded, and the abbot and his monks carried off to prison. The ill feeling at Norwich culminated on one occasion in the destruction of the cathedral

church, while at Canterbury the quarrels were spread over three hundred years: so resolute were the middle classes to achieve autonomy in their local concerns and become masters of their own destiny. The spirit of independence which they thus manifested, coupled with the training which they received in the administration of municipal affairs, equipped them for the day when they were to play a rôle in the larger sphere of national politics.

The first beginnings of the participation of the middle classes in the government of England date from the thirteenth century, when Simon de Montfort summoned representatives of the towns to Parliament in 1265. In a feudal society their part in the national assembly would doubtless have been insignificant but for one of those lucky accidents which have been so striking a feature of English political development. This accident was the union of the representatives of the shires and the boroughs to form one of the three estates of the realm. The presence of knights of the shire in the House of Commons ensured the lower chamber a prestige, an importance and a stability which the commercial classes by themselves would never have been able to achieve. If the burgesses had sat alone, as they did in Continental parliaments, they would never have been able to acquire a position of dignity and independence such as the House of Commons very speedily won for itself. It was this amalgamation with landowners below baronial rank which saved the third estate in England from the fate which befell it on the Continent, where its social status was markedly inferior and its political influence almost non-existent.

Yet many centuries were to elapse before the industrial and commercial classes became the predominant partner in the House of Commons, and established their political supremacy in the state. Two obstacles impeded their progress. One was the absolute monarchy, whose power was not finally destroyed until the Revolution of 1688. The second was the aristocracy, which enjoyed the fruits of the victory over the monarchy until its

own power in turn was destroyed by the Reform of Parliament in 1832. It was in the struggle over the electoral system that the middle classes emerged as a separate political force, no longer content with a subordinate place in the constitution; it merits, therefore, detailed treatment.

The main features of the parliamentary system had been settled in the thirteenth century: they remained substantially the same after five hundred years had elapsed. Under George III the anomalies of the unreformed Parliament began to attract general attention, and Thomas Paine expressed a widespread opinion when he declared: 'The state of representation in England is too absurd to be reasoned upon; almost all the represented parts are decreasing in population and the unrepresented parts are increasing.' A petition drawn up in 1793 by the Society of the Friends of the People asserted that the majority in Parliament was elected by less than 15,000 electors, though the population now numbered nearly eleven millions. Cornwall had about the same number of members as Scotland, although the latter had several times the population of the former. Again, 70 members were returned by 35 boroughs with practically no electors, the right of nomination being vested in the patron; and 179 were returned by boroughs with under 200 electors. Large towns like Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds were unrepresented, while Old Sarum, which boasted a single inhabitant, who provided refreshments during the season for American visitors, sent two members to Westminster.

Apart from anomalies in the distribution of seats, the electoral system displayed every possible vice. There existed no uniform franchise, and the disputes at elections gave rise to endless litigation. Even in the seventeenth century it was estimated that one-half of Parliament's time was taken up with questions affecting disputed membership. Bribery was the order of the day. 'Money, liquor, ribbands,' said a writer; Gracchus, 'embraces, kisses, treats and promises are all current coin at an election.' The borough of

Sudbury publicly advertised itself for sale, and advertisements of this character were not uncommon in the newspapers of the period. Money was even left by will to purchase seats, and the price of a seat was said to be better known than the price of a horse.

Members holding their seats by a vicious system of corruption were scarcely likely to take a lofty view of their duties, and the radical defect of the English political system in the eighteenth century was that Parliament was not responsible to the nation. Elected by a very small section of the people, voting with closed doors, prohibiting reports of their speeches, members were, as Lord John Russell said, 'uncrowned kings.' They were not responsible to, nor—except in a crisis—were they influenced by, public opinion. It was therefore easy for Parliament to become, as it did, a prey to gross corruption. The executive, by an organized system of bribery, was able to manipulate it at will. The key to the parliamentary history of the eighteenth century lies in the enormous powers of patronage at the crown's disposal. In George I's reign no fewer than 271 members held offices under the crown, and bribes, pensions and peerages were freely distributed. Hence followed what Burke termed 'the distemper of Parliament.' Instead of the ministry following Parliament as to-day, Parliament followed the ministry and supported whatever government was in office. When the ministry was Whig, Parliament was Whig; and



JOHN WILKES

His scurrilous attack on the government in No. 45 of the *North Briton* secured the arrest of John Wilkes in 1763. Upon his release he was hailed as a champion of liberty. Caricature by James Sayers. From Turberville, 'Eighteenth Century,' O.U.P.

when the ministry was Tory, Parliament was Tory. Thus during the early years of George III's reign there were numerous changes of ministry without any general election. Paine concisely described the English political system as one of loaves and fishes. The minister who controlled the patronage of the government was always safe to secure a majority.

It is therefore only by a figure of speech that we speak of the Revolution of 1688 as establishing the supremacy of Parliament. This supremacy was really nominal, and the influence of the executive was still supreme, though now exerted by corruption through Parliament itself, not as in the seventeenth century openly in defiance of Parliament. 'You have been behind the curtain,' said Mary Wollstonecraft to Burke. 'Then you must have seen the clogged wheels of corruption continually oiled by the sweat of the laborious poor, squeezed out of them by increas-

ing taxation. You must have discovered that the majority in the House of Commons was often purchased by the crown.'

The need for parliamentary reform had been recognized under the Commonwealth, and the demand for better representation figured prominently among the instructions given by constituents to their members during the elections to the Exclusion Parliaments (1679-81). But in the first half of the eighteenth century the country seemed sunk in political apathy and to care only for material interests. In Church and State

the minds of men lay fallow. Then, in the second half, appeared signs of an awakening. The elder Pitt was the first to appeal to the nation beyond the House of Commons, and his success may be measured by the king's remark: 'You have taught me to look for the sense of my people in other places than the House of Commons.' Under the stimulus of George III's attempt at personal rule, and the shock given to the national pride by the American Revolution, political interest once more revived, and attention came to be concentrated, first and foremost, upon the defects of the parliamentary machine.

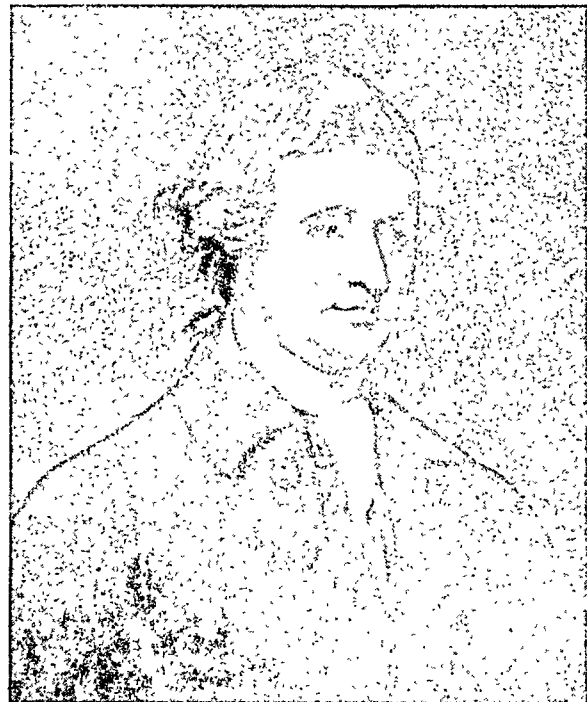
The elder Pitt stands at the head of a long line of reformers; next came John

Wilkes, whose career was so curiously interwoven with the cause of constitutional liberty. But the Whig party was not united on the question of parliamentary reform, for Burke and the Rockingham Whigs opposed organic changes in the constitution. The hopes of the reformers were therefore fixed upon the younger Pitt, and, although he was the leader of the Tory party, his earliest parliamentary efforts were directed towards reform. His proposals were defeated, but the adverse majority was brought down to twenty, a figure which was never so low again for over forty years. At the moment, however, vested interests had proved too strong. The proprietors of the rotten boroughs cried out that the time was not ripe. Was this the time for reform, they asked, when the Empire had been rent asunder by the American Revolt, when the colonists had become republicans, and when, if once the door were opened to changes, no one could prescribe their limits? Pitt lived to use the same argument himself.

Apart from the plea that the movement was inopportune, no other valid ground for opposition existed, although some went so far as to claim that the mass of the people had nothing to do with the laws except to obey them; while others contended that the people were for every efficient purpose virtually represented, since a member represented not only his

constituency but the whole country: a contention manifestly unsound, for if Manchester or Birmingham were adequately represented by the members for Old Sarum, then the whole system of representative and responsible government was clearly worthless.

In the 'eighties the reformers seemed upon the threshold of the Promised Land, but they were doomed to remain in the wilderness for nearly half a century. The explanation lies in the French Revolution, which gave an unexpected setback to the movement, and afforded the Tory party an argument for opposing all innovations in government. The immediate effect of the Revolution was to stimulate the English radicals to renewed activity and enthusiasm. They had begun to form political associations before 1789, but the movement now received an immense impetus. Some recruited their membership from the upper classes of society, others from 'mechanics, craftsmen, and petty tradesfolk.' Burke estimated the number of radicals in England at one-fifth of the adult population of any social standing. This is evidently an exaggeration; a more probable estimate is that



**APOSTLE OF CONSERVATISM**

A powerful force among the anti-reform section of the Whigs, Edmund Burke (1729-97) sought to maintain the existing constitution as modified by his Economic Reform Bill of 1782. This engraving is after a portrait by Romney



**THE PARLIAMENT THAT MET AFTER THE REFORM BILL HAD SECURED THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES**  
For many years before Lord John Russell introduced his Reform Bill, dissatisfaction prevailed throughout England at the unrepresentative character of Parliament. Large towns like Manchester, with growing industrial populations, returned no members, while numerous 'rotten' boroughs returned more than one. Such was the situation which the Reform Bill, finally passed in March, 1832, sought to relieve by its abolition of rotten boroughs and the extension of the franchise among the middle classes. Sir G. Hayter's painting represents a session of the reformed House of Commons in 1833.  
*National Portrait Gallery, London; photo, Emery Walker*

ten per cent. of the nation were enrolled in radical societies. The strongholds of radical activities were London, Norwich, and Edinburgh. Norwich, indeed, boasted of thirty different clubs, and Sheffield also figured prominently. In addition to these societies the public interest in political questions was reflected in the stream of pamphlets and broadsheets which flooded the country.

While the Radical party was thus awakening to new life, a great change was passing over the minds of the English people. The enthusiasm that marked the early days of the French Revolution melted away as the dark clouds gathered on the horizon. The governments of Europe began to see in the uprising of the French people a menace to their own stability. In England the reaction, due to the excesses of the Revolution, grew more and more intense. The execution of Louis XVI created a profound impression, and even the warmest admirers of the Revolution began to show a change of front. The dreams of those who had seen in the insurrection of the French people a movement that was to regenerate France and transform Europe faded away. Instead of a golden age, crowned with peace and tranquillity, came an age of iron, of greed of conquest, of sordid ambition. For Rousseau and the vision of nature were substituted Napoleon and a Europe in arms. It is little wonder that the rude awakening destroyed men's faith in the Revolution or even converted them into its bitter foes. We know how disillusion and despondency chilled the warm hopes of the English poets. 'I look round the world,' cried Southey, 'and everywhere find the same mournful spectacle: oppression triumphant everywhere.' The cause of English political reform was weakened by the alienation of some of its ablest supporters, and the plea that the time was not ripe for parliamentary



THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

Radical activities in England received a powerful stimulus from the news that revolution had broken out in France, and many new political societies were formed. The three cloaked conspirators in this satirical print of 1792 represent Tom Paine, author of the revolutionary *Rights of Man*, with Sheridan and Whitbread.

reform was fatal to all the efforts of the first generation of English reformers.

Meanwhile, the English government, alarmed at the progress of French opinions in Europe, soon abandoned its attitude of benevolent detachment and plunged into all the excesses of reaction. The last years of the eighteenth century were clouded with gloom for the English people. Social distress was rife, and the war with France aggravated the evils of the industrial and agricultural revolutions that were changing the face of England. The radical clubs, like the London Corresponding Society, had been broken up, and their leading spirits silenced either by transportation or by intimidation. The cause of reform seemed extinct, and the brilliant hopes which had filled the hearts of English reformers gave way to sullen apathy and despair. Reaction had triumphed, and it spared no effort to stamp out the dying embers of revolt. Yet throughout the dark days of the reaction the golden promise that had inspired the first generation of radical reformers still lingered on in men's hearts until the day came when it bore fruit. Reform was delayed for more than forty years, but when at length it made its advent, following in the wake of the French Revolution of 1830, it exhibited a force and vitality that made it irresistible. For in these forty years the industrial changes had matured, and





CARTOON OF PEEL'S CORN LAW

In the hope of solving the pressing problem of the Corn Laws, Sir Robert Peel introduced a 'sliding scale' for wheat in 1842. Under the title of A Modern Ceres his unsuccessful measure was thus satirised in *Punch* at that time.

before the cotton lords of the north the landlords of the south rapidly succumbed. In 1832 the middle classes obtained their complete enfranchisement, and a new era had dawned in the political annals of the English people.

The fight for the Reform Bill was only the first stage of the struggle between the middle classes and the aristocracy. The second stage was the fight for the repeal of the Corn Laws, in which the issue at stake was whether the industrial and commercial interests of the middle classes or the landed interests of the aristocracy should occupy the chief place in the national economy. The Corn Laws were intended to maintain the price of corn at a high level. They belonged to an age in which the wealth of England lay in her fields and the mass of the population followed the plough: an age in which the encouragement of tillage, even if at the expense of the urban population, might be considered defensible. But in the nineteenth century the centre of economic gravity had changed. The wealth of England now lay in her factories and workshops; and the artisan and

the trader became the typical figures of English life. In the altered economic circumstances the retention of the Corn Laws would have meant that the middle classes enjoyed the semblance, not the substance, of political power.

The struggle over the Corn Laws was a memorable one. The landlords showed themselves determined to resist the attack upon the last stronghold in which they were now entrenched. The founders of the Anti-Corn-Law League were told that they would find it as easy to overturn the monarchy as to repeal the Corn Laws, and the prime minister, Lord Melbourne, declared that the proposal for repeal was the most insane proposition that ever entered a human head. But the assailants of the Corn Laws under the leadership of Richard Cobden and John Bright showed an even greater determination. The League sent missionaries throughout the length and breadth of the land; large sums of money were collected; millions of tracts were distributed; hundreds of meetings were held in town and country. And in 1846 their efforts were crowned with victory. In repealing the Corn Laws, Peel said :

It may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by a sense of injustice.

The repeal of the Corn Laws was an unmistakable symptom that the middle classes had established their ascendancy in the state. Not, indeed, that the landed interest had lost its power to sting. The landlords had their revenge for the Corn Laws by passing the Ten Hours Act of 1847 on behalf of the operatives in the factories.

The triumph of the middle classes in 1832 had not been achieved unaided. In the fight for the Reform Bill they had the co-operation of the mass of the working classes. Political unions were formed which combined both sections of the community in one association. The support of the working men was given in the



expectation that the Reform Bill would be a 'stepping stone' to their own political rights. This, however, was not the intention of the Whig party, and Lord John Russell, their spokesman, declared that 'both those who supported and those who opposed the Reform Bill were alike determined to go no farther, but to use their best endeavours to preserve the renovated constitution entire and unimpaired.' The determination to treat the bill as a final measure, and not as an instalment, shattered the alliance between the middle and the working classes. In the eyes of the latter the Reform Act had only effected a transfer of power from one domineering faction to another; and out of their disillusionment sprang the Chartist movement, in which working men for the first time challenged the newly won political ascendancy of the middle classes.

Chartism was an expression of working-class consciousness: it was the first political labour movement. Francis Place, one of the shrewdest politicians of his generation, correctly gauged the significance of Chartism when he wrote in 1838:

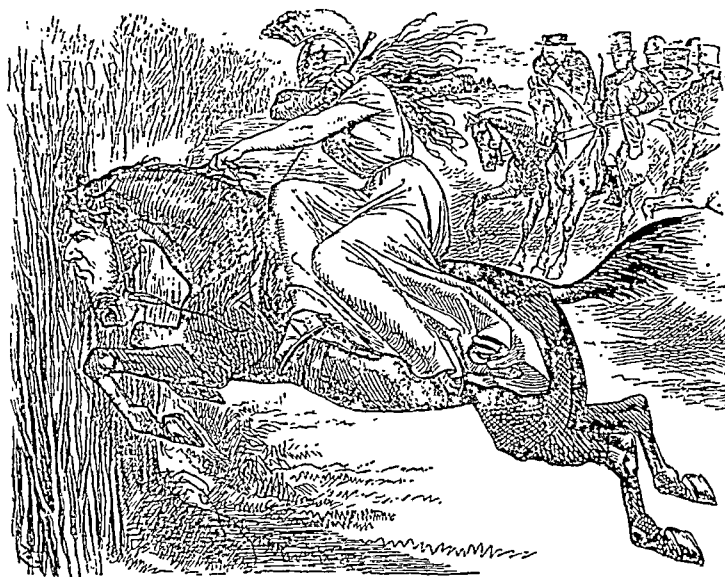
This is a new feature in society produced by the increased intelligence of the working people. This is the first time that the desire for reform has been moved by them and carried upwards. Until now it has always proceeded downwards, and expired when abandoned, as it always has been, by their gentleman leaders. It will not again expire, but will go on continually, sometimes with more, sometimes with less, rapidity, but on it will go.

In the 'thirties and 'forties working men had become completely estranged from the middle classes. They were resolved to stand alone and fight their own battles. Chartism was thus essentially a class struggle, inspired by the consciousness of class interests, and seeking the realization of its aims independently without the co-operation of other sections of the community. This is the broad historical significance of the Chartist movement, and from this point of view it was a movement born out of time. The course of events was to demonstrate that the workers lacked political sobriety, training and discipline, that they lacked experienced and level-headed leaders, and, above

all, that they lacked a stable and coherent organization: all of which gave to the modern labour movement its strength and solidity.

The charter itself was a political document. Its famous 'Six Points' were all political: manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, voting by ballot, annual parliaments, abolition of the property qualification for parliament, and payment of members. The most important was manhood suffrage. In Chartist writings it was emphasised that out of six million males above the age of twenty-one years of age the number of electors barely exceeded 300,000, of whom 151,000 actually returned a majority of members of Parliament. And they asked whether the landowner, 'whose interests lead him to keep up his rents by unjust and exclusive laws,' or the manufacturer and capitalist, 'whose exclusive monopoly of the combined powers of wood, iron and steam enables them to cause the destitution of thousands, and who have an interest in forcing labour down to the minimum reward, were fit to represent the interests of working men?' On this ground the Chartists rested their demand for equal political rights, in order, they said, 'that they may send their own representatives from the ranks of those who live by labour into the Commons House, to deliberate and determine, along with all other interests, that the interests of the labouring classes—of those who are the foundation of the social edifice—shall not be sacrificed.'

Nevertheless, the driving force behind the Chartist movement was not political but social. What gave to Chartism its stern reality and even brought England to the verge of revolution was not a sense of political grievances, but of social grievances. These were the root cause of the political unrest. Chartism was not in its essence a political challenge thrown down to the middle classes, but, as one of its most prominent leaders declared, it was 'a knife and fork question.' The social aspirations of Chartism served to distinguish it from other political movements, a fact which was recognized by friends and foes alike.



BRITANNIA'S 'LEAP IN THE DARK'

Lord Derby, head of the government that passed the Reform Bill in 1867, himself referred to this measure enfranchising the artisans in towns as a 'leap in the dark.' Punch's cartoon represents Lord Derby as a horse, galloping into the thicket of reform, while Britannia shields her eyes.

Indeed, it was the consciousness of the ulterior aims of the Chartist movement that inspired the resistance to it. It was the fear of what lay behind the Charter that caused overpowering apprehension in the minds of the middle classes. Macaulay, whose speech in opposition to the Charter was an outstanding feature of the famous debate of 1842, when the National Petition was rejected, affirmed that he was in agreement or partial agreement with five out of the six points of the Charter, but he was diametrically opposed to manhood suffrage, because he thought that it would imperil the security of property. This explains the paradox of Chartism, namely, that the demands of the Charter began to be conceded as soon as the Chartist movement itself was extinct. Once the dread of a social revolution was removed, the opposition to political changes died away; and when in 1867 the working men in towns were enfranchised, the 'leap in the dark' excited but little apprehension.

The Chartist Movement expired in 1848. Its final episode is also its best known. In anticipation of a great Chartist demonstration in support of the Third National Petition, for which six million signatures were claimed, 170,000 special constables had been enrolled, among them William Gladstone and Louis Napoleon,

the future emperor of the French people; but the rain came on, the demonstration dispersed quietly, and the monster petition was bundled off to Westminster in three cabs, to be received by Parliament with shouts of laughter. An examination of the signatures revealed that the number was less than two millions, and they included such names as 'Victoria rex April 1st,' Prince Albert, Sir Robert Peel, and the duke of Wellington, who was represented as recording his signature seventeen times. It was an unworthy ending of a great movement which had inspired some of the best minds among the English working class. None the less it was not ridicule that killed Chartism. The

causes of failure were more fundamental, and a study of them will enable us to understand why the middle classes remained throughout the nineteenth century securely enthroned in their seat of political power.

In the first place working men were not united in their attack upon the middle classes. They differed among themselves as to their ulterior aims. They were agreed on the political platform: they were hopelessly divided on the social platform. The mood of the Chartist masses is perhaps best reflected in the utterances of Stephens, the most vehement of the Chartist orators:

If any man should ask me what I mean by universal suffrage I should reply—that every working man in the land has the right to have a good coat on his back, a good roof over his head, a good dinner upon his table, no more work than is necessary to keep him in good health, and as much wages for his work as would keep him in plenty, and afford him the enjoyment of all the blessings of life which a reasonable man could desire.

This interpretation of the suffrage movement doubtless expressed the attitude of the rank and file to whom Chartism was essentially 'a knife and fork question'; but it gave no indication of the concrete remedies which were necessary to make a reality of an exemplary but vague ideal. Nevertheless some of the Chartist leaders did commit themselves

to definite proposals. In the ferment of ideas two main schools of thought emerged. The first, under the leadership of Feargus O'Connor, was reactionary: its cry was 'back to the land.' It represented a protest against the new industrialism which had created the factory system and concentrated large masses of population amidst unhealthy surroundings. The second accepted as inevitable the industrialisation of England and did not seek to divert the economic current. Men like William Lovett saw the salvation of the working classes not in a return to an idealised past, but in co-operation and above all in the education and moral uplifting of the masses.

The disunion among the Chartists extended to methods as well as to aims. There was a 'moral force' party which sought to pursue the path of peaceful and constitutional agitation. There was a 'physical force' party which talked of armed insurrection, and was actually responsible for serious outbreaks in Wales and the north. The movement was also distracted by personal feuds and by the inability of its leaders to subordinate their personal opinions and ambitions to the common cause.

Apart from the diversity of aims, methods and leadership, there was a fatal disunion in the ranks of labour itself. The north and the south appeared, in an industrial sense, two different worlds. The workmen of the south, and more particularly London, represented the old craft traditions. They were skilled artisans, organized in strong trade unions, which had maintained their privilege of exclusive membership and successfully resisted social degradation. Their higher standard of life and experience of organized agitation, coupled with unique opportunities for instruction and discussion, gave them a superior character that stamped them as a kind of aristocracy of labour. In the north, on the other hand, a vast population had sprung into existence, created by the new industrialism, and its turbulent and untamed character was the inevitable product of the evil forces which shaped it. Uneducated, brutalised by excessive hours of toil, living amidst appalling insanitary conditions and maddened by a sense of injustice at the tyranny of the economic system, the miners and famished weavers of the north presented a seething mass of inflammable material which only needed



**A MOVEMENT THAT FAILED: CHARTISM IN 1848**

In 1848 revolutionary movements on the Continent encouraged the Chartists, led by Ernest Jones and Feargus O'Connor, to fresh agitations for their six points of reform. A proposed procession to Westminster with their 'monster petition' was forbidden, and this sketch, made near Blackfriars Bridge, represents a section of the crowd that attended the great Chartist meeting on Kennington Common. Bogus signatures discredited the petition and the movement ended in ignominy.

*'Illustrated London News,' 1848*

the spark of fiery eloquence to set it ablaze. These were the men who made pikes, and learnt to drill, and attended torch-light processions, and awaited eagerly the call to arms.

This was the 'condition of England' in the opening decades of the nineteenth century; but in the 'fifties and 'sixties the economic and social landscape was transformed. The country entered upon an era of great prosperity, which was due, among other factors, to the development of the railway system, the adoption of free trade and the increased output of gold. The evidence of material progress is unmistakable. It is revealed in the growth of foreign trade abroad and in the erection of new factories at home, in the reduced number of bankruptcies, in the prosperous state of the national revenue, in the falling off in emigration, in the increase in the number of marriages and the decrease in the amount of the poor rate. All these things pointed to an improvement in the condition of the manufacturing population. This outburst of prosperity was fatal to Chartism, which had attracted the attention of the masses

not on account of its political aspirations, but because it expressed their social discontent. Material progress now destroyed its hold upon the people. Labour ceased to be an insurgent force, full of revolutionary fervour, inflamed with a passionate sense of injustice and economic wrong. Instead it became the ally, or rather the handmaid, of Liberal-

ism; and its feet were trained to walk in constitutional paths. After

**Alliance of Labour  
and Liberalism**

the collapse of Chartism the working classes abandoned for half a century the attempt to constitute themselves a separate political party, and were content, until the rise of a political labour party, to accept the middle classes as their leaders and monitors.

Chartism, however, was not fruitless. It taught the middle classes a lesson which they have never forgotten, though their sensitiveness to its teachings has been more pronounced at some periods than at others. At the time when they established their political ascendancy in the state they were in the grip of an economic philosophy which saw the salvation of mankind in a policy of *laissez-faire*. Under the influence of the 'dismal science,' as interpreted by those who professed, not always with authority, to speak in the sacred name of political economy, they showed a marked reluctance to make concessions to labour, partly at any rate from a genuine conviction that the economic maladies of society were outside the province of the state. The difficulty of securing factory reform confirmed working men in their belief that the middle classes were their enemies. 'If we go on at this rate,' exclaimed Robert Owen, 'centuries will elapse before any decisive measures will be taken to better the condition of the productive classes.' The Chartists complained bitterly of Parliament's neglect:

While our social evils have repeatedly been brought before you, you—whose duty it was to provide a remedy—have looked carelessly on, or have been intent only on your interests or your pleasures. Your own commissioners have reported to you that thousands of infant children are doomed to slavery and ignorance in our mines and factories, while their wretched parents are wanting labour and needing bread.



**THOMAS CARLYLE**

One of the greatest literary forces of his age, Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) denounced the governmental apathy towards the social abuses that flourished in the nineteenth century. Sir J. E. Millais painted this portrait of him.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

And Carlyle wrote in a similar strain :

Read Hansard's debates, or the morning papers, if you have nothing to do ! The old grand question whether A is to be in office or B, Canada question, Irish Appropriation question, West India question, Queen's Bench-chamber question, Game Laws, Usury Laws, Smithfield cattle, and Dog-carts—all manner of questions and subjects, except this, the Condition of England question, the alpha and omega of all !

While Carlyle, writing in 1839, thus denounced the legislature for its indifference to social questions, within a few years—largely as a result of the Chartist agitation—a new spirit revealed itself in Parliament. 'With every session of Parliament,' wrote Engels in 1844, 'the working class gains ground and, in spite of the fact that the middle class is the chief, in fact, the only power in Parliament, the last session of 1844 was a continuous debate upon subjects affecting the working class, the Poor Relief Bill, the Factory Act, the Masters and Servants Act.'

Three great remedial measures in the 'forties did much to alleviate popular discontent: the prohibition of women and child labour in the mines, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the Ten Hours Act of 1847. And from the 'forties onwards there has been a continuous stream of social legislation, designed to raise the condition of the mass of the people. The middle classes of Great Britain may therefore claim that, whatever the errors and limitations of their stewardship, they have not been entirely unmindful of the welfare of those whose interests were committed by the Reform Act of 1832 to their charge.

On the Continent, as we began by indicating, the history of the middle classes ran a different course. In the eighteenth century Continental society comprised four main elements, whom an old French historian described as the landowner who commanded, the peasant who obeyed, the soldier who fought, and the priest who prayed. The English traveller, accustomed in his own country to greater gradations of wealth and rank, was struck by the extremes of poverty and wealth which he found abroad: he seemed to pass at once from beggary to profusion. The gulf

between rich and poor appeared absolute, whereas in England it was bridged over by intermediate classes. One partial exception must be noticed. The commercial development of France had created the nucleus of a middle class, to whose leadership was largely due the success of the French Revolution.

The Revolution broke out in France not because the economic abuses were greater there than elsewhere in Europe, but owing to the growth of an enlightened middle class animated by a strong passion for social equality, whose discontent with the existing

Middle-class Power  
in France.

regime had been fostered by the writings of the 'philosophes' (see Chapter 155). Saturated with liberal ideas, and drawing inspiration from the American Revolution, which they had actively encouraged, the bourgeoisie assumed the leadership in the attack on the old order. They succeeded in shattering it, but their own advent to political power was postponed, first by the rise of Napoleon, then by the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. Their opportunity came with the Revolution of 1830. They wrested the fruits of victory out of the hands of the populace, and set up the Orléans monarchy in order to establish their position in the community as the governing class. They alone enjoyed the exercise of political rights, since the franchise was limited to those who paid two hundred francs a year in taxes, and a seat in Parliament to those who paid five hundred francs. Hence they were able to determine the composition of the Chambers, and it was with their aid that Louis Philippe reigned from 1830 to 1848.

The bourgeois monarchy sought to steer its way midway between reaction and revolution; and its policy was based on timid 'resistance' to all political innovations. It imposed an unpopular peace upon a nation in love with glory, while its conduct of internal affairs equally failed to conciliate public opinion. The pillars of the monarchy were the middle classes. Their authority rested on a legal basis—the franchise—but they enjoyed no moral or intellectual ascendancy over the rest of the community, and they possessed no historical claims to be the

governing class—claims which might have reconciled France to their pretensions. On the other hand, as the representatives of wealth and material power they excited the animosity of those in whose eyes the existing social and economic order was based upon injustice.

Thus the support of the bourgeoisie was in the long run a source of weakness rather than of strength, and Louis Philippe committed a fatal mistake in standing aloof from the progressive elements in the country, and identifying himself with a parliamentary majority whose political preponderance was illusory since it was not truly representative.

The short-lived ascendancy of the bourgeoisie in the government of France was destroyed by the Revolution of 1848, which was directed primarily against middle-class government. The

institution of manhood suffrage transferred political power from the middle classes to the community at large, and the Revolution thus constituted an epoch in the history of political democracy. It was also an epoch in the history of economic democracy, because it witnessed a remarkable, though tentative, experiment in socialism.

The populace of Paris had not overturned the government of the middle classes for political reasons alone. The watchword of the Revolution was 'the right to work.' Its promoters contemplated a form of industrial syndicalism in which production was to be organized on the basis of self-governing workshops which appointed their own officials and were linked up with other industrial groups. But instead of the co-operative workshops advocated by Louis Blanc, which the state was to furnish with the preliminary capital, while leaving the control of the industry in the hands of the workmen themselves, the government

established national workshops in which a motley crowd of workmen were assembled without any useful work to do. The situation rapidly became a menace to the public order and the workshops were abolished. The disappointed hopes of the labouring classes provoked them into armed insurrection, and a sanguinary conflict took place which ended the dream of a social democracy. Then followed the Second Empire in which all classes were stripped of political rights, which they did not succeed in recovering completely until the foundation of the Third Republic in 1870.

In Germany a vigorous town life had flourished in the Middle Ages, and the Hanseatic League (see Chap. 119) was the most powerful commercial force in northern Europe. But in modern times the development

of a German middle class was arrested by a combination of circumstances. The ravages of the Thirty Years' War left permanent traces upon the country, and retarded its economic development for two centuries. Moreover Germany was the most divided country in Europe. It comprised, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, over two hundred states, and the effect on the trade of Germany may be gauged from the fact that on one German river a cargo paid toll thirty-three times. Down to 1850 industry was still organized on primitive lines. The guild system, with its network of restrictions, still held its ground, and machinery had made but little progress. In the 'fifties and 'sixties, however, Germany began to make headway. The Zollverein, or customs union, widened the market for Germany by removing fiscal barriers, and the railways afforded invaluable facilities for the transport of commodities like coal and iron. When, in 1871, Germany became a national state,



LOUIS BLANC

His insistence on the 'right to work' with its accompanying scheme for self-governing workshops won wide popularity for the French socialistic writer, Louis Blanc (1813-82).

From Flathé, 'Der Restauration und Revolution'



the enthusiasm awakened in her people seemed to endow them with some of the qualities of youth. The energy of the nation was revealed in the remarkable expansion of industry and commerce.

During the closing decades of the nineteenth century the German middle class assumed a modern aspect. It became primarily an employing and directing class, sharply differentiated from the working class, whose consciousness of separate economic interests found ex-

pression in the formation of trade unions. While it resembles in its capitalist functions the English middle class, it differs from it in the more thorough mental training which it receives. The German system of education, though not without its limitations, has broadened the intellectual horizon of the German middle class, and made it less stereotyped, more responsive to new ideas, more willing to apply scientific knowledge both to methods of production and to the marketing of goods. On the other hand its social status was inferior, and its political development was more backward, down to the end of the Great War. The former was due to the ascendancy of military traditions; and, as regards the latter, although it enjoyed the franchise its influence in the Reichstag was rendered largely negligible by the fact that German ministers were not responsible to Parliament. It was not until the foundation of the German Republic that the principle of ministerial responsibility was established. But by this time its claim to political power was contested by the working class, which is equally well organized, while numerically it is far superior. The ultimate issue of the struggle lies in the future.

The rise of a middle class in Russia dates from the closing years of the nineteenth century, when the unprecedented growth of industry called into existence a class of manufacturers to reinforce a

rapidly expanding professional class. This development was due to several factors. The emancipation of the serfs made available an abundant supply of cheap labour; the creation of railways opened up means of communication, and increased the facilities of transport; and the influx of capital from abroad furnished the necessary resources for large industrial enterprises. The result was stupendous: an immense stimulus was given to the cotton and mineral industries, and the factory system grew by leaps and bounds. On the eve of the Great War Russia contained over three million factory workers, minor industries apart; and among the industrial nations of the world she was said to rank fifth.

The advent of industrialism in Russia was an event which ranks in importance second only to the emancipation of the serfs. So long as Russia continued in the agricultural stage the autocracy remained unassailable. In the early years of the nineteenth century a reform movement had been sponsored by a handful of patriots recruited from the ranks of the nobility, but they were (as a contemporary writer observed) 'a generation without fathers and sons,' and they shared the fate of all pioneers who live in advance of their age. Nor was Nihilism, which began in the 'sixties, more successful in its attack upon the autocracy, since it failed



NIHILIST CONSPIRATORS ON THE SCAFFOLD

The wretched condition of the masses in Russia gave birth to a species of revolutionary socialism known, after 1862, as Nihilism. The violent nature of the movement compelled the government to take drastic action, and numbers of Nihilists were arrested in 1877-78, and condemned to death.



to enlist the support of the masses. Experience showed that the Russian peasantry was not ripe for political propaganda, and the reform movement remained throughout the nineteenth century a movement which had leaders but no followers. But the growth of the capitalist system transformed the political situation. It created a middle class and an industrial proletariat, and the one was no less incompatible with the maintenance of an arbitrary and autocratic regime than the other. Once Russia had passed into the stage of capitalism, and fallen into line with Western civilization, her methods of government, however suitable for a peasant Empire, became a hopeless anachronism.

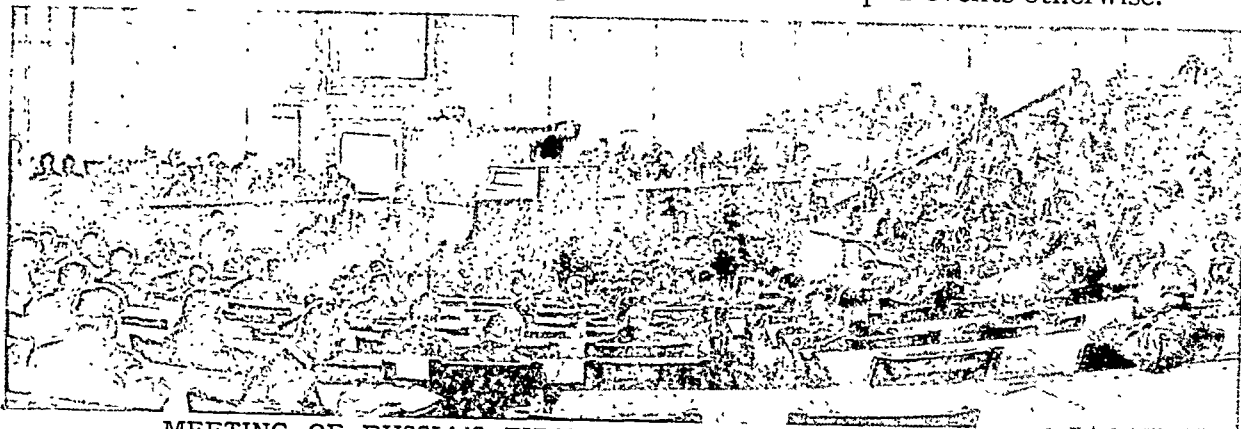
The new economic situation soon made itself felt. The centre of political gravity shifted from the landed to the industrial interests, and the field for revolutionary propaganda was transferred from the villages to the towns. The Japanese War (1904) brought matters to a head. The war was unpopular with the nation, and the incapacity with which it was carried on completed the disillusion of the Russian people and opened their eyes to the gross defects of the bureaucratic regime. The government was utterly discredited and the professional classes seized the opportunity to present their demands in the form of the 'Eleven Points,' which included inviolability of person and domicile; freedom of conscience, of speech and of the press, with the right of holding public meetings and forming associations; and an assembly of freely elected repre-

sentatives who should participate in legislation and control the executive.

Hitherto the reform movement had been confined mainly to the middle classes, but now it was joined by the industrial proletariat. On 'Red Sunday,' January 22, 1905, a great procession of strikers was organized for the purpose of presenting to the tsar a petition that expressed political as well as industrial grievances. The demonstration failed to achieve its purpose, the troops firing upon the dense crowds; but it was a tangible sign of the political awakening of the working classes, whose entrance into the reform movement gave it a broad democratic basis and enlarged its prospects of success. Public opinion was stirred to its depths, and to calm the public agitation the emperor issued the October Manifesto (1905), which conceded the demands of the 'Eleven Points.'

Russia's first  
Parliament

The first Russian Parliament, known as 'the Duma of the national indignation,' met in May, 1906, and a new chapter opened in the history of Russia. If the government had loyally co-operated with the Duma and carried out the promises contained in the October Manifesto, it is at least possible that the autocracy would have survived in the form of a constitutional monarchy with political power vested in the middle classes, while free parliamentary institutions would have provided a training ground for the representatives of labour. But the destiny of Russia has shaped events otherwise.



MEETING OF RUSSIA'S FIRST PARLIAMENT IN MAY, 1906

In 1905 Liberals and revolutionists in Russia combined in a movement that threatened the autocratic regime. The government issued a Manifesto in October, 1905, promising various political reforms, but disturbances still continued. Finally, in May, 1906, the tsar convoked the first Duma, or national parliament. This body was antagonistic to the government, and in its desire to secure executive functions failed to exercise its legislative powers. It was dissolved in July, 1906.

## INDIA UNDER WESTERN RULE

How the only modern Counterpart of the  
Roman Empire was built up and administered

By ARTHUR D. INNES

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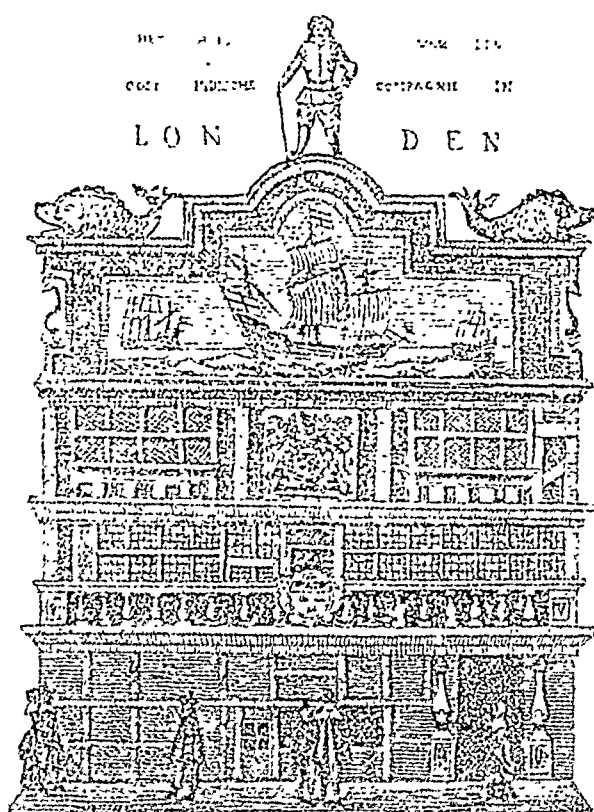
THE old popular idea, derived from the picturesque rhetoric of Macaulay, that Robert Clive with a handful of Englishmen conquered India and shattered a mighty empire is remote from the actual facts. The Mogul Empire was already nothing more than a legal fiction when Clive arrived in India to start a career as a clerk in the offices of the East India Company. The East India Company never made war on the Mogul. It fought the French Company which was endeavouring to eject it from Indian soil. It took sides, because the French Company had first taken sides, in a struggle between rival candidates for the vice-royalty of the Deccan and the governorship of the Carnatic; and by the time that the French were wiped off the board it had taught the Nizam of Hyderabad and the nawab of the Carnatic that its alliance was worth having. But when that stage was reached it had also come into direct conflict with another Indian nawab who had deliberately attacked its long legalised establishment on the Hugli (Hooghli).

Clive had gone to Bengal not with any intention of conquering the province and setting up British rule therein, but to enforce compensation and security against any repetition of the outrage of which the nawab of Bengal had been guilty (see page 389); and when the nawab fell he found himself morally responsible for the preservation of law and order in that province, which would otherwise have become the scene of unspeakable anarchy. But his power, if indisputable, rested not on law but on personal prestige. He got it legalised through the official appointment of the Company as the Diwan or financial administrator of the province by the technically supreme authority, the Mogul

at Delhi; and the appointment to the Diwani was the beginning of the British rule in India—a rule which did not then extend beyond Bengal and Bihar.

The Company then had made itself responsible for the administration of Bengal; but the Company's officers had at the outset little enough sense of that responsibility. They found themselves, like the proconsuls and praetors of the Roman Republic, in a position of practical power from which they could derive immense personal wealth, with no one to say them nay. It is not surprising that many of them misused that power at the outset; from the Indians' point of view it was a matter of course that they should do so, in accordance with the all but universal practice of native officials. Nevertheless, within a very few years that sense of moral responsibility began to prevail; and it prevailed completely when the Company learned to pay its servants on a scale which ensured to them wealth sufficient to reward them for their services under conditions which, until that was done, made the temptation to illegitimate methods of supplementing their pay almost irresistible.

That time, however, did not immediately arrive. When Clive left India for the third and last time, he had reduced abuses, legalised the Company's position, established friendly relations with the Delhi government and with the wazir of Oudh, the great province on the Ganges between Bengal and Delhi, and with the eastern division of the Marathas at Nagpore, and had laid down the principles which should govern the relations between the British and the country powers; but he had not



THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE

Chartered in 1600, the Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies for many years had their headquarters in Leadenhall Street, from 1648 to 1726 occupying this house with its appropriately decorated façade.

From William Briggs, 'Relics of the East India Company'

worked out a system of administration. He left the government of Bengal in the hands of a small council appointed by the India House (the headquarters of the East India Company in London); he left an army of some three thousand Europeans and a proportionate number of sepoy regiments in the Company's service; but the administration of justice and the collection of revenue—the two main functions of the government—were mainly in the hands of Indian officials under very inadequate European supervision, and with no tradition anywhere of a standard of public service.

In effect, the business of organizing rule was begun by Warren Hastings on his appointment, fifteen years after Clive's victory at Plassey, to the governorship of Bengal, extended two years later into a general governorship to which the other two presidencies of Madras and Bombay owed, but were seldom disposed to yield, obedience. The years of his governorship witnessed the first experimental effort of

the British government at Westminster to recognize its own responsibility, a national responsibility, for the rulership of its own subjects within an empire where it had itself no jurisdiction. The main effect of that attempt was to show how the thing ought not to be done. In spite, however, of North's Regulating Acts (1773) and of the fact that the India House was blind to the difficulties with which Hastings was faced, that great man successfully laid the foundations upon which the Pax Britannica was gradually built up by his successors.

It is not easy to realize the actual position. India, nominally owning the sway of one emperor, was in fact divided among a number of independent princes, some Mahomedans, others Hindus. The Mahomedans were officially the Mogul's viceroys, appointed by him and having no hereditary title in law but a vague claim to hereditary succession in practice. Such **Diverse powers** were the Nizam of Hyderabad **owning India** and Bengal and of the Carnatic and the wazir of Oudh. Minor Hindu princes, generally Rajputs, were hereditary chiefs whose dynasties dated back to pre-Mahomedan times; commonly entitled raja or maharaja (the superior dignity). The Marathas, however, formed a distinctive group. Technically their hereditary head was the prince of Sattara; the recognized head, however, was his hereditary chief minister or mayor of the palace, the peshwa of Poona, who ranked above the other four Maratha princes, Scindia, Bhonsla, Holkar and Gaekwar. They encircled the Nizam's dominions on the west, north-west and north. In the basin of the Indus there were as yet no powerful potentates; but in the south, at the time when Warren Hastings became governor, the Hindu principality of Mysore had fallen under the sway of a very able Mahomedan military adventurer, Haider (Hyder) Ali, who had extended his sultanate considerably beyond the principality of Mysore proper. By the acquisition of Bengal, the British had taken among these powers the place of the Bengal nawab.

Hastings, as well as the home authorities, had inherited Clive's conviction that

sound policy demanded consolidation but not expansion. He made no conquests. The Rohilla war (1774), of which Macaulay makes so much, was undertaken for two reasons. There was, or seemed to be, a serious danger that the Rohillas would unite with the Marathas to crush Oudh, and if they crushed Oudh the next move would be against Bengal. The wazir appealed to Hastings, who at the time was governor of Bengal but not yet governor-general; and Hastings, desperately in need of revenue, in effect lent him troops for a consideration, which was very advantageous to the Company—and also left behind it the lesson that wherever British troops were employed British standards of what is legitimate in warfare must be rigidly maintained, as they were not in that particular case. The Maratha war when he was governor-general was forced upon him by the misdirected and unauthorised activities of the Bombay government. For the Mysore war responsibility was divided between the blunders at Madras and the aggressive proclivities of Haider Ali.

The Maratha prince, Mahdoji Scindia, admirably exemplifies the attitude of the shrewdest native rulers.

Attitude of the Some of the British, he observed, were fools; others were not. If the latter

held control it was very bad business to quarrel with them; if the former, they might be safely and profitably attacked, since they were the most serious obstacle in the way of Maratha ambitions. The Madras and Bombay governments obviously belonged to this category; Hastings was another matter. With Hastings in control, the British must be conciliated; Hastings being removed, his successors must be judiciously tested; and even when he was governor-general it by no means followed that he was in control. Therefore the astute Maratha was always equally ready to act or seem to act against the British or to pose as their sincere well-wisher, as circumstances might direct. But when at last Hastings was freed from the control of a council which made a point of wrecking his policy, Scindia assumed the friendly rôle, so that the Marathas were divided.

The menace, however, became even more serious when Haider Ali, long reluctant to challenge the British, made up his mind that they must go. They were entangled in the Maratha war and in a war with the French as allies of the Americans; they had no friends, since they had so frightened the Nizam that he wanted to be rid of them, fearing them—for the moment—more than he feared either the Marathas or Haider Ali himself, though never quite sure which of the three he feared most. Haider poured the mighty army he had built up into the Carnatic, overwhelmed the British detachments with which the Madras government hurriedly endeavoured to stem his course, and ravaged the whole country up to the walls of Madras itself. His victorious progress so alarmed the Marathas and the Nizam that they became eager to compound their quarrels with the British and to turn on the conqueror; but a French squadron appeared in the Indian waters and proved itself more than a match for the British squadron, though by this time Eyre Coote, the old hero of Wandewash, was proving himself still invincible whenever he could force an engagement upon Haider.



GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE

Sir Eyre Coote (1726–83) went to India in 1754 and in 1779 became commander in chief. His victory at Wandewash, in 1760, destroyed the French dominion in India, and in 1781 he routed Haider Ali at Porto Novo.

National Portrait Gallery, London

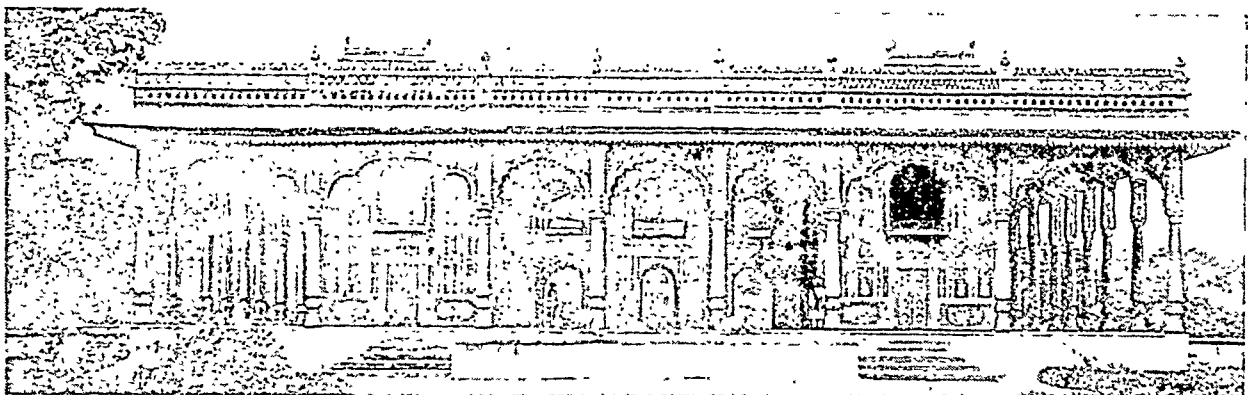
It seemed more than probable that the victory would go against the British, when both the old warriors died, and Haider was succeeded by his equally ambitious but much less able son Tippu Sultan (Tippoo Sahib); and on the top of that change came the Peace of Versailles and the consequent withdrawal of the French.

Tippu was not crushed, because the Madras authorities elected to make peace with him on their own account on terms which he could hardly help regarding as an admission of defeat on their part. Mysore remained a menace for some time; but after Haider Ali's death the British never again had to fight an Indian captain whose ultimate defeat was not a foregone conclusion. And Haider himself knew that even he could not wipe them out: 'Though I conquer the land—who can conquer the sea?'

It was the successive attempts to drive the British out that forced them, for self-preservation, to assert, establish and enforce a continually extending supremacy, and to realize that no Indian potentate regarded himself as having been beaten unless loss of territory followed defeat. But one fact the struggle of those years made manifest to every potentate: the British might blunder into the tightest of corners, but when annihilation seemed imminent they had a surprising way of suddenly reversing the situation and snatching victory out of apparent defeat.

The home authorities impeached Warren Hastings, who, after a trial protracted through seven years, was acquitted on every count of the indictment. But for them also one fact definitely emerged. There must be in India a governor-general with absolute authority and a free hand to take on his own responsibility such action as he deemed necessary to the security of the position; and they had the wisdom not only to formulate a constitution of sufficient elasticity but to appoint as successor to Hastings a man who already enjoyed deservedly such a measure of public confidence both as statesman and as soldier, and such immunity from rancorous personal hostility, as made him the fittest possible person to be entrusted with the inauguration of the new system, Lord Cornwallis.

The main task of the new governor-general was the reorganization of the system of administration in the provinces that were under direct British rule—an area which he had no sort of desire to extend. Tippu, whatever his ultimate intentions might be, was not immediately threatening a fresh challenge to the British, nor had the Marathas—and still less the Nizam—any disposition to do so, at least until they could see much better prospects of success than were promised by the character of Cornwallis. War was the last thing Cornwallis himself desired, till it was forced upon him by Tippu's aggressions, which were also alarming both to the Marathas and the Nizam, at whose expense both



PLEASURE PALACE OF TIPPU SULTAN AT SERINGAPATAM

All the glory has departed from Seringapatam, which is now but a place of mean streets dominated by the tombs of Haider Ali and his son, Tippu's mosque and the ruins of the Deria Daulat Palace. Once the town was the favourite residence of the last of the independent sultans of Mysore, and he lost his life while fighting in its defence. The palace, seen above, is an imitation of the Mogul style of architecture, based especially upon the plan of the Taj Mahal.

Photo, E.N.A.

he and his father had made considerable additions to the Mysore sultanate.

Cornwallis found himself under a forgotten treaty obligation to maintain the Nizam's authority in certain districts of which he had been robbed by Haider. The Nizam, pressed to fulfil certain treaty obligations of his own, retorted by claiming British aid in the recovery of the lost provinces. Tippu, anticipating hostile action by the British, the Marathas and the Nizam in combination, attacked the principality of Travancore, which was under British protection. The result was the second Mysore war (1790-92), in which Tippu was defeated, not without difficulty, by Cornwallis, who was hampered more than assisted by his nominal allies. Tippu was compelled to surrender a considerable amount of the territory annexed by his father or by himself; the Marathas and the Nizam receiving equal shares with the British in strict accordance with the terms of the alliance, in spite of the proved fact that both of them had been in secret correspondence with the common enemy and neither of them had rendered any practical assistance in the campaigns.

Next year the great war with the French Republic broke out, Cornwallis was recalled, and the governorship passed into

the weaker hands of  
**French intrigues** Sir John Shore (Lord  
**with Native Princes** Teignmouth) Though  
 France had in India  
 no military foothold, but only commercial  
 'factories,' French agents were soon at  
 work among the Indian princes who were  
 entrusting the organization of their forces  
 to French soldiers and reviving their hopes  
 of turning successfully upon the British.  
 Those hopes were rudely shattered when  
 Richard Wellesley, Lord Mornington,  
 arrived in 1798 to take the place of the  
 inactive and timorous Teignmouth.

At the moment of his arrival the new governor-general was faced with definite proofs of collusion between France and Mysore, while not only had Tippu himself French officers in his employment, but both the Nizam and Scindia had large forces organized under French commanders. He found also a prevailing conviction that beyond the north-western passes Zeman Shah at Kabul wielded a



MARQUESS WELLESLEY, K.G.

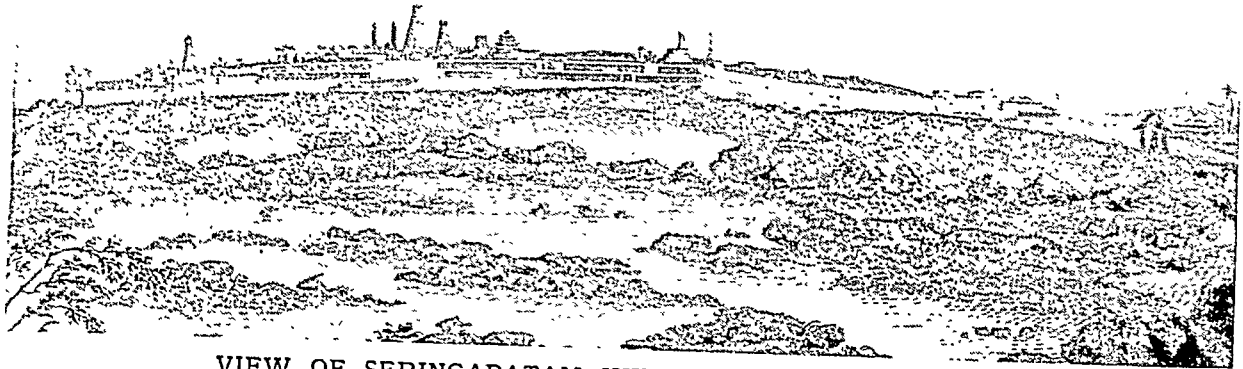
Richard Colley Wellesley (1760-1842) succeeded to the earldom of Mornington in 1781, and in 1798 went to India as governor-general, where he enhanced British prestige. He received his marquise in 1799. Painting by J. Pain Davis.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

tremendous Mahomedan power, which he was about to hurl upon northern India in collusion with the fanatically Moslem sultan of Mysore in the south. The Moslem Nizam might not improbably seek salvation in joining forces with them, while the Marathas were too much occupied with internal rivalries and factions to be a calculable factor in the situation. As matters stood it was imperative that the British, if they were to hold their own at all, must do more: they must become predominant.

What Mornington saw as a necessity was that the country powers must be precluded in the first place from forming alliances with France; secondly, from forming anti-British military leagues between themselves; and thirdly, from having at their individual disposal military forces which were a menace to the security of their neighbours. The Nizam was not unwilling to resume his old allegiance when he saw that the British were ready and determined to assert their power as protectors. Tippu was another matter. Mornington tried—though with no expectation of success—to persuade him to agree to terms similar to those accepted by the Nizam; terms which meant a practical





VIEW OF SERINGAPATAM WHILE CAPITAL OF MYSORE

After usurping the sovereignty of Mysore, Haider Ali made Seringapatam his capital. His son, Tippu Sultan, strongly fortified the city, which he retained when compelled by Cornwallis in 1792 to surrender much other territory that he and his father had annexed. In April, 1799, however, General Harris besieged the capital and on May 4 carried it by storm, Tippu himself being killed in its defence. This view of the city is taken from Home's Mysore, published at Madras in 1794.

surrender of independence. Tippu hoped not only for independence but for empire ; nor did his attitude change when news arrived of the destruction of the French

fleet at the battle of the Nile, to the significance of which he was not alive, as his father might have been.

Early in 1799 the British, supported by the Nizam, marched into Mysore. Tippu was driven into Seringapatam, but still refused terms ; Seringapatam was carried by storm ; the sultan, a most valiant warrior, fell, fighting to the last. The conqueror reinstated the old Hindu dynasty in the old Hindu dominion of Mysore ; the rest of the sultanate was shared between the British and the Nizam, seeing that there was no one else to restore.

When the short-lived dynasty of Haider Ali had fallen—it had consisted only of its founder and its founder's son—there remained only one power, that of the Maratha confederacy, which could dream of rivalling the power of the British. Apart from the powerless Mogul at Delhi—a mere figurehead in whose name it might be convenient to act for the colour of legality which it carried—the two considerable Mahomedan dynasties of Hyderabad and Oudh, both of them less than a hundred years old, were neither of them strong enough to offer armed resistance either to the British or to the Marathas ; as they must be the dependants or the subjects of one or the other, both of them much preferred to be the dependants of the British ; aggression being out of the question, security was the next desideratum, and dependence on the British would give them security, while subjection to the Marathas would not. In the Indus basin, the Punjab and Sindh did not as yet count



THE LION OF LAHORE

Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) was the ablest sovereign who ever founded an empire in India. Blind in one eye, paralysed and diseased, he was repulsive to look at, yet he was fascinatingly courteous and was adored by his subjects.

From Osborne, 'The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing'



as powers, though Ranjit Singh at Lahore was establishing and organizing the Sikh dominion in the Punjab.

The next stage, then, was the inevitable conflict with the Marathas. Four of the five Maratha princes were in constant conflict among themselves for the headship of the confederacy: the

Conflict with peshwa at Poona whose the Marathas presidency had been generally acknowledged, the only

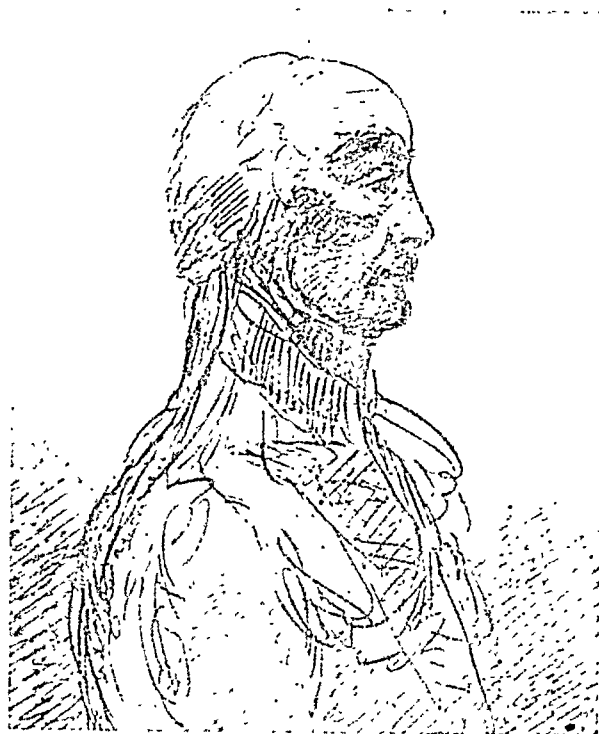
Brahman among them; Daulat Rao Scindia, successor by adoption to the great Mahdoji, who from his position at Gwalior dominated the Mogul; Jeswant Rao Holkar at Indore; and Bhonsla at Nagpore in Berar, who, being in more immediate contact with British territory, was generally disinclined to risk a serious quarrel. None of them was inclined to accept the treaty terms propounded by Wellesley (his marquessate was the reward of his victory over Tippu), on the analogy of those accepted by the Nizam; till Baji Rao Peshwa, defeated in the field by Holkar, sought security for himself in the British alliance. He accepted the Treaty of Bassein.

If the others followed suit, the independence of the Marathas would disappear. Scindia and Bhonsla remained in arms, regardless of Wellesley's demand that they should withdraw to their respective territories. In a brief campaign their armies were shattered by the governor-general's younger brother—the future duke of Wellington—and Lake. When they had been forced to submission Holkar took the field, and by following the traditional tactics of his people succeeded in inflicting disaster on the mismanaged British force that was sent against him; but his ultimate defeat was a foregone conclusion, though before it was completed Wellesley was superseded and there came another brief period of non-intervention which, but for the decisive character of Wellesley's operations, might have brought about further disasters.

Wellesley's predecessors had protected the Nizam and the wazir with troops maintained by subsidies from those potentates; which were by no means always forthcoming. Wellesley went a step farther. He developed this system of

'subsidiary alliances' by requiring the potentates to maintain within their own borders a British sepoy contingent, which would be their security against attack, while the size of their own armies was to be restricted; but in lieu of the uncertain cash subsidy, which the princes were so often unable to raise, districts were to be ceded to the British, so that the contingents might be maintained out of their revenues. Thus the Nizam ceded the districts allotted to him after the Mysore war; while as a result of the Maratha war the territories long known as the 'North-West Provinces' on the south, north and west of Oudh were either ceded or annexed from the Marathas, the Mogul continuing to reign officially in the imperial city of Delhi. Every important potentate was further required to receive at his court a British official, known as resident or agent, as the representative of the paramount power, though retaining in his own hands the internal administration of his dominions.

Wellesley's latter operations, however, had appeared to be far too aggressive, and



MARQUESS OF HASTINGS

Francis Rawdon-Hastings (1754-1826) succeeded to the earldom of Moira in 1793 and was created Marquess of Hastings for his services in India between 1813 and 1823. This sketch of him by J. Atkinson was made in 1820.

National Portrait Gallery, London

to entail responsibilities far too serious, to be acceptable to the home authorities. He was superseded while Holkar was still in the field, and his immediate successors were deeply pledged to the pre-Wellesley doctrine. More than a decade passed before Moira (Lord Hastings) was authorised to take the necessary steps for the pacification of Central India where the Maratha chiefs held sway. They had been in the interval fostering the miscellaneous bands, amounting to armies, of brigands known as Pindaris or Pathans who raided in all directions, committing countless atrocities, in collusion with the Maratha rulers. Since these professed their inability to suppress the Pindaris, the British at last took the task upon themselves. Baji Rao at Poona and an ambitious regent at Nagpore seized the opportunity to make a last effort to throw off the British ascendancy; the other chiefs, whatever they may have intended to do, were paralysed for hostile action by the judicious disposition of the British forces, which prevented them from combining. In Berar the threatened rising was nipped in the bud; the Pindaris were crushed; the peshwa was deposed and removed to British territory, though he was put in private possession of immense estates; the Poona principality was annexed, while the accession of a very youthful Bhonsla meant that Berar was for a time practically ruled by a British resident.

Thenceforth, though there was still a Mogul, a 'Padishah,' at Delhi, the fiction of his authority was dropped.

The imperial functions had British Raj openly passed to the British established Raj, though within the semi-circle of the northern mountains the Punjab and Sindh were still independent, and collision with them was still far off; while about a quarter of the whole area had passed under direct British administration. For almost a quarter of a century after the Pindari war there was no further expansion of the British dominion within India proper, though a war was forced upon the British by Burma, which was followed inevitably by annexations in farther India, and the British also involved themselves in ill managed complications

beyond the north-western frontier, owing to well founded suspicions of Russian movements and aims; so we turn now to India 'under Western rule' in the more intimate sense of that phrase—British administration of the British provinces.

Apart from relations with the country powers, the main business of the government was the administration of the law and the collection of revenue.

The main source of revenue was and always had been the land. Government under the Moguls claimed a specific share in the produce, varying from time to time, based on assessments varying from time to time and upon no common system, the provinces being divided into districts. In each district there was a collector, in Bengal generally known as the zemindar, responsible for collecting and paying in the requisite sums, and, as long as the sums paid in were returned as correct, no questions were asked as to the actual sums collected or the method of collecting them. The system or want of system was no less liable to abuse than the old system of tax farming in the provinces of the Roman Empire, which left its indelible brand on the name of the 'publicans. Medieval sultans had claimed as much as one half of the annual produce under their assessments. Akbar had reduced the government claim to one third. The British when they got their system into working order reduced it to one fifth or one sixth—an enormous alleviation of the burden upon the tillers of the soil, when, and if, it reached them.

But before working order could be attained a sound method of assessment had to be devised, and the persons properly responsible for the payments had to be ascertained. Warren Hastings began his investigations before he became governor of Bengal; provisional assessments were made for short terms, the zemindars continuing to be held responsible for the payments to the 'collectors,' the British district officials; and then in Bengal the 'permanent settlement' was made prematurely by Cornwallis—prematurely because it was based upon still insufficient knowledge of the conditions.

The British found in Bengal a system that appeared superficially to be closely analogous to the system of land tenure in England, the zemindars corresponding to the English landlords and the peasantry to their tenants; and on this assumption Cornwallis made his settlement. The assessment made was final; it was neither to be raised nor lowered. If the value rose under the zemindar's wise management or fell under his mismanagement, the profit would be his and the loss would be his; consequently he would have every inducement to introduce improvements and develop production—the government would claim no more from him, and it would claim no less.

The actual results of the measure were far from being what Cornwallis anticipated. The zemindar was indeed secure if he paid up punctually; if he failed to do so—and the idea that Cornwallis's punctuality was essential Settlement was one which had never before been presented to him and which he was quite unable to realize—he found his 'zemindari' put up for sale by auction to some speculator, who became zemindar in his place. Many zemindaris passed into the hands of new men, whose sole concern was to make as much as they could out of their new possessions. We may well compare the change with that in England in the sixteenth century, when business men bought up the confiscated lands of the monasteries and became landlords in their place. They were indeed loyal, because it was good business for them to be so; but there were very few zemindars, new or old, who realized that it would be to their own advantage to develop their estates, and in that direction practically nothing was done.

Nor did any benefit accrue to the peasant. The zemindar pocketed the whole of the reduction in the rate of taxation, while the tenant continued to pay to him the same amount as before, the amount which had practically become a fixed rent. But it was not legally fixed, while the tenant had no inducement, even in the rare cases where he had the power, to make improvements, because the zemindar appropriated the profits. He

was, in short, no better off as a result of the settlement than he had been before, but actually by so much the worse off as the new zemindars were worse landlords than the old.

Nor did the government benefit except in the security and regularity of its fixed receipts. By making the settlement not for a term of years but for ever, Cornwallis for ever cut off the government from gaining anything by the appreciation of the land, of which it was itself the cause—for reasons unconnected with the form of the settlement—by the security it gave to life and property, by improved means of communication, by the difference between systematic and unsystematic administration, and by the higher standards of the administration.

The 'permanent settlement,' however, applied only to the provinces of the Bengal presidency, that is, to Bengal, Behar and Benares. It was based on the erroneous assumption that the zemindar was the proprietor of the soil, who let it to the peasants; whereas in fact he was technically, as zemindar, only an official tax-gatherer whose position had become more or less hereditary; who had originally been paid by a percentage on the tax, which had often been commuted for the award of a tax-free estate ('jaghir'). Such positions having frequently been conferred on local magnates, the apparent resemblance of the zemindar to an English landowner, such as Cornwallis himself, was intensified, though in actual fact he never had been the proprietor of the soil, and the tenant had never been his tenant in the English sense.

But the British had been more or less responsible for the administration of Bengal for thirty years before Cornwallis came on the scene. Elsewhere it was not so; for it was under him that, little as he desired it, the territorial expansion began, and new territories came under direct British control. In the new areas it was immediately evident that the zemindari system, instead of being, as in Bengal, apparently universal, was not even general. There were infinite variations in the local practice, but even the hypothetical landlord was practically non-existent.



#### ADMINISTRATORS OF NATIVE JUSTICE

These portraits of native judges at the court of the recorder at Bombay were taken from life in 1798 by the wish of Sir William Syer, the court's first recorder. They represent a judge of Mahomedan law (right) and a judge of Hindu law. These officials were concerned with native cases only.

*From Blagdon, 'History of India,' 1805*

What was found in the south, which had been under effective Mogul domination for little more than a century, was something much more akin to a peasant proprietary. The blunder of the 'permanent' settlement was not repeated; the assessments were for brief and varying periods, the methods of collection were temporary and tentative; but the object in view was to shape the arrangements as nearly as possible in accord with traditional customs and the traditional conceptions of popular rights coloured as little as might be by dubious Western analogies. Hence in the territories annexed from the Mysore sultanate and the Marathas, and attached to the Madras and Bombay presidencies, the enduring type of settlement was the 'ryotwari' in which the individual 'ryot' or peasant paid the tax directly to the government. Again, when the North-West Provinces on the upper Ganges and the Jumna were annexed, a third system was found to be prevalent, in which neither zemindar nor ryot was the taxable unit, but the

village community, whose headman was responsible for the payments.

Finally, so long as the high public standards of the district officers were conspicuous and their authority was assured of universal respect the efficiency of the administration was secured; but it was felt that neither of these ends would be attained unless all such superior posts were exclusively in the hands of Europeans, while the subordinates or employees were exclusively Indians—the principle acted upon throughout the government services.

The second problem for the European was the establishment of security for person and property by the rigid and impartial administration of the law which had hitherto been administered neither rigidly nor impartially. Here again the British fell into the natural error of seeking to

establish prematurely a cut-and-dried rigidity that was incompatible with the conditions. The basic principle was, as always, that the British should be subject to the Administration of Criminal Law jurisdiction only of British judges administering British law. As concerned the natives, the criminal law was that established under the previous Mahomedan supremacy, the law of the Koran, administered by Mahomedan judges; the civil courts were placed under British judges, whose functions were at different periods combined with or separated from those of the revenue officer—that is, the collector and the magistrate in each district were at different periods one person or two persons. Under Hastings they were combined, and then separated. Under Cornwallis they were again combined and again separated, so remaining till Bentinck's governor-generalship

Cornwallis also gave the collectors or magistrates a certain amount of criminal jurisdiction, besides setting up criminal

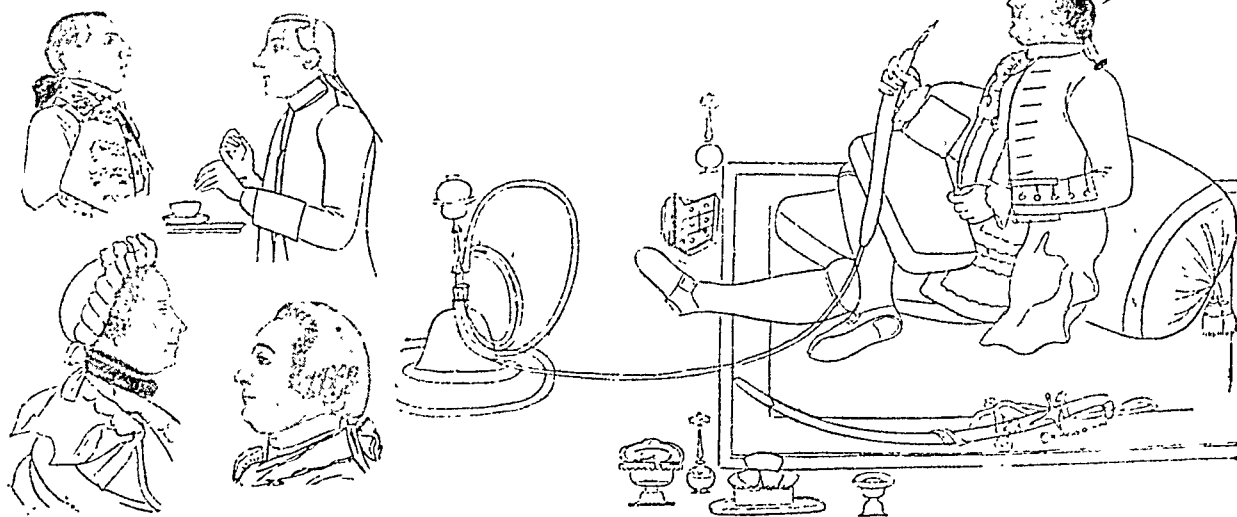
courts of circuits under British judges. The courts of appeal, both civil and criminal, which were set up in Calcutta were presided over by British judges. The unfortunate attempt, under North's Regulating Act, to set up a judicature independent of the government proved hopelessly unworkable from the outset and was not repeated. The unqualified exclusion of native talent from the prospect of promotion in the public service carried with it indubitable evils, exciting the hostility of men whose legitimate ambitions were thwarted thereby, while the supply of British officials was insufficient for the work; but it is not difficult to understand that to such men as Cornwallis it appeared imperative.

The government, then, was strong and stable, and its justice was impartial though it was working very much in the dark, under many inevitable misconceptions of its own and equally inevitable misconceptions on the part of its subjects which could only be gradually and incompletely dissipated. It was therefore very far from being ideal, but it gave an infinitely greater security and stability than had been known before, though how far the fact was appreciated or realized by the population is another matter.

After the Pindari war, the fall of Baji Rao Peshwa and the pacification of the Marathas, there was, as we have remarked,

a long period of peace in which it was practicable to make marked progress in the abolition of established Oriental practices that could be viewed only with detestation by the Western mind, but were frequently rooted in Hindu superstitions or derived from an antiquity more remote than Hinduism itself; as well as in more positive advances through the introduction of Western ideas. The period corresponded with that of the Great Reform Bill (1832) in England, the later development of the Industrial Revolution, the prevalence of what was then known as liberalism and of humanitarianism, and the political ascendancy of Sir Robert Peel. The British government in India had a conception of its duties, as an active agent of progress, hitherto found only among the few most enlightened of the multitudinous princes and rulers in India during the past centuries.

The predatory habit was ingrained in the ruling and military classes. It could hardly be otherwise in a land where every ruler who was strong enough was expected, both by his subjects and his neighbours, to occupy himself with conquest. The Marathas had achieved their ascendancy in the eighteenth century by raiding neighbour principalities



TYPES OF ANGLO-INDIANS IN THE GEORGIAN PERIOD

Native artists were responsible for these enlightening contemporary impressions of the Europeans to be found in India during the early days of British rule there. While all are more or less obviously portraits by Indian artists who very likely were employed by European patrons as formerly by the Mogul emperors, they are not without a suggestion of subtle caricature, especially perhaps the example on the right, which portrays a British official of high degree industriously smoking his hookah.

From Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*

until the latter were ready to purchase immunity by paying a regular tribute called 'chauth' (chouth or chowt). Till past the middle of the eighteenth century the whole north-west had been liable to devastating incursions from beyond the mountains, and though the last of these on a great scale had taken place before the British 'stood forth as Diwan' in Bengal, the Pathan tribesmen from the hills continued the process in smaller bands, and kept the country in terror. When the Maratha rulers found it wise to restrain their own predatory instincts, they still made only the most perfunctory and unconvincing pretence of checking those of their people who, under the name of Pindaris, continued the old practices, often in conjunction with the Pathans, and were only crushed when the British intervened. And still even the British territories were infested with the bands of brigands known as 'dacoits.'

The suppression of 'dacoity' then became one of the most urgent aims of the government, and the government got no help from the population.

**Suppression of Dacoity** Some who were even of a distinguished respectability were secretly in league with the dacoits, and took an active part in their operations. No one would give them away, for every man believed that if he did so he would pay the penalty with his life. No evidence against a suspected dacoit was forthcoming, and evidence in his favour was manufactured with ease in a land where no moral stigma attaches to the bearing of false witness; to lie was as easy as to speak the truth, and much safer. If information was tendered the probable purpose was to create a false scent. Everyone soon learned that British judges would not condemn except upon proof positive.

Besides, the dacoits were under the protection of the sanguinary deities whom they were careful to placate, though it appeared that the sahibs, too, had their divine or demonic coadjutors. Dacoity was, in fact, the recognized hereditary profession of one of the innúmerable professional castes (using that term in its technical sense), having its own tutelary deity and its corresponding religious

observances and ceremonial to be followed when the work of dacoity was on hand; and every gang of brigands made a point of having some members of the caste among its own membership. So difficult did the suppression of dacoity prove that when Dalhousie became governor-general in 1848 there were still active bands of dacoits in Bengal, though they had disappeared from the remoter districts where more summary methods of treating them were practised.

Brigandage was still not unknown among the Western peoples in the nineteenth century, but 'thuggee' was a practice without European parallel. It was long before the British even discovered its existence, **Thuggee stamped out** for it worked silently in the dark, leaving no traces. Its victims simply disappeared. Unlike the dacoits, the thugs were exclusively members of a caste which had apparently existed from time immemorial. Combined robbery and murder, by a method peculiar to themselves, was their profession; its insignia were the cord and pick-axe. They shed no blood; they strangled their victims after enticing them to a solitary spot, buried them neatly, leaving no marks, and returned to their daily avocations. The victim was usually a traveller; nothing was suspected till his failure to arrive at his destination caused anxiety, and all that could be discovered was the last stage where he had been seen alive.

Robbery (though with murder as a necessary incident) being the purpose, the thugs were a terror only to the wealthy or the carriers of wealth; they did not prey upon the peasantry or the impecunious, who feared to impede their activities lest the demon to whom the thugs paid worship should smite them. A great Indian prince, Mahdoji Scindia, had ventured to stamp out one nest of them in his dominions, and to that act of audacity popular superstition attributed the sickness of which he died. Many, perhaps most of them, were known; but none dared betray them. Nevertheless, when the British began their campaign against the thugs, their organization was broken up in little more than ten years; mainly, perhaps, because, when they

found that their goddess failed to smite the British, many of them began to think her protection inadequate and to make revelations to their captors which greatly facilitated the suppression of their gruesome brotherhood; detailing their own and others' exploits in the past with more pride than compunction.

Another practice against which the British waged war was that of female infanticide, a custom begotten of the

marriage customs of the Hindus, among whom life for an unmarried woman was

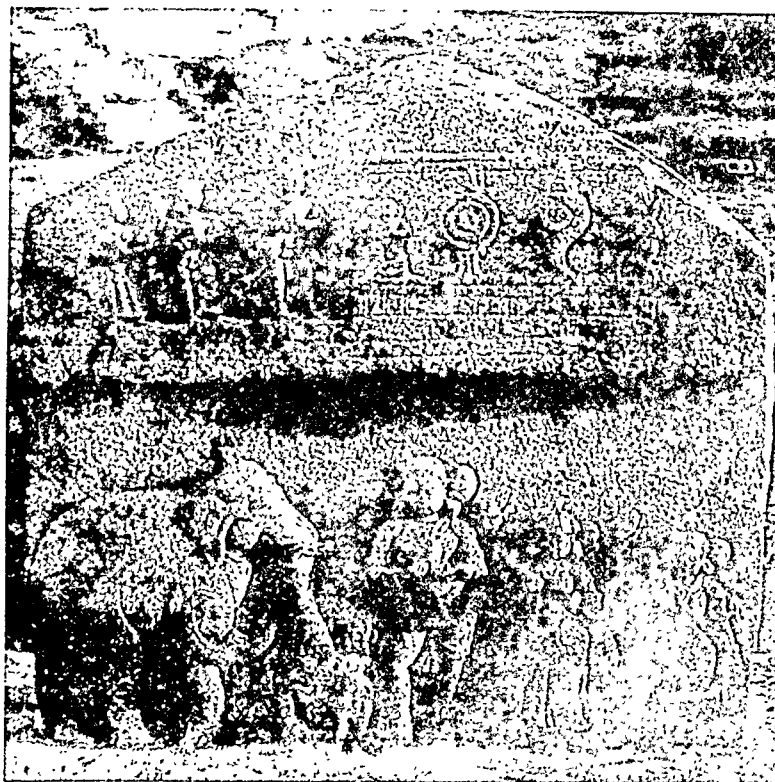
unbearable. The man who begot daughters was bound to find husbands for them when they reached the marriageable age; and to the girl's parent a wedding, unless he was well-to-do, was in a quite literal sense ruinously costly, absorbing a lifetime's savings or plunging him into the morass of debt, which was fatal to a ryot. A man could not afford to bring up daughters, so if a daughter appeared—who could prove that its death was wilfully hastened?

Everybody knew of the practice, everybody denounced it, everybody acquiesced in it, and girl babies continued to die. Penalisation was a dead letter. It was only by repressing the wedding outlay and forbidding some of its most disastrous factors that the British, and the Indian princes who took example by them, were able gradually to diminish, though by no means to abolish, the custom.

On a quite different footing was the custom of 'sati' (suttee), the self-immolation of widows when their husbands died. Though there was no sanction for it in the Hindu scriptures, it had established itself in the past as a praiseworthy act of heroic and voluntary self-sacrifice; but it became virtually the painful but preferable alternative to a life of misery if the survival of the widow was an inconvenience to the dead man's

relatives. Mahomedan rulers had endeavoured unsuccessfully to regulate and check it; but the act of sati—dedication—was always in theory voluntary, and they had not ventured, or not counted it worth while, to outrage Hindu sentiment by forbidding it. That risk the British took after much hesitation, and found, to their surprise, that Hindu sentiment was so far from being outraged that it was hardly perturbed.

The British administration, not only in the old provinces but also in those newly acquired, was formulated in accordance with the ideas which were Cornwallis's legacy to the Indian government, until the expansion of the British territories under Lord Hastings. But the annexations involved by his conflict with the Marathas brought in districts where more primitive conditions prevailed, where it was obvious that the officers in charge should have a hand much more free than was possible if the regulations were to be strictly observed. Such districts were distinguished as 'non-regulation' provinces,



SPECIMEN OF SUTTEE MEMORIAL STONE

Two Hindu widows who followed their native custom of voluntarily sacrificing their lives on the funeral pyre of their lord are represented beside him on this memorial in front of a Jain temple in Vijayanagar. The upper half of the monument records the arrival of their departed spirits in Vishnu's Paradise.

From Edward Thompson, 'Suttee,' Allen & Unwin Ltd.



and more often than not the administration was entrusted to army officers instead of civilians, who more than justified their selection. The hill districts of Merwara on the borders of Rajputana, of Kandesh in the Western Ghats and of southern Orissa were notable instances of places where immense progress was made.

The highlanders—Mers and Bhils in the two former—were peoples who had never been brought under control or penetrated by the waves of Hindu or Mahomedan culture. They were Ishmaelites whose hand was against every man, as difficult to conquer among their own passes as highlanders have habitually proved themselves to be in the West. When the British took over, they were hostile, but they had met with an antagonist more skilled than usual in hill warfare; and when they were defeated the prisoners began to realize that they were in the hands not of foes but of friends whom they could trust and who were ready to trust them. They were sent back to their villages with unexpected reports; the tribesmen began to come in, to see what the thing meant. The tact of the British officers established mutual confidence, and

the plan was adopted of enrolling the former robbers in the service of the government and turning them into a particularly efficient police. Moreover, the new rulers taught them the arts of peace, introduced the conveniences of peaceful citizenship, and were so successful in promulgating the new ideas that the Mers were the first community in which infanticide dropped to insignificant proportions.

The Khonds of Orissa, when they were taken in hand, presented a problem of another kind. They were not given to robbery; but among them survived and flourished certain primitive superstitions that involved ceremonial human sacrifices, mainly intended to propitiate the harvest gods. There was no conceal-

ment about the matter. If the gods did not get their victims the people would suffer. The tribal authorities were unanimous; suppression, however rigorous, could only be partial. It was not suppressed, but it was ingeniously eliminated in one district to the universal satisfaction. It was pointed out that the government conceived itself to be under a protection more powerful than that of the harvest gods. The government would take the responsibility; there would be no risks for the Khonds—if anyone suffered, it would be the British, if the harvest gods were really efficient. Not without qualms, the Khonds consented to make the experiment. They suspended the sacrifice, there was a bumper harvest, and nothing happened to the British.

The Khonds had no thirst for blood, which they had been in the habit of shedding merely

for their own security; since their security was proved not to be imperilled thereby, there was no reason for continuing the practice, and the experimental suspension became permanent disappearance. Elsewhere the process was much longer; actually in its course many hundreds of victims were rescued only by main force; and ultimately it was persuasion rather than force that put an end to the custom.



A BHIL BOWMAN

British attempts to establish friendly relations with the wilder hill tribes were very successful. His cummerbund bristling with arrows and sword, this archer of Mount Abu is a Bhil.

Photo, E.N.A.

Most of these reforms were initiated, though only perhaps the suppression of sati was completed, under the rule of Bentinck; which was especially remarkable for the development of an educational system directly intended to fit the natives of India to take a responsible part in the government by training them in Western literature and Western science in place of the Hindu or Arabian and Persian classics. As to the theoretical advantages there can be no manner of doubt; whether the practical results were beneficial is another and a hotly debated question. The fact remained that while the door to the public services was professedly opened, it made little difference to the actual admission of natives, and at the same time the new form of education developed a type of student which has been a considerable embarrassment to the British Raj. Less questionable was the use of the vernacular—the classical tongues were languages hardly less remote from the popular speech than Latin and Greek from English speech—in the schools which presently multiplied under the aegis of the government.

It was during the same period that the East India Company's monopoly of the Indian trade disappeared, and its disappearance was attended by a great development of the British mercantile community, a British civilian population having no connexion with the government, or with the Company which still retained its theoretical and in some degree practical partnership with the crown. The official head of the government in India, appointed in England, was—of set purpose—rarely a man who had been previously employed in the Indian government service.

The expenditure of previous rulers upon public works had been lavish, but had been directed rather to the glorification of the ruler than to the welfare of his subjects. Irrigation—a matter of fundamental importance in a land ill watered save for its few great rivers—by canal building, and the facilitation of communications by road building where huge distances had to be traversed, were perhaps the staple

public works of the British rule. Nevertheless, England had become a network of railways before there were a hundred miles of railway-line in India.

At all times the progress of the British rule in India has been materially influenced by the knowledge or the conviction that a European power was seeking to undermine the position of Great Britain and to take her place. Throughout the eighteenth century the influence to be counteracted was that of France; in the nineteenth the place of France was taken by Russia. The reappearance of France was decisively prohibited by the British supremacy on the seas; but the route of every conqueror before the British for three thousand years had been from Afghanistan

and central Asia through the passes of the north-western mountains, and if

Importance of  
Afghanistan

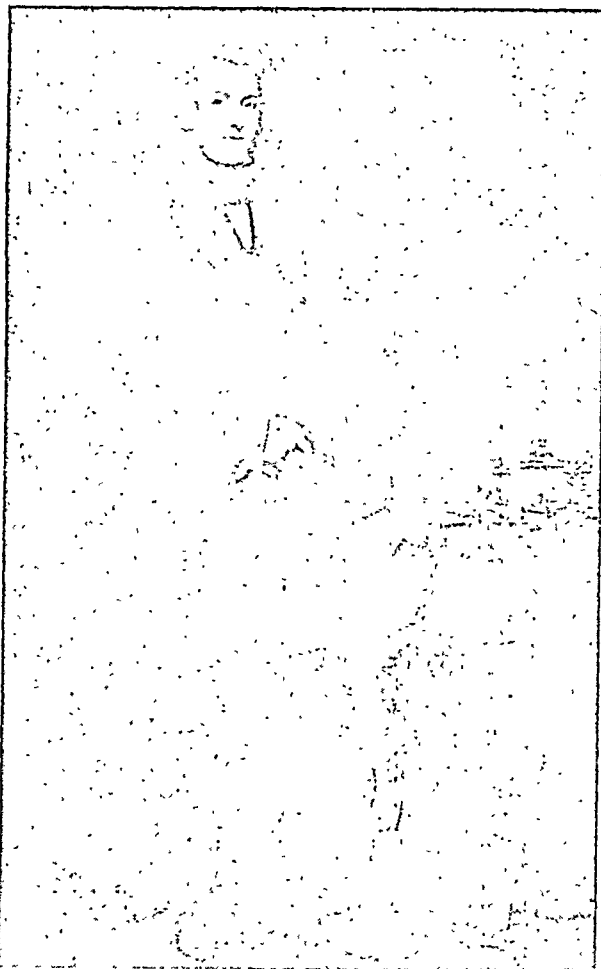
once the Russian advance in central Asia reached something like the point of contact Russia might hope to force an entry. The condition precedent was her domination of the states that lay between her border and India—Persia and Afghanistan.

The relations between Great Britain and Persia were taken out of the hands of the government of India by the government at Westminster; but the Indian government kept a watchful eye on Afghanistan, lest she should fail to perform her function as a buffer state. Twice in the nineteenth century its suspicions involved it in wars with the Afghans. There were disastrous incidents in the first, which reacted upon India and were partly responsible for bringing on the British conflict with the last of the country powers which had remained independent, the Sikhs of the Punjab. Till then, not the mountains but the river Sutlej, where two thousand years earlier Alexander had been brought to a halt, had been the farthest boundary of the British dominion.

The governor-generalship of Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) was to be a crucial period in the history of British India. Dalhousie arrived at the moment when the Sikhs flung down their final challenge. The Sikh state as an organized power had been built up by the Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore in the first quarter of the century.

The Sikhs, beginning in Babar's days as a reformed Hindu sect, a religious brotherhood, turned themselves also, under stress of Mahomedan persecution, into a military brotherhood, and from a brotherhood developed almost into a distinct race, since they were separated from other Hindus by ignoring caste as well as by other peculiar characteristics.

Ranjit Singh, starting as one among many of the great sirdars—'nobles' is perhaps the nearest equivalent—organized them till they became the dominant power in the Punjab, always on the basis of the Khalsa, the brotherhood army, which remained distinct from the other troops in his employ, having a curiously democratic structure of its own. Ranjit extended his autocratic sway over the Mahomedan tribesmen beyond the Indus, up to Peshawar and the borders of Kashmir, as well as



**LORD DALHOUSIE**

Appointed governor-general of India in 1847, Lord Dalhousie (1812-60) held office for eight strenuous years. His able conduct of the Sikh war brought it to a victorious conclusion in 1849, when he was created a marquess.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*



**SIKH OFFICERS IN REPOSE**

Possessing an innate genius for the art of war, the Sikhs make fine soldiers and are in their true element on the battlefield. These two hardy specimens were native commissioned officers of the 17th Bengal Cavalry about 1875.

over Hindus and Mahomedans within the compass of the Five Rivers, the Punjab proper. He would have absorbed the Sikh principalities between the Sutlej and the Jumna if they had not placed themselves under the protection of the British, with whom he had no disposition to quarrel. His Sikhs were the best fighting men in India, and his other troops were largely trained by miscellaneous European adventurers. The Khalsa believed itself to be invincible; Ranjit knew it to be invincible—except by the British; and he did not choose to risk a catastrophe, though he always assumed that he negotiated with them on terms of equality. To the day of his death he was always their perfectly independent and loyal ally.

But Ranjit died at the moment when the British were making their first ill-starred expedition to Kabul to restore the long-exiled monarch Shah Shuja in place of the very able amir, Dost Mahomed, whom they mistakenly suspected of intriguing with Russia. Such a kingdom as

the Punjab state needed such a king as Ranjit Singh himself. A widow whose character was notoriously such that she was dubbed the 'Messalina of the Punjab,' a presumed son whose actual parentage was doubtful, a masterful army which knew no master, and a host of sirdars who recognized no head, provided an inadequate combination. Chaos descended on the Punjab. The British suffered a terrific disaster in Afghanistan, and though they redeemed it by a victorious campaign—followed by the reinstatement of Dost Mahomed himself, who in fact heartily detested the Russians—the prestige of the British arms was very seriously shaken.

The unwarrantable annexation of Sindh, engineered without the connivance of the government by the brilliant soldier who had been sent there as agent, revived the fears of British aggression; the rani and her minister at Lahore, dreading the Khalsa and hoping to reap power from its failure or popularity from its success, gaining by either event, secretly encouraged it to challenge the British by an unprovoked invasion of British territory, for which they could disclaim all responsibility.

The Sikh army crossed the Sutlej. In the campaign that followed there were moments desperately critical for the British; but their victory was decisive. Annexation was the last thing desired by the governor-general, Lord Hardinge; but the sirdars declared that the government could not be restored to a sound footing without British aid. At their own request, the country was placed under the temporary rule of British officers, with Henry Lawrence in supreme control, though officially for the time in the service not of the British but of the Sikh government. When the brief term agreed upon ended, the sirdars again declared that

there was no hope save in its renewal. It was renewed, but health compelled the withdrawal of the British chief—an irreplaceable loss, for Lawrence had acquired a unique personal influence and authority among the Sikhs; at the same moment Hardinge gave place to a new unknown governor-general, Dalhousie and the Sikhs broke into revolt. The Khalsa conceived that its defeat had been due to treachery, not to straight fighting, and was resolved to try conclusions once more.

Technically the revolt was not against the British but against the incompetent government of the rani. Its meaning, however, was obvious. Dalhousie could



**TROOPS MARCHING THROUGH BOLAN PASS**

The British expedition of 1839 replaced Dost Mahomed by Shah Shuja on the Afghan throne, but ended disastrously in 1841-42. Owing to Ranjit Singh's refusal to allow the British troops access to the Khyber Pass, they entered Kandahar by way of Quetta through the Bolan Pass here shown.

*From James Atkinson, 'Sketches in Afghanistan,' 1842*

not but take up the challenge, and he did so without reluctance. Again there was a stubbornly fought campaign—the Sikhs were masters of the art of entrenchment and were excellent gunners—and again the Khalsa was decisively beaten, fairly and squarely, and this time without a symptom of treason to the cause among their leaders. It was a fight in which each side won the soldierly respect of its antagonists. But when it had been fought to a finish there was no alternative to annexation. Under the guidance of no man save Henry Lawrence could the Sikhs have reconstructed a stable government of their own, and even at best the permanence of such a government would have been extremely doubtful. The Punjab was annexed as one more province of British India.

The Sikhs accepted their defeat; eight years later their loyalty to the new Raj proved invaluable. And, incidentally, in



**DOST MAHOMED KHAN**

Suspected by the British of intrigue with Russia, the amir Dost Mahomed was ejected from Afghanistan by British troops in 1838. In 1842 he was reinstated and later concluded a warm alliance with his former foes.

*Drawing by an Indian artist*



**SHAH SHUJA'S DURBAR AT KABUL**

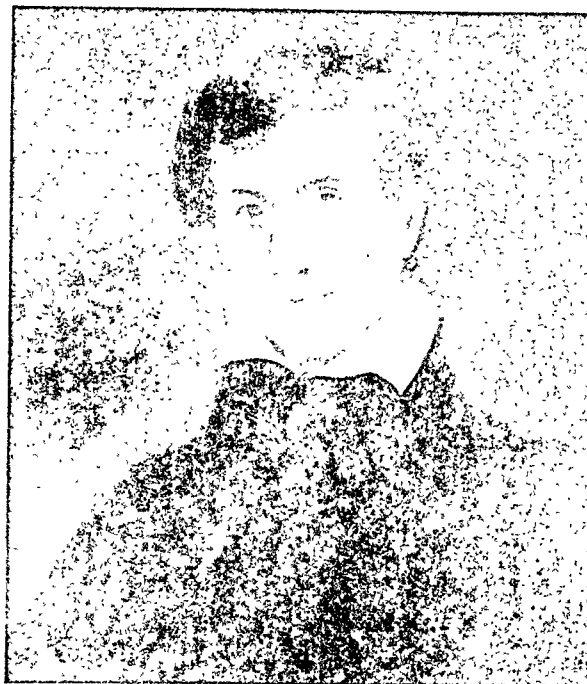
Driven from Afghanistan in 1809, the amir Shah Shuja took sanctuary with the British. Lord Auckland's efforts to restore the exile to his throne led to the first Afghan war, and during his precarious tenure of the throne he held this durbar at Kabul. He was slain by his enemies in 1842

*From James Atkinson, 'Sketches in Afghanistan,' 1842*

the wild frontier districts outside any possible application of the regulations,' where any other law than primitive tribal customs was unknown, the breed of 'frontier officers,' ready to lead, ready for any responsibility and for any emergency, enthusiastically followed and sometimes almost worshipped by the tribesmen, had already come into being. To the Punjab itself came prosperity under the new regime, and law and order were rapidly established in Dalhousie's most cherished province.

The annexation of the Punjab was Dalhousie's first achievement, and he was soon involved in another war with Burma (1852), whose rulers ignored the treaty rights of British subjects and treated all protests with contempt, or rather as beneath contempt. As a consequence Pegu was annexed. Much difficulty had been caused in the first Burmese war by the prohibition laid by the Hindu religion upon the higher castes against crossing the sea; the Bengal sepoys being high-caste consequently refused to serve, and recourse had to be taken to the low-caste soldiery of Madras. But it was now found that the Sikhs, whose peculiar tenets ignored the religious significance of caste, were as ready for service oversea as elsewhere.

Dalhousie, unlike his predecessors, was firmly convinced not only that British administration was altogether better for the population than native administration, but also that, wherever the thing could be legitimately done, annexation was desirable; previous governors-general had annexed only when no other course had seemed open. He therefore made extensive use of the technical rights of the supreme government, which had admittedly passed from the Moguls to the British. By Hindu law, an adopted son acquired the rights of an actual son. In the rule of succession to a throne, however, the Empire had always held that the right of adoption was not in theory absolute, but dependent on the Mogul's confirmation; if that confirmation had not been granted, and there were no heirs of the body, the estate—in the language of Western lawyers—reverted to the crown by escheat. The confirmation had very rarely been refused; every Scindia, for instance, for several generations had succeeded by adoption, because none had begotten an heir—a fact that popular superstition attributed to a curse laid on the family; but there was no technical obligation to grant it, though the formality of obtaining it had rarely been omitted. Dalhousie then took advantage of this



SIR HENRY LAWRENCE

After serving in Burmese, Afghan and Sikh wars, Sir Henry Lawrence (1806–57) was appointed president of the board of administration on Dalhousie's annexation of the Punjab in 1849. He died in July, 1857, at Lucknow.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

technicality, the legality of which could be challenged only on the plea that it was obsolescent—not obsolete, since it had occasionally been acted upon in minor cases for substantial reasons. Technical



#### DESPERATE FIGHTING AGAINST THE SIKHS AT THE BATTLE OF CHILLIANWALLA

On January 13, 1849, the British troops, commanded by Lord Gough, attacked their Sikh adversaries who had encamped at Chillianwalla, a village in the Punjab. The Sikhs, under Sher Singh, fighting with characteristic ferocity and determination, succeeded in causing heavy losses among the British troops, but the end of the day saw the latter masters of the battlefield.

*Engraving after Henry Marlens in 'The Sikh Campaign'*

lapses occurred; Dalhousie refused to recognize the unauthorised adoptions or—in the case of Nagpore—to nominate a successor to the ruler who had left no heir at all; and thus the Bhonsla's dominions as well as Sattara and Jhansi passed under direct British administration. The same fate befell Oudh, though

Succession by adoption vetoed for a different reason; the dynasty had been unfailingly loyal, but its gross misgovernment within its own dominions had been equally unfailing in spite of perpetual protests and warnings from the British government. At last it appeared that the cup had run over; the king was deposed, the kingdom was annexed, and the Nizam at Hyderabad alone was left of the Mahomedan princes of the old Mahomedan empire. Dalhousie's action was undeniably a departure from the earlier practice; the extent and the number of his annexations more than suggested to the Indian dependent princes that in two or three generations there might be none of them left; and general uneasiness was developed.

Dalhousie's masterful vigour was displayed in every department of government, and was very emphatically directed to the welfare of the population. Public works were carried out, education was advanced, the electric telegraph was introduced, railways were authorised, planned and initiated on a great scale which would have been impossible to private enterprise without government guarantees. Yet the progress had its dangerous side. The telegraph was incomprehensible and savoured of devilry. The railway was an insidious attempt to destroy caste by forcing the higher castes into polluting physical contact with the lower. A year after Dalhousie's departure, the great revolt known as the Indian Mutiny (1857) broke out, in the Ganges basin.

It was not, and it never became, a national revolt, or a revolt of the reigning princes, who with their ministers, for the most part, though with varying success, did everything in their power to restrain their soldiery from taking part in it. It was, as it was commonly called, a mutiny—a revolt of the native soldiery in the British dominion, inevitably appeal-

ing to the soldiery elsewhere—incited and organized, so far as it was organized, by agents of Mahomedan fanaticism which aimed at a restoration of the old Mahomedan supremacy with the Mogul at its head, and by Hindus who were either genuinely convinced that the British meant to destroy their religion or were agents of that section of the Marathas who aimed at the Maratha supremacy, which in the past had seemed within their reach till the British broke their power. And outside the army were all those predatory classes whose activities had been curbed by the British, and to whom the fall of the British government promised limitless possibilities of loot and rapine.

The ultimate ambitions of the Mahomedan and the Hindu parties were utterly incompatible; but each conceived that the real barrier to the attainment of its own ends was the British Raj, and each was ready to combine for the time with the other in removing that obstacle. What would happen when that was accomplished was another question. The Mahomedan did not love the Hindu, who had been his conquered subject, and to whom he was an out-caste. The Hindu did not love the Mahomedan, who had been his oppressor. The Bengal Hindustani and the Maratha had no love for each other. Only an internecine struggle for supremacy could have resulted from the overthrow of the British—and then, sooner or later, there would have been Russia to reckon with.

The moment, however, was favourable. There was a popular superstition that the British Raj was destined to last one hundred years, and it was precisely a century since Clive's victory at Plassey. There was no more than a handful of white regiments in Bengal, where the forces had been depleted by the withdrawal of regiments for the Crimean War, and the deficiency had not been made good. More troops were engaged in Persia, and a war was on hand with China. The Bengal army attributed the power of the British to its own services—they could overthrow the edifice they had raised. And they had grievances of their own. They were threatened with being called upon for



service oversea. They were being armed with the new breech-loading rifles, and their caste, it was believed, would be polluted by the new cartridges. It was more than easy for the plotters to play upon their religious faith. And with few exceptions the British authorities were deaf to warnings, blind to indications of unrest, and had made no preparations for an emergency in which they declined to believe.

As a matter of fact, the polluting ingredients of the new cartridge were forbidden, but were nevertheless surreptitiously introduced by the manufacturers into the first issue, which was recalled at once when the authorities became aware of it. But the mischief was done; the train had been kindled. One or two desultory mutinies were nipped in the bud; then the whole sepoy force at Meerut, the biggest military station, mutinied, murdered its officers, marched on Delhi, seized it, and proclaimed the restoration of the Mogul Empire.

Still the full explosion hung fire; the Meerut outbreak and the proclamation of the Mogul seem to have been premature, the latter creating immediate alarm among the Hindu princes, while the plotters were not yet ready to give the word. If the rebels were not ready to rise en masse, still less was the government ready to strike; but at the end of three weeks regiment after regiment began to mutiny—some murdered their officers, others conveyed them to



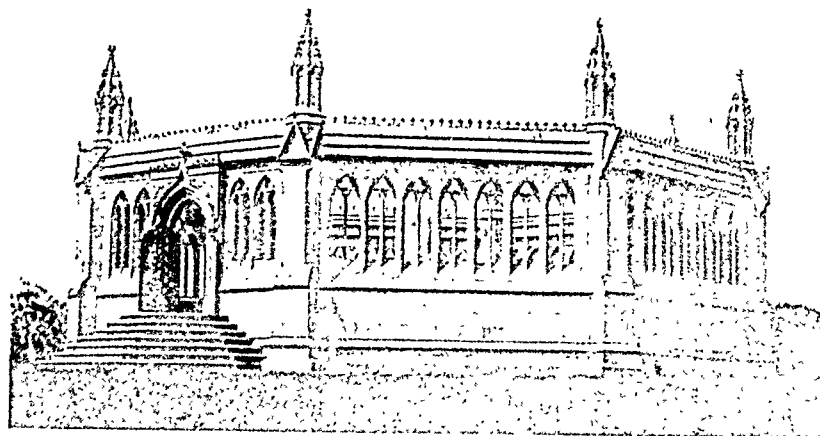
NANA SAHIB

Upon the promise of Nana Sahib, rajah of Bithur, to spare their lives, the Cawnpore garrison surrendered, only to perish at the command of their cruel foe. He escaped British vengeance and his later fate is unknown.

safe quarters—and in seven weeks the whole Ganges basin down to Benares was in revolt, and the British soldiers or civilians within that area were shut up at Agra or in the Residency buildings at Lucknow, with the sepoys who had remained loyal; but they held Allahabad, Benares and Bengal. Cawnpore had already fallen, and its few defenders with their women and children had been deliberately butchered by the orders of Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last peshwa, Baji Rao.

The mutineer armies were concentrated in Lucknow, where they laid siege to the Residency, and in Delhi, which was being besieged on one side by a small force of British and

loyal sepoys entrenched on the famous Ridge and waiting for reinforcements from the Punjab. There the Sikhs and the hillmen, who loathed the Hindustanis, proved loyal, and rendered invaluable service when they were allowed to march under Nicholson to Delhi. In Oudh of



IN MEMORY OF THE CAWNPORE VICTIMS

There is no blacker incident in the story of the Indian Mutiny than the ghastly massacre at Cawnpore. Hundreds of women and children were murdered and cast, dead and dying alike, into a well, now marked by this memorial, in the centre of which stands the white marble figure of an angel

which Lucknow was the capital, the landowners ('talukdars') and their retainers kept quiet till a later date. The Gwalior army revolted, though Scindia, resolutely loyal himself, succeeded in sending the British residents there in safety to Agra. Most, though not all, of the regiments stationed in the north-western Maratha country revolted, but otherwise remained inactive. Jhansi, inspired by her ex-rani (who has been called the Indian Joan of Arc), was the one principality, if it could still be so entitled, which bade open defiance to the British. The revolt did not spread to the south, though it was with much difficulty that the loyal Nizam kept his troops under control.

During the first months, though Bengal itself was secure, no reinforcement arrived. They were months full of incidents terrible and heroic; from Delhi to Allahabad the British were fighting with their backs to the wall against enormous odds. The Meerut mutiny took place on May 10, 1857. On September 21 the besiegers had stormed their way into Delhi and the mutineer forces there were in full retreat.

On September 25 the small column under Outram and Havelock drove its way into the Lucknow Residency. But now troops were arriving at Bombay and Calcutta. In November the relief of the Lucknow Residency, in the technical sense, was effected by Campbell.

Though the Oudh talukdars, under a mistaken but entirely natural misapprehension of the government's attitude towards them, had joined the rebels, and the Gwalior army was at this moment joining Nana Sahib's forces, it was from this time the insurgents who were fighting for life. In April Jhansi fell, and in June the last substantial mutineer force was dispersed; but even then six months elapsed before the last embers of the Great Mutiny were finally quenched.

There are certain points about the story of the Mutiny which it is well to note. There were sentimentalists in England who declaimed against the stern measures by which in certain cases commanding officers stamped out the first symptoms of mutiny. On the other hand, the governor-general, Lord Canning, was furiously denounced



**HAVOC WROUGHT BY THE MUTINEERS ON THE BRITISH RESIDENCY AT LUCKNOW**

It was due to the foresight of Sir Henry Lawrence that preparations were made for the defence of the Residency at Lucknow against threatening mutiny in 1857. Lawrence himself fell in the early stages of the siege, but his gallant example inspired the beleaguered garrison to deeds of brilliant heroism in the eighty days that elapsed before Havelock and Outram came to their aid. A British officer sketched this front view of the Residency in the shattered condition it presented after the siege:



#### A HERO OF THE MUTINY

The personal influence of John Nicholson, a deputy commissioner in the Punjab, arrested the mutineering movement in his own district. He led the party that stormed Delhi on September 14, 1857, but died from a mortal wound.

*Engraving after T. Dicksee*

especially by the British civilian community in Calcutta, for his clemency towards the rank and file of the rebels, in distinction from the leaders who had seduced them. In both cases the criticism was wrong. But after the ghastly story of Cawnpore reached England it was no longer possible for the ordinary man to bring a discriminating and temperate judgement to bear on the question; whereas, until their wrath becomes ungovernable, the English people are more apt to denounce severity than to realize the occasional necessity for an iron sternness. And again it is well to call attention to the fact that the murdering of officers was directed not against those who were harsh and unpopular, but those whose popularity and personal influence were feared by the ringleaders. And thirdly there were very many instances in which the mutineers were at pains to escort some or all of their officers to places of safety before they themselves marched to join their fellow insurgents.

The Mutiny was the last chapter in the history of the first phase of European rule in India. The whole peninsula girded by the

mountains and the ocean at last recognized one supreme sovereign power, while approximately one half of it remained autonomous. The anomalous and illogical but in practice astonishingly successful division of powers in the supreme government was done away with, and the old East India Company ceased to function, the crown taking over its powers. Until 1858 there had been only one decade during which the peace was unbroken within the area; seventy years have since passed, during which all the fighting in which Indian troops have taken part has been outside that area, and no native state, large or small, has been absorbed by the British government except on its own petition. The system then inaugurated has remained in substance the same, though not without important modifications in the administrative arrangements.

The very aged Mogul, Bahadur Shah (see page 3799) had been merely a puppet; his sons had been killed and he himself did not long survive. Even the ghostly fiction of a Mogul empire was



#### 'CLEMENCY CANNING'

In 1856 Charles John Canning (1812-62) succeeded Lord Dalhousie as governor-general of India. Notwithstanding the fierce criticism incurred by his policy towards the Mutiny, his statesmanship proved equal to the crisis.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*



#### VIEW OF THE FAMOUS KHYBER PASS FROM THE AIR

As the pathway from Afghanistan to India, the Khyber Pass, scene of many a skirmish in the Afghan wars, was of great strategic importance to governors of British India, in whose policy the security of mountain passes on the north-west frontier was an essential factor. An aerial photograph gives a striking impression of the rugged, gloomy country through which countless armies have marched into the plains of India. The British, who control the pass, built the road from Kabul to Peshawar.

*Photo, Royal Air Force; Crown copyright*

finally obliterated. Queen Victoria's assumption of the supreme authority, hitherto vested theoretically in the company, was made known by the proclamation which announced that all the princes' treaty rights would be guarded, while no aggression on the part of any state against another would be permitted. The relationship was in fact one which had no precedent in international law, but was at once perfectly intelligible and practically necessary. The states were subordinated to the supreme authority in regard to foreign policy, but in regard to domestic affairs were virtually independent allies. Actually the full imperial authority was only assumed formally eighteen years later by the proclamation of the queen as *Kaisar-i-Hind* (Empress of India), a title which unquestionably appealed effectively to oriental sentiment, and especially to the princes of the protected states.

The first proclamation was wisely followed up by the definite assurance to the princes that adoptions would in future be recognized, and that forfeiture of independence would take place only where no alternative was possible. Canning, in spite of the outcry against him, the injustice of which was fully recognized, was continued in office as the first viceroy under the new order. The Covenanted Service of the Company became the Indian Civil Service under the crown, and the presidency armies became a part of the queen's army. In London the India Office, having at its head a cabinet minister, the secretary of state for India, took the place of the former India House and Board of Control; while the supreme authority on the spot continued to be the 'Governor-General in Council.'

Entering, then, upon this new phase of Western rule, we must remind ourselves of the vital distinction between

British India and the Indian Empire. British India is that portion of the Indian Empire, very heterogeneous in its content, which is administered by the ruling race. The other portion, and it is a large portion, consists of a great number of small and a few large principalities, autonomous but under the suzerainty of the king-emperor. That suzerainty was and is recognized by the princes themselves as essential to the general preservation of the peace and the security of the Empire against foreign attack. The government of British India does not control the government of those states beyond requiring of them a certain standard of efficiency; but it reacts upon them, while its value to them depends upon its own efficiency and supremacy.

Always the primary intention of the government has been, first to make the



VICTORIA AS EMPRESS OF INDIA

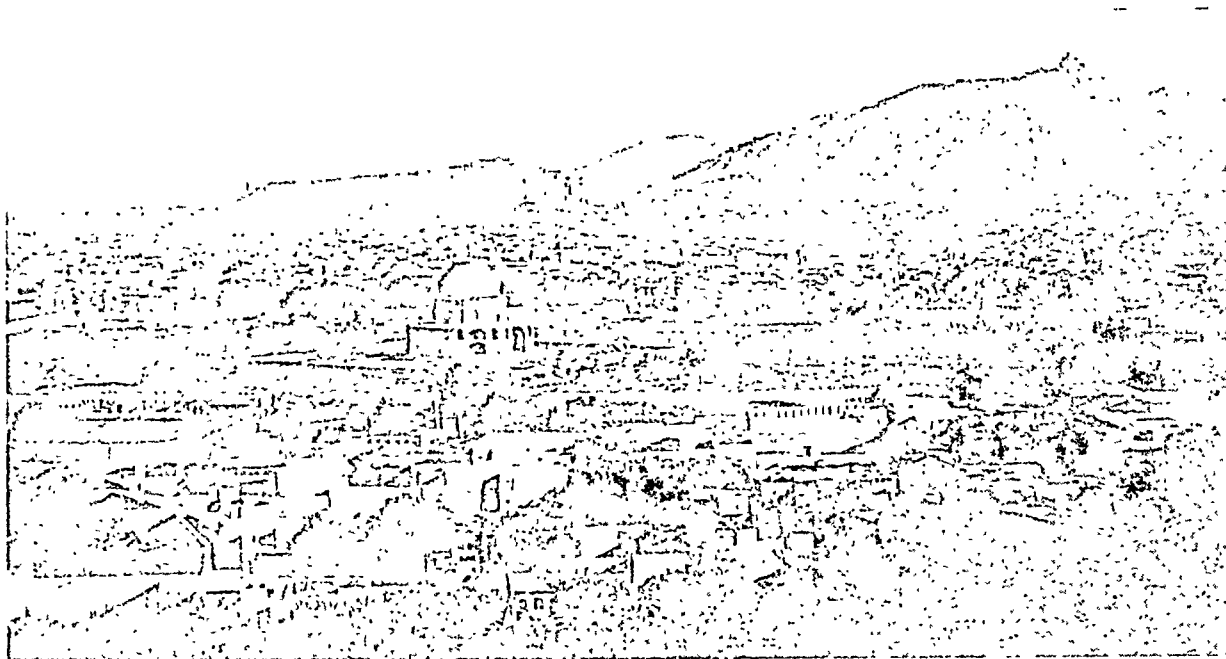
During Lord Lytton's viceroyalty, Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, the proclamation being made at a splendid *darbar* held in January, 1877, on the celebrated 'Ridge' which overlooks Delhi. This study of the queen-empress in her imperial robes is by Angeli.

mountain passes of the north-west a secure means of egress for armies from India and an impenetrable barrier to invading forces, and secondly to preserve Afghanistan as a friendly buffer state blocking the approach of Russia to the passes. For however impenetrable the passes themselves may be, the approach of Russia to the frontier would always be seized upon by the anti-British agitators in India, especially by those blind enough to imagine that Russia would play the unrewarded part of 'liberator.'

The preservation, however, of a buffer state, which cannot help regarding its two great neighbours as the hammer and the anvil between which it lies, is no simple matter. It demands the sense that protection is guaranteed, and mutual confidence on the part of the protector and the protected. And the matter becomes the more complicated when the stability of the government of the protected state is itself doubtful. The Kabul government could be regarded as stable only during the personal rule of an exceptionally strong and able amir such as Dost Mahomed, who had proved his capacity and his friendship in the days of the Mutiny.

After Dost Mahomed's death there was a prolonged struggle for the succession, in which the rivals alternately appealed to the British for support. But the first Afghan war had at least taught the lesson that the experiment of establishing an amir at Kabul by British bayonets was not to be repeated. The Indian government, with Sir John Lawrence at its head, relied upon a policy of non-intervention or 'masterly inactivity,' refusing to interfere with the internal affairs of Afghanistan, but recognizing the amir who was able to prove himself the *de facto* ruler. One of Dost Mahomed's sons, Sher Ali, finally triumphed over the rival claimants.

Mutual confidence was temporarily established during the viceroyalty of Lord Mayo (1869-72), but broke down under Mayo's successor, Northbrook, whose promises of support Sher Ali found inadequate. The amir turned to seek reconciliation with Russia. Lytton succeeded Northbrook at a moment when British suspicions of Russian designs were particularly acute (1876); at the end of the next year the Russians were at the gates of Constantinople. Sher Ali received a Russian mission at Kabul; he refused



VIEW OF KABUL, CAPITAL OF AFGHANISTAN

British fear of Russian designs in Afghanistan led in 1878 to an advance of troops on Kabul, a city vastly important as the 'Key of northern India.' At this time no fighting took place and a British resident was received in 1879 at Kabul; but soon after he was slain with his whole escort in a popular rising. In subsequent hostilities between the amir's brother Ayub and his cousin Abd er-Rahman, British troops supported the latter, who acceded to the throne in 1880.

Photo, E.N.A.



AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN

Yakub Khan, son of Sher Ali, was proclaimed amir of Afghanistan in 1879. Rebellious troops attacked the British resident admitted by Yakub into Kabul, and the luckless amir abdicated in face of the British reprisals.

*From a drawing by W. Simpson*

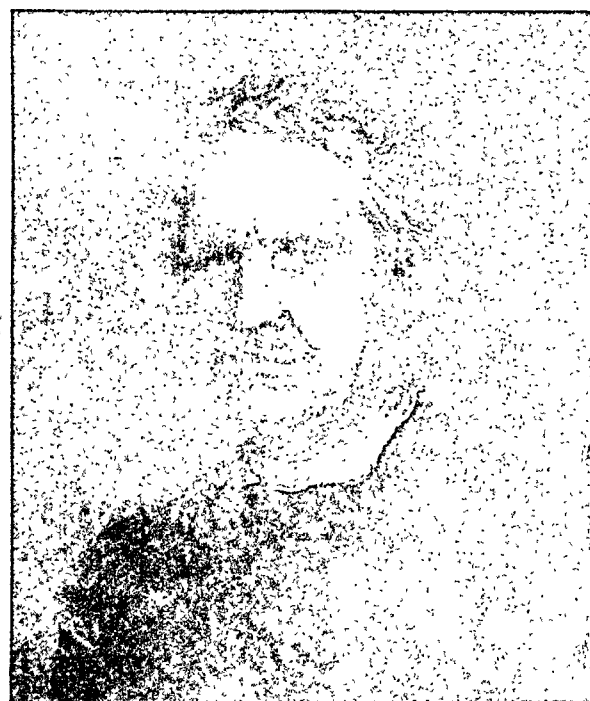
entry to a British mission; British troops marched on Kandahar through the Bolan pass, and on Kabul through the Khyber. There was no fighting. Russia made no move, Sher Ali fled to Russian territory, and one of his sons, Yakub Khan, was recognized as amir.

Yakub Khan acceded to the British demand for control of the passes and of his foreign relations, and the establishment of a British resident at Kabul. The troops were withdrawn; the resident remained, but with his whole escort was cut to pieces in a sudden popular insurrection. Again the British occupied Kandahar and Kabul, or rather an entrenched camp outside Kabul. Yakub Khan himself came in, and abdicated; but the Afghan tribesmen gathered under his brother Ayub, while their cousin Abd er-Rahman asserted his own claim to the succession, which, Ayub being in arms against the British, was acknowledged by them. There was some severe campaigning before Ayub's forces were broken at Kandahar.

But there was now a new government at Westminster that repudiated the policy

of Beaconsfield and Lytton, and reverted to the masterly inactivity of Sir John (Lord) Lawrence; convinced that Afghanistan must manage its own affairs as an independent state. The doctrine of the advocates of the 'forward policy,' that Kandahar at least ought for strategic reasons to be permanently retained, was definitely rejected, along with the demand for the retention of a resident at Kabul. The risks involved and the certainty of Afghan hostility outweighed the military advantages that appealed convincingly to most soldiers. In fact, as it proved, Abd er-Rahman had too much experience of the Russians to place himself in their hands, provided that the British would let him alone, only giving him exactly the amount and the kind of support that suited him without attempting to exercise control over him.

The policy was justified by the results. Abd er-Rahman established himself on his throne by his own methods, which, if drastic, were not more so than was customary in Afghanistan. He kept the British at arm's length, but he trusted to their sense of their own interests more,



SIR JOHN LAWRENCE

G. F. Watts painted this portrait of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence (1811-79), whose forty years of service in India won him high repute. As governor-general from 1864 to 1869 he pursued a policy of 'masterly inactivity.'

*National Portrait Gallery, London*



perhaps, than to their good faith, while to Russia he trusted not at all. A few years later boundary disputes were settled by a joint commission of British, Russians and Afghans; Russia became absorbed in her interests in the Farthest East; and after the opening of the twentieth century the Russian menace did not again make itself acutely felt. Nor were the relations between India and Afghanistan again seriously disturbed.

Not long after the Afghan war, however, the viceroy, Lord Dufferin, found it necessary to declare war for the third time on Burma (1885), for reasons similar to those of the two earlier wars, supplemented by the conviction that France, with which British relations at the time were strained, was seeking to establish hostile influences on the flank of the Indian Empire. The war, which was over in a fortnight, was one only in name; resistance melted away as the British troops approached. Burma was added to British India, though it had never been a part of India proper or formed a part of any Indian empire, or held any part of India under its sway. With Burma, the

geographical limits of annexation were reached, since not even the most aggressive of the 'forward policy' school could contemplate territorial expansion beyond the mountain barriers of the north and west, though the control of the uncontrolled hill-tribes of the frontier remained a troublesome problem, involving not a few 'little wars.'

Within India changes have taken place, for conveniences of administration, in the division of provinces, more notably two which marked the vice-royalty of Lord Curzon. The Trans-Indus was separated from the Punjab and converted into the North-West Frontier Province, having in charge the hill-tribes for whom Afghanistan has no desire to be responsible. The unwieldy extent of the province of Bengal led to its partition, the partition produced a violent agitation of Hindu protest and counter-protest on the part of the Mahomedan minority, and the final issue was in effect a revised partition, announced at the time of the king-emperor's visit to his eastern dominions (1911).

Permanently protected or debarred from all aggressive activities, many of the subordinate states developed high administrative standards, while actual misrule became rare. Disputed successions, a fruitful source of disturbance in oriental even more than in European states, lost their disruptive effect when they were automatically decided by an authority which could not be called in question; nor could the good work of an able prince be wholly undone by the accession of a weak, an incompetent or even a vicious heir; while their governments were in a natural accord with traditional ideas. It may be remarked that the state of Mysore, where, on the overthrow of Tippu, Wellesley reinstated the old Hindu dynasty, had been taken under British administration by Bentinck because of the hopeless misrule that presently set in; but that just fifty years later it was re-transferred to the representative of the old dynasty with excellent results; inasmuch as it is now regarded as one of the best, if not actually the best, governed of all the dependent states.



LORD DUFFERIN

Lord Dufferin's viceroyalty of India lasted from 1884 to 1888, in which year he resigned with the title of marquess of Dufferin and Ava. His embarkation on the third Burmese War in 1885 resulted in the annexation of Burma.

In British India the work of beneficent administration progressed, not without difficulty, because the benefits conferred were not always understood, and were sometimes misapplied.

Universities and vernacular schools grew and multiplied, but their methods tended to develop the notion that the purpose of education is to enable the student to pass examinations, that passing examinations is mostly a matter of memory, and that glib reproduction is the highest proof of intellectual capacity and practical efficiency; it carried to the highest limit everything that is vicious in the scheme of competitive examinations, without the compensations which gave them their justification in the West; and it encouraged the type which conceives that the smattering of undigested information sufficient for the passing of an elementary examination qualifies its possessor for leadership and administration.

Only by hard experience has the government learnt the best methods of dealing with the recurrent disastrous famines that bring untold sufferings on the millions of the peasant population dependent for its daily food upon its own food production. Much has been done to mitigate the periodical danger by costly irrigation works, and by the multiplication of railways and other means of communication, by which food can be brought from elsewhere within reach of the starving peasants in famine-stricken districts. Much, too, has been done in the way of sanitation to check the recurrence of plague and cholera that periodically sweep away thousands of victims. But here, again, the difficulties are enormous, partly owing to the fatalistic inertia of the popu-

lations, partly to the ingrained suspicion of Western methods, which, while absolutely necessary, run counter to native prejudices and superstitions.

The transfer of the Indian sovereignty to the crown did not practically affect the principle that the government should remain in the hands of the ruling race; for the government, under the viceroy in council, remained in the hands of the Civil Service that took the place of the Company's Covenanted Service. Theoretically that service was open to the natives of India; admission to it was thrown open by competitive examination, which was in high favour as the gateway to government services in preference to the old method of nomination by favour, and was amply justified by the results, so far as concerned the character and quality of the men who entered the Indian Civil Service.

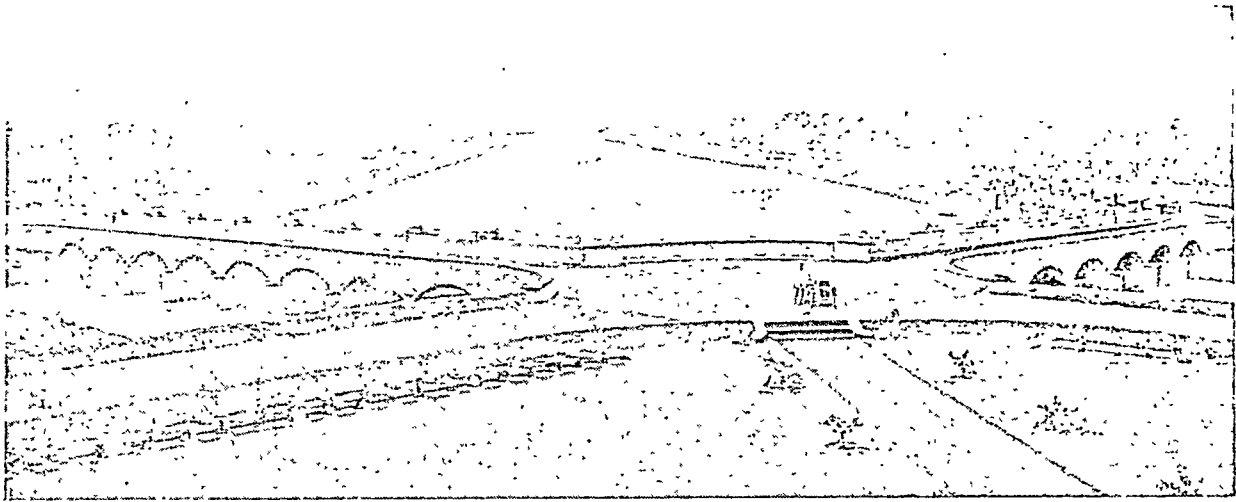
But they continued to be British, not Indian, first because the examinations were held in England, and secondly because the examination standards were those which accorded with the English, not the Indian, educational system.

The development of self-government in its highest departments by the Indians themselves in any other form than that of which alone they had at any period of their history had experience—regional autocracies—was unthinkable at this stage; in that form it was preserved in the allied or dependent principalities, and actually was presently revived in Mysore; but otherwise, within what was now British India, self-government was wholly impracticable, though to bring it within reach by a long course of experimental education was an ultimate ideal.



**THEEBAW KING OF BURMA**

Theebaw, the inefficient and blood-thirsty Burmese monarch who submitted to British forces in November, 1886, is seen seated in state. He survived in India until 1916.



#### MASTERPIECE OF IRRIGATION THAT COMBATS FAMINE IN INDIA

Tremendous expense has been involved by European efforts to reduce the sufferings caused in India by the disastrous famines which frequently afflict its population, and vast improvements have been effected by the introduction of irrigation and sanitation. The construction of the Sarda Canal, shown in this view at a point of bifurcation in the unhealthy forest country of the Tarai, took eight years, and its accomplishment cost over seven million pounds.

Moreover, the path in that direction was thorny; for, wherever race fusion is impossible, the existence of a race barrier cannot be ignored. Whatever may be the case with the southern European peoples, fusion between northerners and the oriental races has never been practicable. The consciousness of a race barrier is ingrained, and with it what must be

called a sense of race inequality, and of resentment in each against the idea of subordination to the other. By the dominant race, the inequality is felt, consciously or subconsciously, to be fundamental; to the subordinate race it appears accidental, unreal, unjustifiable. For the inequality is in fact a matter not of personal capacity, but of differences



#### HUNGER AND WANT AT LUCKNOW DURING THE FAMINE OF 1897

One of the most serious problems confronting British rulers in India is that of coping with the terrible famines that periodically ravage that country. Frequent and unavoidable crop failures render India more liable than any other country to recurrent dearth, and vast numbers perished in the visitations of 1866, 1869, 1877—five million people, it is believed, on this occasion—and 1899.

Government measures of relief met with success in 1897, the year this photograph was taken.

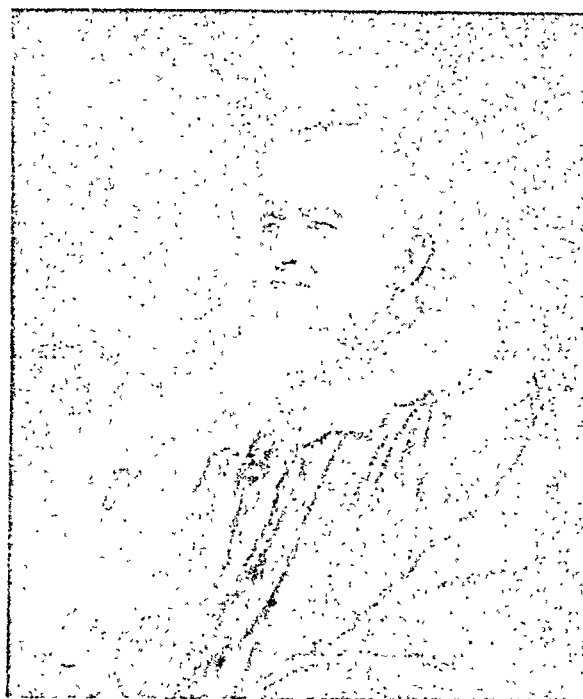
in traditional standards and traditional points of view.

The new education fostered among the Indians a class in which this resentment was particularly active, at the same time making it not the most but the only articulate class, having the whole of the vernacular press in its own hands. It became, in the view of the government, in the time of Lord Lytton (1876-80), necessary to control the licence of the seditious and anti-social propaganda of a portion of the vernacular press; and the inevitable outcry followed, though from the point of view of the British in India the necessity could hardly be questioned.

Then in the viceroyalty of Lytton's successor, Lord Ripon, there occurred an unfortunate incident. The government

proposed legislation which would bring Problems raised by racial antagonism Europeans under the jurisdiction of Indian magistrates, who had hitherto not been admitted to appointments carrying such jurisdiction. Whatever warrant there might be in the abstract for such a measure, it in fact aroused among the Europeans in India such a storm of indignation that the bill had to be withdrawn and so modified that Europeans could claim to be tried only before a preponderantly British jury. Its operation gave no cause of complaint, but its introduction had done much to revive racial antagonisms and jealousies in the most acute form. At the same time the government had been busy with the introduction of a scheme of local self-government, an experiment on the English lines of 'representation,' which had no precedent in India and hardly commanded the confidence of the European community.

An effect of the movement among the newly educated class was the first assembly, during the viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin in the same decade, of an organized body calling itself the Indian National Congress, and claiming to be the 'voice of India'; avowedly aiming at winning by constitutional agitation at least a preponderance for the natives of India in the government of India; which, in the eyes not only of Europeans but of responsible Indians, meant the predom-



LORD RIPON

Appointed viceroy of India in 1880, Lord Ripon (1827-1909), seen in this painting by G. F. Watts, held office until 1884. His liberal policy towards the natives, especially in law reform, made him unpopular with the English in India.

National Portrait Gallery, London; photo, Emery Walker

ance of the vocal class to which most of the members of the Congress belonged.

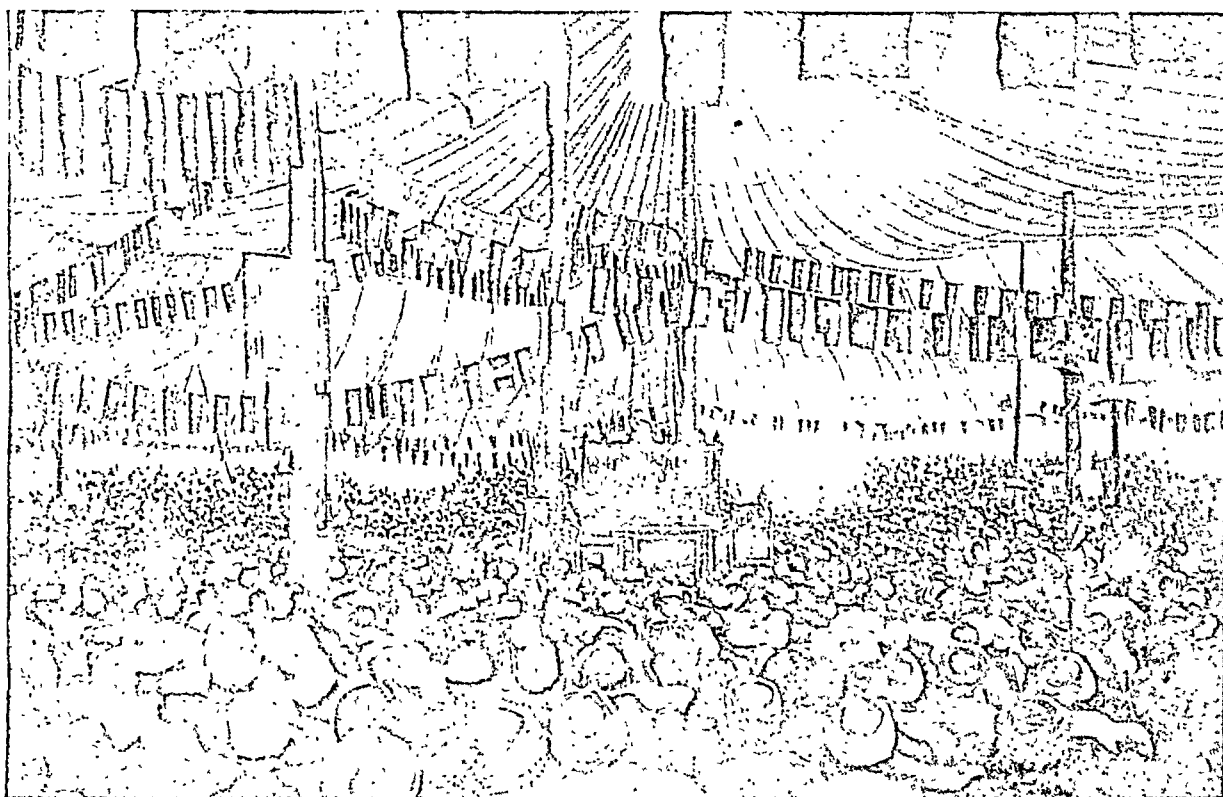
India, as we have seen, both before and after the transfer of sovereignty, was directly governed by the governor-general in council; subject after the transfer to the authority of the secretary of state (also 'in council') at Westminster. The governor-general's council was the 'executive council' consisting of a very small number of members, each at the head of an executive department, appointed thereto; and secondly the 'legislative council,' an expansion of the executive council by the addition of sundry other nominated officials, the size of the legislative council being increased by successive acts of Parliament between 1861 and 1909. The governor-general had the power of appointing an Indian member, but did not exercise it until 1909. The members were some of them ex-officio, the rest holding office by direct appointment. There was nothing in the nature of representation.

The advance of democracy, however, in England, and the spread of 'popular' ideas as represented in the 'National

Congress and the vernacular press, were hardly compatible with the continued maintenance of such a system in its entirety, though the necessity for extreme caution in the introduction of modifications was obvious; and it was in 1909 that the first material departure was taken—a departure regarded in many quarters as hazardous, though agitators in India denounced its inadequacy. Consequently it was attended by so much seditious language that the government was compelled to operate the press laws with a rigour distasteful to democratic sentiment in England, and accompanied by the inevitable glorification of 'martyrs' in India. It was a bold but probably not too bold step in the direction of fitting the Indians to share in the responsibilities of government; a tentative measure with undeniable attendant risks.

For the first time an Indian member came on to the executive council, the inner circle of the government. The numbers of the legislative council were trebled, and

the new body included a large proportion, though still a minority of the whole, of members holding office not ex-officio nor by appointment, but as elected representatives of different sections of the community—sectional representation being adopted with reluctance but as apparently unavoidable. Corresponding changes were made in the provincial councils, and Indians were added to the secretary of state's 'India council' in London. Avowedly, the 'Morley-Minto' measure was experimental, but it definitely introduced the principles of election and representation and the actual entry of Indians into the governing circle. It was, moreover, a decentralising measure increasing the powers and the independence of provincial governments. And here we close this survey; for that world catastrophe was at hand which plunged all things, India included, into the melting pot, driving what to-day at least must seem to be a dividing line between all that went before it and all that is to come after it.



THE 'VOICE OF INDIA' HEARD AT HER NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Indian National Congress, whose first meeting was called in 1885, proved itself an influential force in the national movement, and political and general questions were discussed at its meetings held annually or as occasion demanded. This photograph shows a section of the assembly, numbering some 20,000 delegates and visitors, at a session of the Congress in 1910. It took place under a huge white awning of hand-spun, hand-woven native material.

Photo, E.N.A.

# FREE TRADE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Its Application to the Fiscal Policy of Great  
Britain and an Analysis of its inherent Principles

By J. A. HOBSON

Author of *The Science of Wealth*, *Economics of Unemployment*, etc.

**F**REE trade means in principle the right of importers to bring into a country goods from outside countries without taxes, or other obstacles, being placed upon their entrance, and the similar right of persons in a country freely to export goods from that country. But two qualifications are needed to make this principle conform to practice. A free-trade country may tax imported goods, provided that it imposes a similar tax, an excise duty, upon goods of the same order produced inside the country. Again, bounties, or subsidies, paid to any industry, either for the general encouragement of its production, or especially to enlarge its export trade, must be considered violations of the free-trade principle.

The embodiment of this principle in British policy took place in the middle of last century. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 (see page 4434) is rightly taken as the most distinctive date. For the removal of the tax upon the chief article of food led to the subsequent collapse of the entire system of protective duties, a survival of what was called the mercantilist system, aiming at national self-sufficiency and a favourable balance of export over import trade. But the movement was no sudden one. Liberal thought, especially in France, England and Italy, during the later eighteenth century had been moving steadily in this direction, and Adam Smith's great work, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), made a profound impression upon the thinking public long before the time was ripe for putting its precepts into operation.

The rapid increase of town population, which accompanied the development of machine industry and the factory system

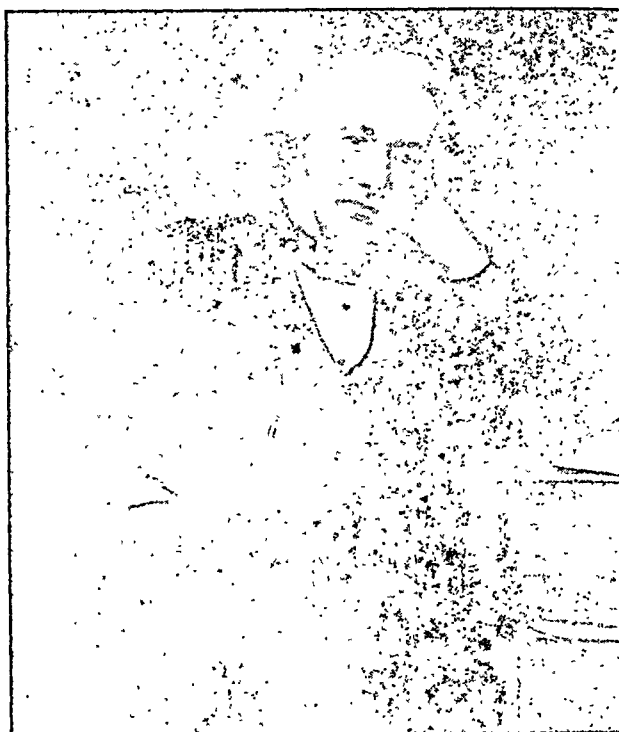
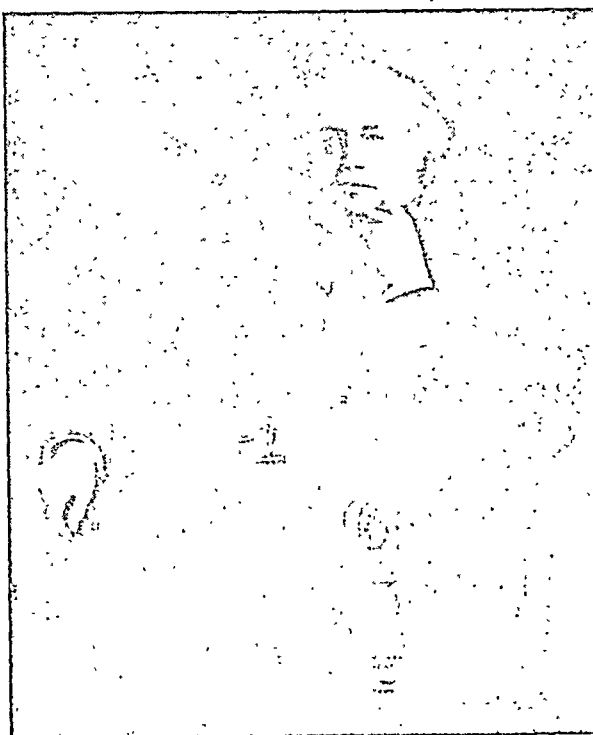
and supplied the necessary labour, meant an increasing demand for imported foods and raw materials. When home harvests failed, as they did several times in each decade, the workers were reduced to starvation. After the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 this misery and discontent found increased expression in politics, and the Anti-Corn-Law League, founded in 1839, with Cobden and Bright as its chief promoters, mobilised this popular feeling into a great political force. Mixed motives,

however, underlay this, as other popular movements. It

Motives of the  
Anti-Corn-Law League

is significant that cotton spinners, bankers and ship owners should have given so much personal and financial support to the free-trade agitation. Cheap food meant low wages, according to the current economic creed and practice; untaxed wool, cotton, timber and other raw materials meant lower costs of production, expanding trade and higher profits. The shipping trade and banking were notoriously interested in promoting foreign trade. So business and genuine humanitarianism worked amicably together for the removal of protective duties.

There were three stages in the process, each associated with the name and activities of a great minister of state. The first stage dates from 1820, when the famous Memorial by the Merchants of London was presented to the House of Commons, complaining of the 'impolicy and injustice of the restrictive system,' and asking for freedom of trade, except for purposes of revenue. Action was taken in the years 1823-25 by Huskisson, then president of the Board of Trade, who



#### TWO FAMOUS POLITICIANS WHO FOUGHT AGAINST THE CORN LAWS

The widespread misery and suffering involved by the British Government's persistent retention of the Corn Laws led the enthusiastic free-trader, Richard Cobden (right), 1804-65, to found the Anti-Corn-Law League in 1839. Left: John Bright (1811-89) vigorously supported the movement throughout the years of energetic campaigning that elapsed before the League witnessed its final triumph in the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

reduced the duties upon many raw materials, and modified the Navigation Acts which confined all non-European trade to ships owned and mainly manned by Englishmen, with further restrictions upon European trade favourable to English shipping.

The second stage coincided with the administration of Sir Robert Peel (1811-46), who first set himself to remove the numerous minor duties that served as outposts to the protective system. In 1840 there still remained no fewer than 1,150 different items in the list of dutiable goods, with 40 others coming under general heads. That most of them were of trivial significance for purposes of revenue is shown by the fact that nine commodities furnished six-sevenths of the total receipts. Peel set himself to remove all prohibitions on imports, to reduce tariffs on raw materials to a nominal amount, and to diminish the duties on half and wholly manufactured goods. By his 1845 measure no fewer than 450 items were liberated, among them the chief textile materials. This work was crowned by his Corn Law Act of 1846, which took full

effect three years later, when the Navigation Acts also disappeared.

The third period is associated with the name of Gladstone, who, as chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852, set out to complete Peel's work, removing the remaining duties on foods, and later, in 1860, the last duties upon manufactures. A few duties lingered on: the timber duty until 1866, the shilling registration duty on corn until 1869; while sugar was finally freed in 1875; the English tariff henceforth being non-protective, levied only on tobacco, tea, spirits, wine and a few other minor articles for purposes of revenue.

But though free trade, established as the permanent policy of Great Britain from the mid-nineteenth century down to the Great War, seemed justified by the great expansion of foreign trade and the fairly continuous advance of national prosperity, shared in different measures by all classes, the temper, and even the creed, of protection had never completely perished. Indeed, efforts at revival, feeble for several decades, began soon after the completion of the liberative policy. The country landlords, representing agricul-



ture, never wholly accepted defeat, and the agricultural depression with low prices, falling rents and decline of arable culture that began at the end of the 'seventies led to demands for public aids in the shape of tariffs, subsidies and rate remissions. This movement among landowners and farmers was presently reinforced by recruits from certain manufactures that found themselves drawn into damaging competition with the newly developed industries of Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and other European countries, to be followed a few years later by the not less formidable competition from the United States.

Up to the 'seventies, and even later, British exports of textile, metal and most other machine-made goods held the world market without serious rivalry from other countries. But after the Franco-German War in Europe and the Civil War in America peace and settled conditions brought a rapid expansion of manufacturing power wherever access to raw materials and the skill to adopt machine production were available. Former markets set up manufactures of their own, often with imported machinery and sometimes skilled labour from England. Worse than this, they began to contend for the trade in neutral markets. Worst of all, they began to 'dump' their low-waged goods into England, displacing home products and causing unemployment among the workers. Though these injuries were mostly confined to less important and less efficient trades and businesses, while the general prosperity of home and foreign trade continued, alarm spread among certain business men, and a sort of informal alliance was made with agriculture under the specious title of 'fair trade.' Not a return to protection, but a keeping out of 'sweated' or 'dumped' goods, and some help for agriculture, formed the rather indefinite substance of this first draft of 'tariff reform.'

By the 'nineties it became evident that Great Britain could not hope to retain the supremacy she had long occupied in certain fundamental industries, such as coal, iron and steel, and that even in the textile,

leather and other staple manufactures the competition, especially of Germany and the United States, was cutting into her eastern, her South American and even her Empire trade. The alarm was much exaggerated, for, apart from the periodic depressions shared by all industrial nations, there was little fault to find with the volume and the profitable nature of British trade. Though the foreign trade of certain competitors was growing faster than hers, she still held a long lead in the volume of that trade; she could still afford to invest in the profitable development of her Empire and of backward countries far larger sums than any other nation, and her merchant fleet remained unrivalled.

The Boer War, however, ripened a new influence in the now apparent protectionist revival, the imperial sentiment. A vast and far-flung empire, with great variety of resources, peoples and climatic conditions, had for some time past been evoking for imperialist politicians the vision of a self-sufficing British Empire as a practicable achievement. The Dominions, themselves committed to protection, had already begun to tempt the home country to reciprocity with timid preferences. Was it not possible, by giving preference to Empire products, to work towards the magnificent realization of an

The scheme of imperial Zollverein, Imperial Preference based on internal free trade and a common tariff front to foreign countries? Could not the colonial sentiment aroused by the Boer War, and the admitted desirability of a common imperial defence, be utilised for economic policy? This conception of the unity of the Empire had been the guiding principle of Joseph Chamberlain from the time when he took office in 1895 as colonial secretary. He recognized that it could only be realized piece-meal. The first step was to be a tariff, with imperial preferences. Since the Dominions and Colonies had very little to export in the shape of manufactures, preference must be given on raw materials and foods, with duties upon foreign articles.

Had the test taken place under conditions of deep and general trade depression with large bodies of unemployed in the industrial towns, it is just possible that

Chamberlain might have secured a victory in 1906. But trade was not depressed, and the proposal to put taxes on foreign foods, in order to cement the Empire, did not appeal to the electorate. Chamberlain was right in regarding a post-war period as favourable to protection. History attests it. The Napoleonic wars heralded high tariffs in England. Before the Franco-German War Continental countries were moving towards free trade; after it, and largely in consequence, protective walls were built higher. So in the United States the new revenue needs after the huge expenditure of the Civil War were the chief origin of their high tariff policy. But the Boer War was not big or bad enough to secure this object, and protection lay low for more than a decade.

In this interim, though no protective steps were politically feasible, the alarm in many business quarters at the industrial advance of Germany and the United States, especially the former, was very persistent and contributed to the war atmosphere. The economic policy during the war was necessarily one of trade restraints. The curtailment of luxury and other unnecessary imports, for economy of transport and for finance, the special arrangements for purchases of wool, grain and other commodities from the Empire, the war necessity for subsidised foods, dyes and other home products, the conservation of 'key industries' and, above all, the preparations for discrimination in post-war trade, at the Paris Economic Conference of 1916, made temporary havoc of the free-trade policy. After the war it left a number of concrete emplacements for the use of the militant protectionists.

The demands of the chancellor of the Exchequer were such as to make for the retention of every available source of revenue. Certain 'key industries,' essential to the defence of the realm or to the vital needs of the population, must be maintained by subsidy or tariff. The loyal co-operation of the Empire must be recognized and strengthened by maintaining and enlarging the temporary preferences of war time. But most important in its potentiality was the Safeguarding of

Industries Act of 1921, passed 'with a view to the safeguarding of certain special industries and the safeguarding of employment in industries in the United Kingdom against the effects of the depreciation of foreign currencies and the disposal of imported goods at prices below the cost of production.' The qualification was attached that such importation 'seriously affected' employment. A considerable number of articles, largely chemicals and scientific instruments, came at once under this new rule, subjecting them to a 33½ per cent. tariff, and a number of committees were subsequently set up to report upon the demands of other trades.

In 1928 the new protection was moving slowly from three bases. First, there were the survivals of war restrictions, directed against the importation of luxuries and certain, largely German, scientific products, such as cinematograph films, clocks and watches, motor cars and cycles, musical instruments and matches. Secondly came the 'key industry' goods added under the Safeguarding Act. Thirdly, there was the extension of imperial preference to all articles already subject to import duties, and a vote of money for the development of Empire trade.

The war atmosphere, imported into trade relations, the collapse of European exchange, disturbed political conditions on the Continent, the urgent needs of tax revenue, long and deep trade depression and unemployment — all contributed to encourage the hopes of protectionists that a general tariff might become politically possible. But the obstacles to this achievement remained stubborn. Many lie outside the region of feeling and opinion, being rooted in trade interests. More than two-thirds of the food consumed in Great Britain, and a very large part of the raw materials for British manufactures, come, and will continue to come, from overseas, and the obvious danger to life and trade from bringing any of these under a tariff is felt even by those who profess that 'the foreigner' can be made to pay. Most of the semi-manufactured and much of the fully manufactured imports are capital for English business men, and any rise of

price or crippling of supply will raise their expenses and damage their trade, both domestic and export. Shipping and banking would obviously be injured by reduction of imports, and its repercussion upon exports. As for Empire goods displacing foreign goods, this would in any case be confined to certain foods and raw materials, and if such preference is worth anything to the Empire, it can only signify that foreign goods, intrinsically cheaper or better, are kept out by dearer or worse Empire goods.

For a nation as dependent as Great Britain upon overseas supplies for her vital needs there is the further fact that any such artificial limitation of sources of supply would put her in grave danger in case of war or failure of Empire harvests. In war, free supplies from the United States and other foreign countries are essential and are less likely to be stopped at sea than Empire products. In each decade there are one or two years when the wheat supply is short simultaneously in Canada, Australia and India, the great sources of imperial supply. A system of imperial preference, based upon a tariff which antagonised foreign countries, would therefore be peculiarly dangerous in peace or war. For a glance at the comparative statistics of British trade with the Empire and with foreign countries will show that the notion of anything approaching imperial economic self-sufficiency in chief foods and raw materials, within any calculable period, is quite chimerical.

Moreover, an inherent contradiction exists between scientific protection and imperial preference.

**Arguments against Imperial Preference** For the former, seeking to safeguard the volume and price of national industries, demands a graded series of taxes, just sufficient to regulate the overseas supplies. But if these are to be divided into two classes with different rates of duty, such regulation becomes impracticable. If the foreign imports are 'scientifically' taxed, the rates for Empire goods will be too low to safeguard the interests of home producers. This would soon be seen to be no merely 'theoretic' objection if Joseph Chamberlain's aphorism, 'in order to give imperial preference

you must tax food,' were incorporated in an actual tariff.

From this historical sketch let us turn to a presentation of the theory of free trade. It has for its foundation the simple proposition that persons, being what they are in capacities and situation, can do some things better than they can do other things; or, in other words, that division of labour according to aptitudes and opportunities is advantageous for any group of people in trade relations with one another. Even in the simplest rural community **General Theory of Free Trade** there are obvious gains from each person sticking to the jobs he can do best, producing more of certain articles than he requires for his own consumption and exchanging this surplus for those of his neighbours, who have devoted their work to producing other articles. This is the first principle of all trade. If it holds good, as admittedly it does, of a village community, or of the inhabitants of a single valley or countryside, where the conditions of soil or situation make it better for some to confine themselves to growing crops of wheat or turnips, others to pasture or to forestry, while this man will choose to be a smith, another a miller, a third a carpenter—if there is the largest body of wealth for all and each produced by this arrangement, is there any reason to set any territorial or population limit to this economy? If it is good for a village to have this specialisation of work and free exchange of each man's surplus, it would seem to be good for a whole county and for a whole country. And this will be generally agreed to by Englishmen, irrespective of opinion or party. Nobody would think of suggesting that Derbyshire should tax produce from Nottinghamshire, or that even the biggest counties should seek to satisfy all their needs from their own sources of supply.

We must remember, however, that this doctrine is by no means fully recognized even in civilized countries like France and Italy, where local octrois still prevail, attesting to a survival of a feeling or belief that it is good for each little community to be as self-sufficing as possible, harking back to the time when the inhabitants of

neighbouring valleys or townships were 'natural' or 'traditional' enemies. These survivals within a national area give the key to much of the strength of national protectionism. The stranger (even in the next valley) is my enemy; even if he wants to trade with me, I must take precautions against him; I must deal as far as possible exclusively with my friends and neighbours. Nationalism has gone far to break down these nearer barriers, but it has substituted national barriers and made them more consciously real.

It is generally recognized that within the borders of a single country complete freedom of trade is a sound and profitable process, advantageous alike to buyers and sellers. But if it is advantageous to buyers and sellers in neighbouring provinces of the same national state to exchange their surplus goods by free commerce, why should it not be equally advantageous for buyers and sellers in different national states? Why should a political barrier affect the economy of free exchange? Suppose that a country which hitherto had been a single political system and, as such, based its economic organization on a free-trade footing, each district or province making the most of its natural resources and human aptitudes, were broken up into several separate states, would it be good for any of those states to set up tariff barriers against the other states? This is what has happened to the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, with lamentable consequences. Though the United States is a solidly protectionist country in its external relations, internally it forms the largest free-trade area in the industrial world. It never occurs to an American that it could be conducive to the prosperity of any of its forty-eight states to erect a tariff wall against its neighbours.

The free-trade case is that political distinctions are irrelevant for trading relations, that it is always

Trade a form better to buy in the of co-operation cheapest market irrespective of whether that market is at home or abroad. Trade is a form of co-operation, and the larger and more variously productive the area of this co-operation the better for all parties. It is difficult to impugn the logic of this

general argument. Probably most of the better informed protectionists would admit its abstract validity. They would agree that, if their country were to acquire by conquest or consent a neighbouring country, or if a United States of Europe were to come into being, it would be to the general advantage to take down any tariff barriers that had been set up before, as quickly as the necessary readjustments of internal finance and established industries admitted.

Let me complete the general free-trade argument by a brief statement of its attitude towards tariffs. A tariff which restricts the area of competitive co-operation cannot advantage the nation that imposes it. By inducing some capital and labour to be employed in producing articles which could be produced more easily abroad, it artificially drives this capital and labour into a less productive employment than it would have found otherwise. If these articles had been imported instead of being made at home, this home capital and labour would have flowed into trades turning out a larger quantity of goods, a part of which would, by the necessary processes of trade balance, have gone abroad in exports to pay for the imported articles. The result of the tariff is that a smaller total quantity of wealth is produced in the country, less real income for distribution and consumption. Moreover, it is a bad and wasteful form of taxation. It costs much money and trouble to collect, it breeds evasion and corruption both in politics and business. Except in rare cases the foreigner is not made to pay. Normally the importer pays the tax, shifting it on to the consumer in the price he charges. This is borne out by ample testimony of importers and traders.

It is sometimes said that free trade is a consumers' policy, protection a producers'. In a certain sense this is true. Where it can be clearly brought home to consumers that protection means higher prices, not only of imported goods but also of the domestic goods that are protected and can therefore raise their prices, the consumer is against a tariff. But this

does not necessarily mean that, as a citizen-voter, he is a supporter of free trade. For most consumers are also producers, and they may be members of a trade which thinks it stands to gain by a tariff that will keep out the underselling foreigner. For the members of any such trade may gain, if they can get protection without it being extended to all other trades.

Here lies the practical strength of the protectionist interest and propaganda. Each trade stands to gain by a tariff that keeps out competing goods. Each trade is organized separately in its own interest. Protectionism in politics consists in the separate pressure of each trade, or group of trades, for a tariff on its goods. Since trades are largely specialised in localities, protectionist politicians will, quite naturally, illustrate their argument from the local trade, pointing to the advantages which it would reap by being protected against the products of cheap foreign labour. The fallacy lies in the fact that, though any trade may thus gain, every trade, or trade as a whole, cannot. For the members of each trade have, as employers, to buy their plant, materials, fuel, etc., from other trades which are also to be protected and to raise their prices, while the workers, even if they get a rise in pay, will find it all taken back in the rising prices they pay to other protected trades for the goods on which they spend their wages. This all follows from the general argument that a protective tariff reduces the real income of the nation.

But it may be said, Surely protectionists have a more plausible case than this to put up? Certainly they have. First there comes the contention that one-sided free trade is not the genuine article. Trade freely with countries that let your goods in free, but not with countries that tax your exports. Why should you give such countries the advantage of your free market, when they do not reciprocate? The free-trade answer is that though a free-import country is injured in its trade by the protective tariff of another country, that is no reason for inflicting on itself a second injury; that one-sided free trade is better than two-sided protection. To

this it is added that the protected country injures its own people more than the people of the country whose goods it taxes. The reason why this argument often fails to convince is simply this, that producers' immediate interests, grouped separately by trades, figure more prominently in the public mind than the interests of scattered, unorganized consumers.

But apart from this predominance of the organized producers there is a general sense of the unfairness or inequality of the situation, and the desire to utilise a tariff, or a tariff threat, for bargaining or retaliation. It seems a reasonable expectation that a country could be induced to lower or even to withdraw its tariff on imported goods in order to prevent a tariff being put upon the goods which it exports. The free-trade answer is that, while an undertaking to lower an existing tariff upon foreign goods may sometimes be effectual in evoking a reciprocal reduction in the foreign country, experience shows that the threat of a new duty, or a raising of an existing duty, has an opposite effect. It causes the foreign country to retaliate by raising its tariff, and a tariff war ensues, extremely injurious to the trade of both countries. In any case to put taxes upon home traders and home consumers (for this is what a tariff means), in order to inflict a smaller injury upon foreign countries whose trade is thereby diminished, does not appear to be sensible.

The whole discussion, however, is obscured by the war atmosphere that has been wrongly imported into trade relations. Introduction of the Because the essentially War atmosphere co-operative activities of industry and commerce are accompanied by detailed competition and rivalry in buying and selling among the business units, it is falsely supposed that there is a real and ultimate antagonism of interests among the competitors, and that the prosperity of some signifies the adversity of others. Especially is this notion applied to the supposed conflict between producers and merchants in different countries who try to sell their goods in one another's markets, or in neutral markets. This struggle is envisaged as a national one, in which 'Great

Britain and Germany and America are fighting to capture one another's home markets or to 'steal' a neutral market that has hitherto belonged to one of them. The fact that governments sometimes assist their 'nationals' in pushing their export trades, and are responsible for protective tariffs, helps to sustain the illusion that trade, or the exchange of commodities, is in its real nature a conflict of interests, instead of a harmony.

The presentation of foreign trade in terms of conflict between different countries is unfortunately helped by the excessive attention given in official publications to the balance of trade between different countries, often serving to suggest that a country which is selling more to another than it buys from it is inflicting an injury and

**Fallacy that trade is in a sense its enemy.**  
**is a national conflict** This is a fourfold error.

In the first place England, France, Germany, America are falsely represented as trading companies, whereas the trade is done by individual firms within each country. Secondly, the competition for sales and orders is usually much keener between different firms of the same nationality than between firms in England, Germany and America. Thirdly, there remains the fundamental error of supposing that it is more important to sell abroad than to buy abroad, and to sell dear than to buy cheap. Finally, the disposition to make a separate balance of import and export trade with business firms in separate foreign countries helps to maintain the old mercantilist fallacy, and to obscure the ultimate truth that in the long run exports and imports balance. It would, however, be unfair to quit this part of the discussion without an admission that the war atmosphere, and the excessive valuation of export over import trade, is largely due to the belief of traders, founded on experience, that it is usually more difficult to sell all that you have to sell at a remunerative price than to buy all that you want to buy at a price you can pay.

But the importation of the war spirit and rationale into international trade, and the fact that producers are better organized than consumers and therefore

better able to press for political assistance, are not a complete explanation of the strength of protectionism. Much is attributable to the greater willingness to pay indirect and unfelt taxes than direct and felt taxes. This plays into the hands of tariff makers. The free-trader holds that the consumer pays the tax, and that, since the high costs of collection must be added, together with the rise in price of the home product, he must pay more than if he handed his share in hard cash to the tax collector. But he does not realize or feel this impost, and as the modern state needs more and more revenue it is more disposed to take the easier way in raising it. In most countries money acquires a superstitious value. Most workers would refuse to take a reduction of money wages, even if they knew that a greater fall of prices would ensue and that the lower wage would thus be worth more. So men hate to part with money to the state; they would rather that the state collected it from them in some unseen, indirect way which raised the price of what they bought. This applies particularly to the peasant mind of such countries as France and Italy. In new and sparsely peopled countries the practical difficulties of assessing and collecting an income or other direct tax furnish a more reasonable ground for indirect taxation at a few ports of entry.

But, it may be urged, are there no considerations wider than these small practical expediences, and more valid than the **Argument of 'Infant Industries'** set forth, which give a logical support to the use of tariffs? Yes, there are. There is, for example, the well-known 'infant industries' argument, accepted as sound in reason and in practice by so strong a free-trader as J. S. Mill. It may be discovered that a country, hitherto agricultural or primitive in its industries, possesses the raw materials upon which an important manufacture can be reared, provided that time and opportunity are given for trying out the new experiment, training the labour and raising the productive plant to the size required for efficient and cheap production. Hitherto the country has

been dependent on imported supplies of the manufactured article in question. This can, however, be produced at home if the early experimental stage of the manufacture is protected either by a tariff or a subsidy. It cannot at first stand on its own feet, and, if it is exposed to the competition of established manufactures in other countries it is bound to go under.

Here is a case for temporary aid until the new industry grows up. The logic is unimpeachable. The free-trader, however, contends, with much evidence from experience, that such 'infants' never grow up, in the sense that they never admit their ability to dispense with the duty or bounty on which they have been reared. If a government existed wise enough and strong enough to give notice that it would withdraw the aid at some early fixed date, and to keep its word against all pressure for continuance, the policy of defending an 'infant' industry by tariff or bounty might be accepted, though some children of promise, like the subsidised dye industry in England, turn out such weaklings that such assistance is of no avail.

There remain two lines of argument in favour of protection which English free-traders have habitually ignored, but which deserve presentation here. When Joseph Chamberlain began his campaign in 1903 in favour of a tariff, he depicted Great Britain as on the verge of a deep and lasting depression of trade.

**The Appeal to Unemployment** Had this been true, he could have gone about the industrial regions appealing to each town to support a tariff that would remedy the unemployment in its local industry, by keeping out the foreign goods whose 'dumping' at low prices was responsible for their bad trade. Had the 1906 election been fought in circumstances of deep and general trade depression, even the 'cheap loaf' might not have availed to prevent a victory for a general tariff. At any rate, if the food taxes had been dropped, and the stress had been laid upon keeping out foreign manufactured goods, such a policy might have been accepted, in spite of the opposition of banking, shipping, cotton and the other free-trade interests and the general alarm of the consumer. For this appeal to

unemployment does not wholly rest upon its separatist character, the promise to protect each particular trade, rendered ineffectual by the extension of the same promise to all the other trades.

A stronger case can be made for keeping out foreign goods during a period of general unemployment. The usual free-trade contention that no tariff can increase the total volume of employment in a country does not hold without qualification during a general depression. Take an instance. An English railway is confronted with the question whether it shall place an order for some engines with a Glasgow firm or with a Belgian, the tender of the latter being slightly lower than the Glasgow one. The free-trader argues

that it is better to set **When the Free Trade**  
to work unemployed **case is weakest**  
plant and labour in

Belgium than unemployed plant and labour in Glasgow, not merely better for the railway, that gets a slightly cheaper article, but better for the whole country. For the Belgian engines force Belgians, or some other foreigners, to buy English goods, which they would not otherwise have bought, to the amount of the price paid for the Belgian engines. Thus it is contended that, though no increased employment is given to the engineering trade in Glasgow, 'a nearly equivalent amount of employment is given to (say) the Lancashire cotton trade, or Northampton shoes, or whatever the trades are whose increased exports go abroad in payment for the Belgian engines. Had the engines been bought from Glasgow, this export trade would not have taken place, nor the employment it afforded in Lancashire and Northampton.

Now the free-trader here is misled by looking exclusively to the amount of foreign trade. For, while it is true that the export trade of England would have been less if the engines had been bought at Glasgow instead of Belgium, it is not true that the total trade and employment of England would have been correspondingly less. What would have happened would be that, instead of cotton goods, shoes, etc., going out of the country to pay for Belgian engines, a slightly larger quantity of these or other English goods would have gone



to Glasgow, being purchased with the money paid by the railway to Glasgow engineers, who otherwise would have remained unemployed. Both the engines and the goods bought with the money that paid for the engines would have been produced by labour and capital employed at home. Adam Smith clearly recognized this point when he argued that home trade was preferable to foreign trade in that it 'set in motion two capitals instead of one.

The reason why modern free-traders have neglected this argument is that they have failed to recognize that the strict logic of free trade assumes that all capital and labour are constantly employed, excepting such margin as the changing

structure of industry requires. On their assumption, what a tariff does is not to add to the total employment in the country, but to cause some capital and labour to be less advantageously employed than it would otherwise have been; or, putting the matter otherwise, to cause a diminution in the aggregate quantity of wealth produced in the country. But, at a time when general unemployment exists in the national industries, it is evident that an import duty, just sufficient to induce the railway to buy engines, say, from Glasgow instead of Belgium, must have the effect of increasing the volume of employment in Great Britain, unless the price of Glasgow engines is so much higher than the Belgian price as to raise the price of railway transport sufficiently to damage other trades and diminish their employment. In a word, during a period of general depression, a tariff keeping out foreign goods could increase the volume of employment in a country. This does not impair the logic of free trade, but it introduces an irrational element of unemployment which upsets one of its premisses. Though protectionists have made little use of this line of reasoning, they have had an idea that a trade depression is favourable for their propaganda. When unemployment in industrial centres was rife, they have urged that foreign competing goods should be kept out.

If it were feasible to put on carefully adjusted duties in a time of depression, and remove them as soon as trade revived, there would be a good deal to be said for such a policy, regarded as a purely national economy. It would, in effect, mean the export of unemployment to foreign countries. But the practical utility of the policy is doubtful, partly for the reason which rejects the protection of 'infant industries,' partly for the difficulty of discriminating between the unemployment in an ill-conducted trade, or a trade otherwise declining, and the unemployment that is due to a merely temporary general depression. The policy would certainly be utilised to maintain inefficiency, and, when a genuine revival of trade came, the structure of industry as a whole would be less productive because of the artificial aid to trades that could not stand alone.

One of the most persuasive arguments used by protectionists is that, by securing to home producers a monopoly of their national market, greater stability is imparted to their industries, which, thus secured from foreign attacks, can develop The 'Home most efficient structures, exporting any surplus products that they cannot sell at home without depressing prices. But this argument is not as good as it sounds. Secure of its home market, an industry is robbed of part of its incentives to progress; it is easily induced to combine so as to impose high prices on the home market, selling abroad at lower rates and thus equipping foreign competitors in other industries with cheap machines, materials, etc., and enabling them to undersell in neutral markets, or to enter the home market over the tariff wall. Moreover, the argument, plausible from the standpoint of one industry, collapses when it is part of a general protective policy. For, as experience shows, security in the home market is not easily attained by a policy that raises the monetary costs of production of most of the goods and services bought from other trades that are similarly protected. It is an attempt to hoist yourself up by your shoulder-straps. A general tariff tends to raise all costs of production, especially money wages, and

interferes with export trades, thus making it more difficult to buy the foods and materials that cannot be produced at home, reducing the aggregate quantity of wealth produced, and requiring constant additions to the tariff walls in order to keep out the cheaper goods which consumers wish to buy.

The main assumption of a scientific tariff maker is that, while raw materials and even certain semi-manufactured goods may be admitted at moderate rates, fully manufactured goods should be kept out, or heavily handicapped, because more labour is incorporated in the latter, and that, conversely, the exportation of fully manufactured goods should be encouraged, whereas the exportation of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods should be discouraged. The assumption, however, is fallacious, because it looks at the condition of the goods instead of at their value. Exported cotton cloth to the value of £1,000 has not absorbed more labour (given more employment) than £1,000 worth of coal similarly exported. And the same applies to imports. There is no ground for holding that imported American harvesters or German field-glasses embody a larger volume of labour than Norwegian timber or Argentine wheat of the same money value, or that their importation is more likely to cause unemployment.

There remains one argument against free trade which cannot be ignored. It belongs rather to sociology than to ordinary

**Sociologist's case against Free Trade** economics. It is the protest against the specialisation of a community by confining its productive occupations too narrowly to allow variety of work and life. It is sometimes charged against the English economy that the health, the interest, the richness and the joy of life have been diminished by absorbing so large a majority of the people in city life and its dull routine work, by converting large districts, such as Lancashire, Staffordshire, the West Riding, into factories for cotton, pottery, wool and their accessories. Would it not be wiser to keep a better balance between town and country, a larger variety of occupations in each neighbourhood with a larger

variety of types of population? Or (another aspect of the same argument) is not society, as a whole, weakened when it has no hand in producing many of the most useful and necessary articles that it uses and is dependent upon foreigners for its very livelihood? People would be happier and more secure if they were not so subdivided in their work and so dependent upon others for their needs.

Though national pride and defence play some part in this position, there is a more urgent criticism directed against a political economy that looks too exclusively to quantity of wealth, and takes too little interest in the human conditions of the work that produces it and the sort of life which conditions of work impose upon workers. The strength of this appeal to a standard of national wealth which takes into consideration the disutilities or human costs of producing wealth, as well as the mere quantity of wealth produced, will vary very much with personal valuations. A case can doubtless be made for the better type of modern city life, with its varied human intercourse, leisure, occupations and amusements, as against the harder working life and the ruder character of the peasant. But most would probably agree that country life and the skilled and various cultivation of the soil contribute such value to a national life and character that, if it can be done without excessive sacrifice or dangerous devices, some balance between the town and country is desirable. If this admission, however, is utilised by protectionists as an argument for their policy, it should be plainly recognized that it signifies a reduction in the aggregate body of material wealth.

Other difficulties will arise when settling the degree of diversity of work and life desirable or attainable within the limits of a national area. It may be intolerable to contemplate a population almost entirely divorced from the soil and given up to a few great branches of town industry or commerce. But there are countries so uniform in their geography and climate that their agricultural life has a monotony and dullness of its own. In a word, there is no guarantee that a particular

political area, a nation state, is appropriate for this economically self-sufficing policy. It may be too big or too little, and any attempt to isolate a nation to-day in the interests of economic self-sufficiency is an emphasis of exclusive nationalism that may well be deemed hostile to the larger welfare of humanity. But for intense nationalists a case can be made for protectionism, if they are prepared to pay the price in diminished wealth and a withdrawal from the free invigorating influences of internationalism.

It may be well to conclude upon a more practical and historical note. It is often urged that a certain pharisaism is implicit in the free-trade position. Most civilized countries, other than Great Britain, some of them with better education and all with equal intellectual powers, remain addicted to protectionism. How are Britons entitled to condemn them as foolish and blind to their true interests? For, if free trade is good for the one, it must be good for the others. Yet with

hardly an exception all  
Isolated attitude of Great Britain other civilized countries,  
old and new, including the  
Dominions of the British

Empire, have declared for protection. The free-trade answer, satisfactory or not, would probably run thus: Though free trade would be a good policy for all, it has a more urgent importance for Great Britain than for any other great country; for she is more dependent for her necessary foods and materials upon foreign countries than any other country, and is likely to remain so. No protective policy could make her nearly self-sufficing, not even with free trade within the Empire, itself not a practicable policy. It is therefore of vital importance for her to deal freely, alike in buying and selling, with all the world. If impediments are put upon her import trade, it would react dangerously upon her export trade. To impose tariffs on foreigners who had hitherto sent their goods in free would arouse ill feeling and evoke retaliation. If, as part of such a policy, an exclusive Empire trade were organized, shutting to other foreign nations a large section of the world with which they had built up a profitable and a growing trade, the political reactions

would be very dangerous. Hence both for economic and political reasons the free-trade arguments come home to Great Britain with greater force than to peoples less dependent upon foreign trade. Holland, the only other free-trade country, is similarly placed in the world, a small country, largely dependent upon foreign trade and shipping for her livelihood, and with large colonial possessions which she could not expect to hold for her exclusive trade. The Scandinavian countries, also vitally dependent upon foreign trade, maintain a low tariff system.

The heightened nationalism that has been favouring protection, partly to satisfy a pride of economic self-

containedness, partly for  
defence and partly to  
meet the new demands

Extension of Free Trade areas  
for public revenue, must not be regarded as a definite repudiation of free trade. Nationalism itself has been a chief instrument of the extension of free-trade areas. The nineteenth century saw the breakdown of innumerable local and provincial barriers in France and Italy, while the German Zollverein, which swept away a multitude of tariffs, did more than anything else to promote the industrial expansion of Germany in the last quarter of the nineteenth and the opening years of the twentieth century. If one remembers the intricate network of restrictions that hampered the trade even of neighbouring towns and villages in the Middle Ages, this wider perspective shows a continuous advance towards greater liberty of trade over wider territorial areas. Modern means of transport and communications are constantly weaving stronger and more numerous bonds of commercial intercourse, even between those nations that set up tariffs against each other's goods. While, therefore, among the economic consequences of the Great War we find in Europe to-day a number of new national tariffs, a raising of old tariffs and some reduction in the volume of international trade, these phenomena may be regarded as a brief temporary interruption of the wider secular process of the expansion of free markets, which is visible as one of the great civilizing forces throughout the history of mankind

# THE U.S.A. AFTER A CENTURY OF INDEPENDENCE

The marvellous Years of Progress and Expansion  
following the Civil War between North and South

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THE Civil War (see pages 4388-92) was one of the turning points in American history. Yet, as so often has happened, its incidental effects were much more significant for subsequent history than the defeat of the Southern Confederacy.

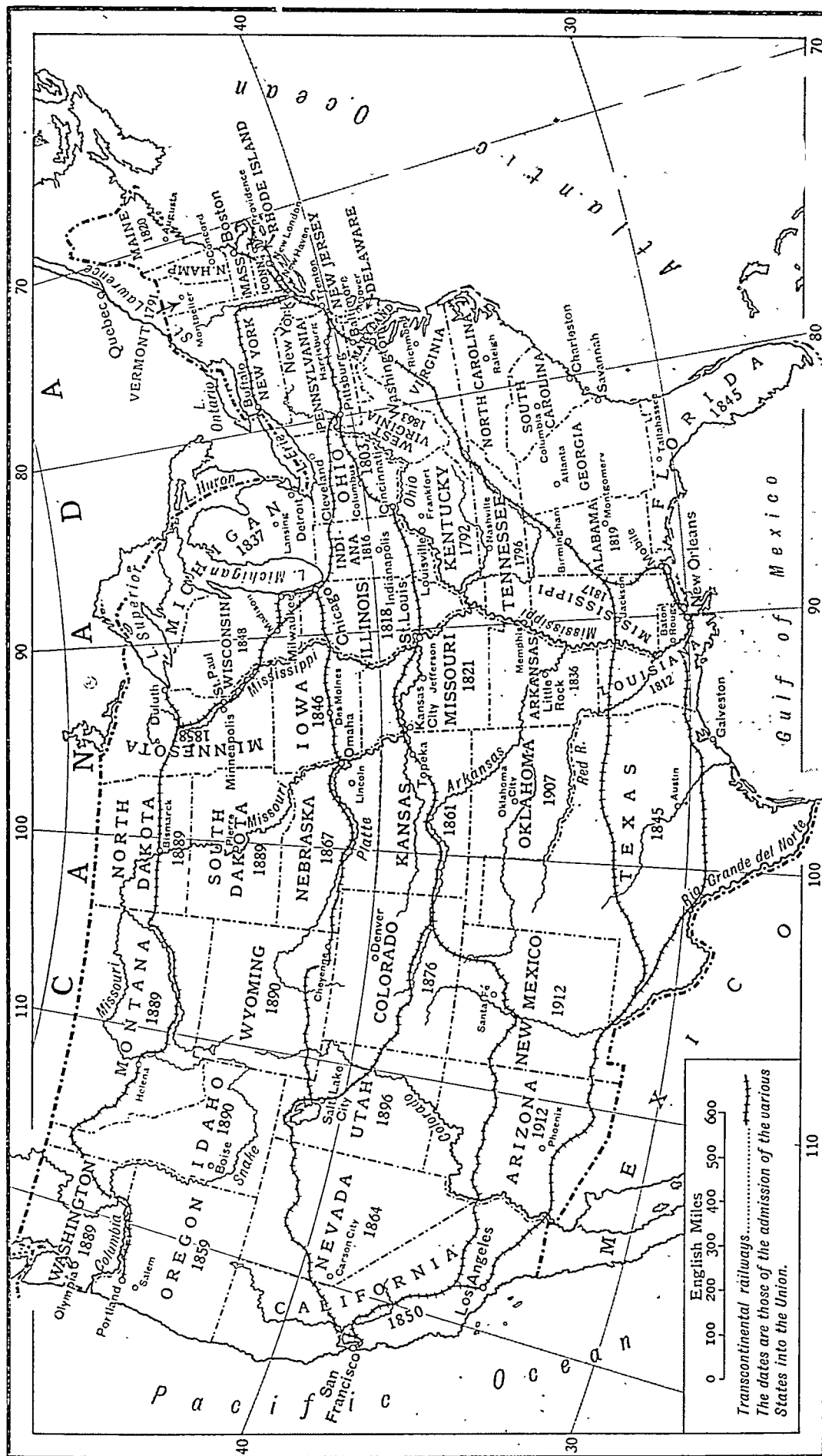
Perhaps the most significant thing during the war was the transformation of industrial life. Machine methods and the factory system had been introduced into the cotton branch of the textile industry in New England in the generation following 1789. Little, however, had been done to manufacture woollen cloth, boots and shoes, or iron and steel goods, by the new methods. For these the country was still dependent upon handicraft products or machine-made goods imported from England. The Civil War brought a great change in all this. The need for clothing was greater than ever, on account of the change from civilian to military clothing necessitated on the part of over a million Northern soldiers. As the supply of cotton fibre from the South was well-nigh cut off, the clothing had to be made from wool. This produced a great advance in the methods of manufacturing woollen clothing, supplanting the handicraft and domestic methods by the machine technique and the factory. Likewise, the greatly increased demand for boots and shoes stimulated the invention of new machines for sewing and lasting shoes, such as the McKay sewing machine and the Goodyear lasting machine.

The needs of the war in the way of munitions, such as guns, cannon and shells, and in the way of transportation, such as railroad rails, locomotives and car

trucks, created a vast demand for iron and steel products manufactured by the new machine methods. A large part of this demand for iron and steel goods had to be satisfied by purchases in England, but gradually there were adopted the improved methods of manufacturing these products which laid the basis of one of America's greatest industries.

The development of transportation facilities was also greatly stimulated by the Civil War. It was necessary to build railroads to carry the troops and munitions of war. Even more important was the necessity of building railroads to connect the Stimulating effect east and north with of the Civil War the great grain producing regions of the upper Mississippi Valley. Lines were constructed connecting Buffalo, Pittsburg and Baltimore with Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee and St. Paul. Before the 'sixties were over a transcontinental line—the Union Pacific—was completed. Since 1869 no fewer than six other great transcontinental railroads have been built.

The progress in agriculture was not less striking than that in manufacturing and transportation. Not only was there a special demand for cereals and meat to supply the soldiers in the field, but there was also an unusual European demand for American food products which was created by European crop failures in 1861-62. This demand for more grain led to the settlement of the states in the upper Mississippi and Missouri Valleys: Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska and the Dakotas. The agricultural machinery was greatly improved to meet these new needs,



### TERRITORIAL DISPOSITION OF THE FORTY-EIGHT STATES WHICH COMPOSE THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States, which originally consisted of 13 states on the Atlantic seaboard, now stretch across North America to the Pacific, comprising 48 states in all, each state possessing its own republican constitution. Of the additional 35 states, 28 had previously been organized as Territories and seven had not; special Acts of Congress granted admission to the Union. The New England group on the north-east are among the most highly industrialised of the states, but vast progress is being made in the south. Texas is the largest of the states and Rhode Island the smallest.

one writer having stated that the new reaping and threshing machinery freed enough men in the North from agricultural labour to win the Civil War. Still farther west cattle raising expanded to supply the growing demand for meat.

When the Northern troops had conquered Lee's army, and crushed the military strength of the Southern states, they had by no means solved the problems created by the Civil War. Eleven states which had seceded from the Union were now suppressed as an independent government. It was necessary to determine their

automatically restored them to the condition which existed before 1861. Abraham Lincoln was not inclined to go quite as far as this, but agreed that the South had never really been out of the Union. Individuals had rebelled rather than states seceded. Northern extremists, however, were not willing to take so moderate a view of the situation.

It was the desire of President Lincoln to re-establish political life in the South in such a manner as to stir up the least possible amount of ill feeling and secure the greatest rapidity in restoring the section



RAVAGES OF THE CIVIL WAR IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Occupied by the Federal Army under General Sherman in February, 1865, Columbia, capital of South Carolina, suffered considerable damage at the hands of the enemy forces. A fire of disputed origin which broke out in the same year reduced the city to the ruined state in which Theodore R. Davis sketched it after the departure of Sherman's army; the drawing represents the scene near the shattered Court House. After such things the difficulties of reconciliation can be understood.

*From 'Harper's Weekly,' July 21, 1866*

political status and the methods and steps whereby they might be readmitted into the Union. This not only required more time than it did to conquer the South, but it also did much more than the war itself to embitter the South against the North. Then there were about four million negroes in the South who had been freed from slavery, but whose social, economic and political status had not yet been determined. Finally, there was the problem of economic reconstruction in a region that had been ravaged by war as had no other area since the Thirty Years' War in Germany.

There were in 1865 various theories as to the status of the Southern states. The Southern sympathisers, with little consistency or logic, claimed that the Southern states had never been out of the Union, and that the close of the Civil War auto-

as an integral part of the nation. He early outlined his policy in the proclamation of December 8, 1863. He offered a general amnesty, with a few exceptions, to all Southerners who would take the oath of allegiance to the United States. When one tenth of the voters in a seceded state should have taken the oath of allegiance and formed a state government, Lincoln provided that it should be recognized by the Federal government. As for the negroes, he was willing to stop with a guarantee that they would be freed and educated. He did not demand that they be given property or the right to vote.

When Lincoln was assassinated on the night of April 14, 1865, the responsibility of carrying through the difficult task of Southern reconstruction fell to Andrew Johnson, a former Tennessee tailor, who through determined efforts had risen to the



ANDREW JOHNSON

After Lincoln's assassination in 1865, Andrew Johnson (1808-75) became president of the United States. His proposals for the reconstruction of the South failed to satisfy Congress, and in 1868 he was impeached, but acquitted.

*Engraving by H. B. Hall, Jr.*

second highest political position in the land. While he adopted the wise policy that was Lincoln's, few men could have been less fitted to carry out this programme. A war Democrat of Tennessee, he had been nominated as vice-president in 1864 on the insistence of Lincoln, in order to gain democratic votes for the Republican party. He was, thus, not able to command the respect or obedience of the 'regulars' in the dominant Republican party. A Southern 'poor white,' he was looked down upon by the aristocrats both North and South.

At the end of May, 1865, Johnson set forth his plan of reconstruction, which was that of Lincoln, with the addition of certain penalties imposed upon the great Southern planters, who were hated by the Southern poor whites, from which class Johnson had come. The Southern states readily accepted Johnson's terms, and by December, 1865, all the states which had attempted secession, with the exception of Texas, had organized state governments and elected representatives to the Congress which was to meet the same month. Had Johnson's plan been accepted by Congress, not only would reconstruction

have been achieved twelve years sooner than it was, but the South would have been spared worse suffering than that caused by the war, and the chief source of two generations of bitter hatred of the North would not have existed.

Congress flatly refused to accept the president's programme of reconstruction. It refused to seat the representatives from the Southern states, ignored the president's recommendations, and prepared to assume charge of reconstruction by appointing a joint congressional committee of fifteen senators and representatives to investigate conditions in the South and to recommend the policies needed in the Congressional control of the reconstruction programme. The Congressional opponents of the president's plan of reconstruction were led by Charles Sumner in the Senate and by Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives.

A Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution had been submitted to the people by Congress in January, 1865, and was ratified before the close of the year. This abolished slavery throughout the United States. A Freedmen's Bureau was established to supervise conditions among the Southern negroes. While it did much good and rendered many indispensable services in a period of misery and confusion, the Bureau soon came under the control of corrupt officials and became in many sections an instrument of exploitation and oppression of Southern negroes and whites alike. It raised impossible aspirations in the minds of the negroes regarding their future economic, social and political condition, and by its well-nigh complete control over the necessities of life it was able to make the negroes do their bidding in nearly every case. In February, 1866, Congress passed a bill extending the life of this Bureau, but Johnson vetoed it. In July, 1866, Congress passed over the president's veto a bill extending the life of the Bureau for two additional years.

In March, 1866, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, making the freed negroes citizens of the United States, with the same rights as those possessed by white citizens. Johnson vetoed this bill also,



but it was passed over his veto on April 9, 1866. This marked the end of possible compromise between the Executive and Congress over the policy of reconstruction. Desiring still further to protect the negro, Congress submitted the Fourteenth Amendment to the people on June 14, 1866. This confirmed the provisions of the Civil Rights Act, imposed the penalty of diminished representation in Congress and the Electoral College upon any state which had disfranchised the negroes, disqualified from office all Southerners who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and later participated in the Civil War, and declared that 'no state should deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law.' It further provided that the North would not pay off the debts accumulated by the South during the Civil War.

The amendment has had a curious application. It has had very little effect on the position of the negro, but has been repeatedly used by the courts as a ground for declaring unconstitutional both federal and state laws intended to limit the power of big business (see page 4518). As a distinguished American jurist has put it, the Fourteenth Amendment has been successful only in protecting the corporation nigger in the woodpile.'

The president was not slow or loath to accept the Congressional challenge. His opponents were able to exploit the war psychology and the patriotic enthusiasm which Congress assails the Presidency had not died out since the war in their behalf.

In the fall elections there was a great gain for the Congressional opponents of the president. They had a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress. A chief reason for the popular support of the vindictive Congressional policy was that the Southern states, with the exception of Tennessee, refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. They refused to do so chiefly because it meant the exclusion from public life of their most experienced and respected leaders; but the Northern populace interpreted it as growing out of Southern arrogance and stubbornness, and as indicating the per-

sistence of a rebellious spirit and the total absence of penitence and contrition.

Stimulated by this popular opposition, Congress, in 1866 and 1867, took the initiative and passed various laws diminishing the power and prestige of the office of president. On February 28, 1868, the president was impeached, and from March 5 to May 16, 1868, he was tried before the Senate of the United States, with the chief justice presiding. When the final vote was taken, one less than the necessary two-thirds for conviction was available. While Johnson was acquitted and the Presidency was saved from being a mere appendage to Congress, Johnson ceased to be a figure in reconstruction and Congress proceeded to carry out all its policies without executive interference.

The Joint Congressional Committee that had been appointed in December, 1865, to investigate conditions in the South, and to recommend

the action to be taken by Congress

Struggle over the Fourteenth Amendment regarding reconstruction, submitted a majority report on June 8, 1866, stating that the president's policy was a weak and inadequate one to meet the existing situation. Congress then submitted the Fourteenth Amendment, which has been described above, and offered the Southern states the privilege of re-entering the Union if they would ratify this amendment. With the exception of Tennessee they refused to do so. It was a fatal mistake which cost the Southerners more humiliation than the Civil War itself; but their attitude is understandable. To ratify the amendment meant that they would have to acquiesce in the political extinction of their leaders. This was scarcely to be hoped for. Congress interpreted this refusal as another proof of the unregenerate nature of the South and proceeded from approximate generosity to real severity.

Three great Reconstruction Acts were passed on March 2 and 23 and July 19, 1867. The Southern states were divided into five military districts, each under a military government. They were to be under military rule until they organized satisfactory state governments and ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. Constitu-



### ONE-TIME SLAVES AS VOTERS

After the Civil War the majority of Southern voters for the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were negroes, inexperienced in political matters and capable of exploitation by 'carpet-baggers' and 'galvanised Yankees' who often influenced their votes in profitless directions. The Georgetown election of June, 1866, is here satirised.

*From Harper's Weekly, March 16, 1867*

tional conventions were to be held in the several Southern states to organize these new state governments. Delegates were to be elected by whites and blacks alike, but whites who had voluntarily fought against the Union were excluded from the right to vote for these delegates. On February 27, 1869, the Congress submitted the Fifteenth Amendment, stating that the rights of the citizens of the United States were not to be abridged on account of race, colour or previous condition of servitude. It was ratified about a year later. Several additional laws were passed between 1870 and 1876 strengthening the power of Congress to execute its plan of reconstruction and endeavouring to better the economic and social conditions of the negroes. The only moderate and conciliatory act was the Amnesty Act of May, 1872, extending pardon and reinstatement to citizenship to all but a few leading ex-Confederates. Complete amnesty was extended only in 1898, after the outbreak of the Spanish-American War.

As most of the better class of white citizens in the South were excluded from the right to vote because they had voluntarily fought in the Civil War, the Southern voters who elected the delegates to the constitutional conventions and organized

the new state government were chiefly negroes with a considerable mixture of poor whites. As they had little or no political experience, they were directed and controlled by a few dominating outsiders. These new leaders were whites who had come south to gain political and economic profit out of the confused conditions in the South—the so-called 'carpet-baggers'; Southern poor whites who had used this opportunity to even up their old scores with the hated Southern aristocracy—the 'scalawags'; and, perhaps the most contemptible of all, the former Confederates who, for personal advantage,

sponsored the Northern cause after Confederate defeat seemed probable—the 'galvanised Yankees.'

They acted both as individuals and through organizations. Of the latter the Freedmen's Bureau was important; but the great organization for exploiting the helplessness of the South was the Union League. This co-ordinated the efforts of all individuals and lesser organizations. Under the domination of the Union League, the carpet-baggers, scalawags and galvanised Yankees intimidated the pliant negro and 'cracker' voters and carried on an orgy of misrule never before or since equalled in American history. Property was confiscated, houses were ransacked, and state bonds were sold to the value of millions of dollars and the proceeds pocketed by the exploiters. Several state governments were thereby rendered bankrupt, and all suffered severely by the unrestrained extravagance and graft. Industry was brought to a standstill. The negroes, stimulated to impossible aspirations by their rulers, were unwilling to settle down to manual labour. In many cases even the persons of the Southern whites were not safe from the violence of their former slaves.

These conditions did more to arouse these aristocratic Southern citizens to undying hatred of the Yankee than the four years of war. In the midst of despair they resolved to lay plans so that a recurrence of negro domination

Emergence of the Solid South would be impossible. It was this carpet-bagger government which produced the 'Solid South'—that subsequently impenetrable Democratic wall against Republican progress in the South. Those who had no active interest in the principles of the Democratic party clung steadfastly to it because it was the most powerful and articulate enemy of their hated former oppressors, the Republicans in the North.

The one positive contribution of the carpet-bagger Union League governments was that by 1870 they had organized new state governments satisfactory to Congress and secured the readmission of the Southern states to the Union. The great problem that then faced the former ruling classes in the South was to bring back Democratic control of these new state governments. This they had achieved by 1876.

The organization which the former ruling class in the Southern States erected to counteract the Union League was the Ku Klux Klan. This was started in 1866 in Pulaski, Tennessee, and its organization was perfected within a year. By means of strange costumes, mystic ceremonial and night-riding its members were able to intimidate the negroes and carpet-baggers, and to eliminate the worse forms of violence and marauding in the South. It later degenerated into an organization guilty of equally culpable violence and was suppressed by Federal troops after 1871. Before it disappeared, however, it had achieved most of the ends for which it came into existence.

Even more potent than the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in breaking up carpet-bagger rule in the South were the excesses of the agents to whom was entrusted Congressional reconstruction. The North learned of the corruption and anarchy in the South and came to distrust the carpet-bagger agents of the Congressional machine. As the war became more and more remote, the spirit of revenge gradually died out, and the Northern enthusiasm for the negro became less notable with the passing away of the propaganda of the abolitionists. The North wearied of the eternal 'Southern Problem' and longed for peace and quiet, so that it could devote its attention to the new economic opportunities which were appearing on every hand. Thus, opposed by internal weaknesses, the defection of popular support and the determined resistance of the South, the ill-conceived Congressional scheme of reconstruction collapsed soon after 1870. It came to a formal end several years later. In 1876 there was a contest over the Presidency. The dispute was decided in favour of the Republican candidate, Hayes. To placate the Democrats for the loss of the Presidency, Hayes ordered the withdrawal



**TERROR BY NIGHT: THE KU KLUX KLAN AT WORK**

In self-defence, the whites of the South formed in 1866 a secret society known as the Ku Klux Klan. The photograph from which this engraving was made shows a group posed in costumes taken from Ku Klux Klan members caught while attacking one John Campbell.

*From 'Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,' October 7, 1871*

of the Federal troops from the South in the spring of the year 1877.

The civil governments were now left to their own devices. The Southerners devoted themselves during the next generation to reorganization and readjustment to the new conditions, and to the fairly successful attempt to nullify the spirit, if not the letter, of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. It had been the purpose of these amendments to bestow upon the free negroes the same political, social and economic rights and privileges as those enjoyed by the Southern whites. These amendments had not, however, actually prescribed such rights for the negroes, but had only stated the penalties which would follow a denial of these rights and privileges to the negroes. In few, if any, of their evasive laws have the Southern states directly violated the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendments. Rather, the North has failed to execute the penalties for withholding these rights from the negro.

The chief method of excluding negroes from the political life of the South has been to prescribe qualifications for the suffrage which they can meet only in exceptional cases. The North had many years before set a precedent for this practice, and some Northern states were still excluding the negro from the suffrage in 1866. A representative list of qualifications for voting designed to exclude the negro is that adopted in the Mississippi Constitution of 1890. To vote, any person had to be a male 25 years of age, be a resident for a given period in a specific election district, pay a poll tax for two years preceding the election, and be able to read and interpret in a manner to satisfy a white election official any section of the state constitution.

This procedure was widely adopted by the Southern states, some of which included other qualifications, such as the possession of a large amount of property, freedom from conviction for misdemean-



THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT RUTHERFORD HAYES AND HIS CABINET

A fiercely disputed contest over the Presidency in 1876 was ended by the election of Rutherford Hayes (1822-93), the Republican candidate. Occupying the presidential chair on the left of the photograph, he is seen here with his cabinet. His policy of withdrawing from the Southern capitals those Federal troops which had been posted there ever since the Civil War was approved by the majority of people, but caused dissatisfaction among some of the members of his own party.

ours in the past, and possession of a good moral character

While these ingenious electoral laws were found to serve admirably the purpose of excluding the negro from the polling places, they also excluded many whites, an embarrassing and irritating situation to the Southerners. A way around this perplexity was discovered by Louisiana in 1898. The famous 'Grandfather Clause' was invented, which made it possible for all persons excluded by the Southern election laws to vote if their ancestors had voted in those states before 1867. This made it possible for most of the excluded whites to vote, while the negroes were successfully kept out. As the result of these laws the negro has been deprived of any active part in the political life of the South. The North, however, has never seen fit to enforce the penalty of diminished Southern representation in Congress and the Electoral College which was prescribed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The negro has also been effectively excluded from the enjoyment of social equality with the whites in the South.

A so-called Civil Rights Act was passed in 1875, which aimed to secure for the negroes social equality, but it was never enforced and it was declared unconstitutional in 1883. By compelling the negroes to use separate hotels, and different cars on the railroad, known as Jim-crow cars, to occupy rear seats in street cars and to get off the sidewalk when meeting a white, the negro has not only been put into a subordinate social position, but has also been kept conscious of this inferiority. Strict laws have been passed forbidding the marriage of whites and blacks, and brutal lynching of negroes has been employed to frighten them out of aspiring to mate with white women.

In their economic position the negroes have also been reduced to a distinctly lower level than the whites. The chief device relied upon in this respect has been to get the negro in debt to his white neighbours and then to keep him in a state of economic dependence during the rest of his life. In most parts of the South the negro has been reduced to a state of peonage.

Neither the Civil War nor subsequent practices have solved the negro problem in the United States. It is probably farther from solution than it was in the days of Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison. There are three times as many negroes in the country as there were in 1865. The Southerners are no more willing than they were over half a century ago to admit the negro to the equality of rights with the white citizens, and the negroes are becoming increasingly less willing to remain in a state of complete subordination and inferiority. The policy followed has been simply one of dangerous postponement, and the settlement of the problem is not likely to be an immediate or peaceful one.

Far more inspiring than the story of the corruption of Northern officials in the South from 1865-1877, or of the disfranchisement and repression of the negroes since 1877, is the account of the rise of the new South which has slowly, but gradually, superseded the South which Calhoun and Jefferson Davis knew.

At the close of the Civil War the economic collapse of the South was quite as complete as its political and military downfall. The chief source of Southern prosperity, the sale of cotton, had been cut off during the Civil War. It had been the vain hope of the South that Great Britain would recognize the Confederacy and would keep alive the trade in cotton between England and the Southern states. The production of cotton, therefore, fell off when Great Britain remained neutral, and many plantations were temporarily abandoned. Before the war was over much of the South had been ravished by Northern armies and vast supplies of stored-up cotton were captured. When the war was over, most of the cotton remaining in the South was confiscated by the North, so the South was unable to sell it to England and the North when peace was resumed.

General Sherman had captured and laid waste the chief manufacturing districts of the South. Most of the few railroads which the South had possessed before the Civil War had been dismantled by the Northern soldiers, though many new rail-

roads had been built to move Northern troops. Even buildings and agricultural tools were generally worn out or had been confiscated or destroyed by the Northern troops.

The finances of the South were in a desperate condition. The Confederate currency had depreciated like that of

**Economic ruin caused by the war** the colonists during the Revolutionary War. The South was unable to pay the debts contracted during the Civil War, and the Federal government logically refused to assume the debts incurred in an attempted secession from its authority. The chief form of personal property in the South—the four million slaves valued at two thousand million dollars—was gone for ever. Added to these depressing conditions of 1865 were the horrors of the half-dozen years of carpet-bagger exploitation. Few, if any, of the countries of Europe after the Great War of 1914-18 found themselves in as deplorable an economic plight as that experienced by the South in the years of 1866-1870.

The first attempt at economic regeneration in the South consisted in the effort to revive the plantation system. The old planters were encouraged to do this by the high price of cotton in 1865-66. Money was borrowed and every effort was made to revive the cotton-growing industry. But the attempt proved a hopeless failure within a year or two. Too much cotton was produced to make possible the continuance of high prices, the negroes proved unsatisfactory labourers under the contract wages system, and, above all, financial ruin was produced by the corruption and exploitation during carpet-bagger rule. The plantation system, which had been the foundation of the political, economic and social life of the South since colonial days, was now at an end. A new economic era was about to begin.

The most striking fact about the agricultural regeneration of the South since 1870 has been the rise of small-scale farming. After the failure to revive the plantation system these great estates were broken up. Parts were sold to small farmers and other sections were rented, while still others were let out to be worked

on shares. As the result of this, the average size of farms in the South declined from 400 acres in 1860 to 229 acres in 1870 and to 140 in 1900.

While not as bad a failure as the plantation system, small-scale farming in the South has operated under many handicaps. Owing to a lack of adequate capital the small farmers have been put at the mercy of the local merchant or banker. They have been compelled to borrow money from him at exorbitant rates of interest, to buy seed, implements and equipment at his store, for which he has charged them excessively high prices. Then they have been obliged to borrow more money from him at very high rates to pay for labour in harvest and to move their crops. Finally, they have had to sell their crops to this same merchant-banker at whatever low price he has seen fit to pay. This deplorable situation has tended to prevent any considerable prosperity from existing even among the more fortunate Southern farmers, and has kept the majority of them in debt and misery. The negro small farmer has met the same fate as his white neighbour, and usually to a greater degree. The perpetuating of the indebtedness of the negro small farmer has been the chief instrument employed in maintaining the white supremacy over the negro population.

The latest development in Southern farming has been the appearance of large-scale corporation farming. Here ample capital has made possible the introduction of the best agricultural machinery and methods, maximum production and the best marketing facilities. It may be that this type of farming in the South will restore the large-scale agricultural operations, but with a far different technical and labour-system foundation from that which existed on the old slave plantation.

Cotton still remains the chief crop raised in the South. Better methods of cultivation have increased the average crop, and the raising of cotton has been rendered still more profitable through the discovery of new ways of using the by-products. Out of the formerly unused cotton seeds, which were regarded as but a troublesome

nuisance, there are now derived various food products, greases and lubricants, and the richest types of cattle food. Indian corn, tobacco, cane sugar, rice and hay rank in the order given as the other leading agricultural products of the South. The notorious laziness of many Southern farmers especially the poor whites, has now been shown to be the result of the ravages of a small parasite—the hookworm. With the eradication of this pest through medical aid one may expect a noticeable increase in the energy of the Southern farmer and in the volume of agricultural production.

Though the South is still an agricultural community as compared with the north-eastern part of the United States, the most striking phase of Southern history since 1895 has been the coming of the Industrial Revolution to this region. Down to 1880 the South depended for its imports upon Europe and England. The little headway made towards manufacturing during the Civil War was lost after Sherman's devastating victories. About 1880 manufacturing began to develop on a new scale in the South. The first notable advances were made in the cotton branch

of the textile industry. Factories sprang up along the fall-line in the Southern states much as they had along the New England rivers about a century earlier.

The manufacturing of iron and steel goods has also made significant advances in the South since 1865. In North Carolina and Tennessee, and especially in Alabama, there are excellent deposits of iron ore, coal and limestone, lying so near to each other that iron and steel products can here be made under better natural advantages than elsewhere in the United States. Cities like Birmingham, Alabama, are becoming the Pittsburghs of the South. Since the opening of the twentieth century great supplies of petroleum have been discovered in the South, particularly in Texas and Oklahoma. Then one should not forget the flourishing Southern lumbering industry, based upon the pine forests in the South, nor the trade in naval stores, which has been an important source of income in the South from colonial times.

As in England in the early days of modern industrialism, the new business



NEGROES AT WORK IN THE COTTON FIELDS OF THE SOUTH

The negroes of America's Southern states are mainly employed on the cotton plantations, and men of all ages, with women and children, take part in the work during the picking season, which lasts about 100 days. Millions of bales of cotton are produced yearly in Texas and the Carolinas, and the industry has been improved by the discovery of new uses for its by-products.

Photo, Brown Bros

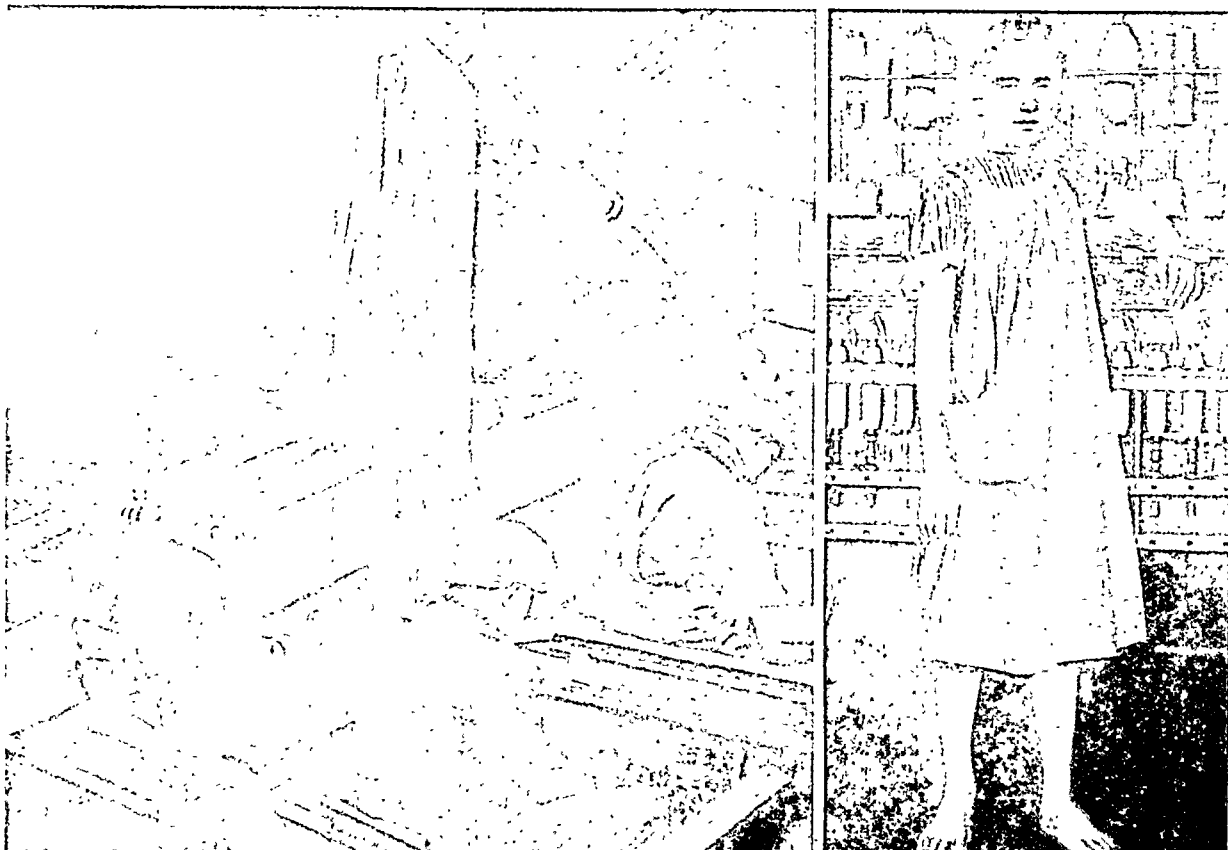


class has been so absorbed in making large profits that it has not given proper attention to problems of public welfare. Women and children have been, and are being, employed in large numbers in the factories. Here we find the same long days, low pay, and unsanitary and unsafe working conditions that characterised England in the first half of the nineteenth century. It may be expected that ultimately a social conscience will develop in the South as it has in England and in the rest of the United States, which will make some beginnings towards safeguarding the rights and interests of the class now being exploited in the Southern mines and factories.

Transportation facilities have improved to keep pace with the expanding productivity in the South in agriculture and manufacturing. The 11,000 miles of Southern railroads in 1870 increased to 17,000 in 1880, to 36,000 in 1890 and to 63,000 in 1910. Many canals have been

built, rivers have been deepened and harbours improved. Particularly important in river navigation and harbour improvement was the work of Captain James Eads, who opened up the mouth of the Mississippi for permanent navigation and made New Orleans a great port for the vast central region of the United States which is drained by the Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio rivers.

The general results of this industrial transformation of the South have been most important. In the states which have been industrialised a new ruling class of business men and merchants has appeared to supplant the old land-holding aristocracy or 'slavocracy.' With the rise of manufacturing and commerce, the economic basis of Southern sectionalism has tended to disappear. The development of common economic interests, the rise of cities, the growth of manufacturing centres, the improvement of transportation facilities and of the agencies of transmitting



**YOUNG WORKERS IN MINES AND MILLS OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA**

Many of the evils of the old English factory system manifest themselves in the industrial conditions of America, where long hours and low wages frequently accompany the extensive employment of child labour. Left: these fourteen-year-old boys employed in a Pennsylvania coal mine worked in the same position for nine hours daily. In a Vermont cotton mill, the girl (right) plied her way between the spinning frames knotting broken threads from six in the morning until six at night.

*Photos, E.N.A.*

and communicating knowledge, have served to nationalise the South and to make it culturally a part of the nation in practical fact as well as in legal theory. Down to 1860 the South was culturally far more a British colony than an integral part of the United States. Now it is coming more and more to be assimilated to the general American type.

While the deplorable events accompanying the period of political reconstruction in the South were taking place there was appearing a series of changes of greater significance for the future than any others in the earlier history of the country. The United States of 1890 was vastly more different from that of 1860 than the country of 1860 was from that of 1790. It was the developments in this period of 1860-1880 which created this new era of American civilization. The two most important phases of this epoch-making progress were the growth of manufacturing industry and commerce throughout the country generally, and the rapid settlement of the Far West.

It was indicated above that the Civil War was of great importance in creating an increased demand for manufactured products. It set in motion those forces which have since continued and have made the United States one of the greatest of modern industrial countries. It was the turning-point in American industrial history, and carried to completion the process started by Samuel Slater in New England nearly a century earlier. The opening up of the Far West from 1862-1880 gave rise to a new and important source of demand for Eastern manufactured goods. Likewise, the economic reconstruction of the South during the generation after 1865 provided another important sectional customer of the manufacturing East. This growth of manufacturing in the East was both aided by, and in itself hastened, the development of transportation facilities which brought consumer and producer together and made possible a more rapid and extensive marketing of goods than had hitherto existed. Finally, the high protective tariff, which had prevailed since 1862, had to some extent favoured

the development of American manufactures.

Some idea of the increase of the manufacturing industry may be had from the fact that the total value of manufactured products increased from \$1,885,000 (nearly £400,000) in 1860 to \$5,369,000 (£1,120,000) in 1880. The amount of capital invested in manufacturing industry increased from \$1,000,000,000 in 1860 to \$3,000,000,000 in 1880. The numbers of employees in manufacturing increased from 1,300,000 to 2,750,000 in this same period. This advance in manufacturing productivity was reflected in the great increase in the number and size of industrial and commercial cities. These were at first chiefly in the East, but gradually became more and more numerous in the West, with the rise of such cities as Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis, Minneapolis and St. Paul, all located at some strategic point for manufacturing, commerce and transportation.

Among the most discussed, though probably not the most important, accompaniments of the industrial and commercial development was the revival of a protective tariff. After the struggles over the tariff from 1828-1833, which had led to the threat of nullification on the part of South Carolina, there had been a general tendency towards a lower tariff rate. By 1857 the tariff rate had become relatively low, being little more than a tariff for revenue, and the free list was made a large one. During the Civil War the need for a greater revenue led to the passage of the Morrill Act, raising the customs duties considerably. They were further increased by supplementary acts during the war. After the cessation of hostilities all attempts to reduce the tariff to any considerable degree failed. The great business and commercial interests, recently created or increased in power, had gained ascendancy over the government and contended that they needed a continuation of the tariff in order to protect the newly established infant industries. In this manner the revenue tariff of the Civil War period was converted into a protective tariff. This became one of the most

hotly debated issues in the political struggles of the period.

The industrial development, and the resulting increase in the demand for goods, was in part made possible, and the commercial expansion greatly furthered, by the marked increase in population. Between 1860 and 1880 the population of the United States increased from 31,433,000 to 50,155,000. The most important source of this increase

**Increase in Population** was the increase of the number of births over deaths; but there was considerable immigration. Though the great period of contemporary immigration began with the eighties, over 5,000,000 came to the United States from foreign countries between 1860 and 1880. Not only was there an increase in population as a whole, but there was also a notable increase in the number and size of cities. The urban element became progressively larger and more important. These cities were located chiefly in the old and newer industrial centres and in the strategic trading points and railroad junctions which were being established in the new West.

The industrial expansion, the increased scope of manufacturing activity and the greater volume of commerce all created a need for the most effective organization and conduct of business. It was soon found that large-scale business operations possessed great advantages over small industrial operations. Doing business on a large scale made possible the use of more complicated, expensive and efficient machinery, gave better possibilities for division of labour and specialisation, encouraged the building up of a better and larger supervisory force, improved the economy of purchasing raw materials and facilitated advantageous marketing, and made more feasible the utilisation of by-products. While the great development of large-scale operations in industry came primarily after 1880, notable progress had been made in this direction by that time.

It was also essential to find some form of business organization adapted to the new large-scale operations. The old individual enterprise had, for the most part, become too small to supply the essen-

tial capital. The partnership and joint-stock companies were poorly adapted to periods of depression and failure or the association of many men of varying types of honesty, for the liability of each participant was unlimited in the event of failure or fraud. The necessity of a better form of organization would probably have been forced ultimately in any event, but the many failures in the panic of 1873 emphasised the need of improvement. In the corporation, which had been employed for many types of institutions since the days of the Roman Empire, the business men found a kind of organization which combined efficient centralisation of control and direction with limited liability for debt and unusual adaptability for the raising of money over wide areas and from different classes of people. It was widely adopted during this period from 1870-1880 and has become one of the basic economic and legal factors in modern business life.

With the rise of the new large-scale industry and the final triumph of the factory system over family or domestic types of the application of labour, there came a great transformation in the method of controlling and administering labour. Formerly men had worked in their homes or in the home of a master craftsman. In the United States most of the labour had been done in homes or small shops, the only exception being the relatively large cotton factories that had sprung up in New England after 1789. Now, the factory system became the predominant method of applying labour in the new industry. Hundreds of thousands of men and women were employed in a factory under one common direction or supervision. They were compelled to live in newly developed industrial cities. The conditions of work and life were in many cases most unsatisfactory. The employers were chiefly concerned with pecuniary profits and looked upon expenditure for wages, safety appliances and hygienic precautions as inevitable sources of a decrease in profits, and therefore to be reduced to the lowest possible limit. The result was the production of a large new social class—the modern urban industrial



#### UNWANTED CHINESE LABOUR

The encouragement shown to European immigrants by American employers was not extended to the Chinese. A sketch from *Scribner's Monthly* for July, 1875, epitomises the Californian attitude towards Oriental labourers.

proletariat—which was to play an important part in the political and economic conflicts of American history after the period of the Civil War. With their organization to protect themselves against the inconsiderate treatment they received from many employers we shall deal later.

How to secure enough labourers was a problem. The Irish immigration after 1845 was a source of a large addition to the labour force, but it was believed that more should be induced to immigrate. A law of 1862 encouraged foreigners to come and settle in western lands, and another of 1864 made it possible for prospective employers or those representing employers to advance passage money to those who would emigrate and come to America. The new policy not only attracted many Europeans, but also led to the introduction of many Chinese labourers, who were employed for the most part in constructing the new railroads in the West. The influx of Oriental labour caused considerable apprehension and soon led to the passage of an act in 1882 virtually excluding Chinese labourers from the United States. In 1885 a law was passed to prevent contracting for labourers abroad, though it was long successfully evaded in many ways. It was not until thirty years later that any

effective steps were taken to limit immigration as a whole. This great influx of Europeans created many significant economic, political and cultural problems.

Of all the influences which have affected the development of American society since the Revolutionary War there can be little doubt that the westward movement has been the most important. The extension of the frontier from the Alleghanies has, as Frederick Turner has so forcefully shown, produced most of the striking tendencies and events of American history—the development of internal commerce, the land speculation, the rise of Jacksonian democracy, the territorial struggle between slavery and the anti-slavery forces, the rise of Lincolnian Republicanism, and the struggle between Western reform and Eastern plutocracy.

It had long been the desire of Westerners to obtain free land, but the United States government had insisted, in spite of the efforts of Thomas H. Benton and others, upon selling the land at a small nominal cost. One of the most important sources



THOMAS HART BENTON

High-principled and vastly influential, Thomas Hart Benton (1782-1858) was a warm supporter of the democrat Andrew Jackson. He consistently advocated westward expansion and settlement by granting free land to home seekers.

*From Wilson, 'History of the American People'*

of objection to free land was the attitude of the Southern Congressmen. They feared that free land would allow the building up of a large number of free states in the north-west and would therefore be a great blow to slavery. Immediately after the secession of the South this Southern obstruction was removed and the famous Homestead Act was passed in 1862. By this act 160 acres of land were offered free to any citizen, or even to a prospective citizen, who would settle upon and cultivate the tract for five years. As a result of this encouragement, thousands of immigrants from the East and from foreign countries poured into the north-west.

Between 1860 and 1880 over 65,000,000 acres were taken up under this act. Much land was taken fraudulently by cattle-men, land sharks, timber interests and railroads. Some of the evils from this corrupt occupation still remained unchecked in the time of President Roosevelt.



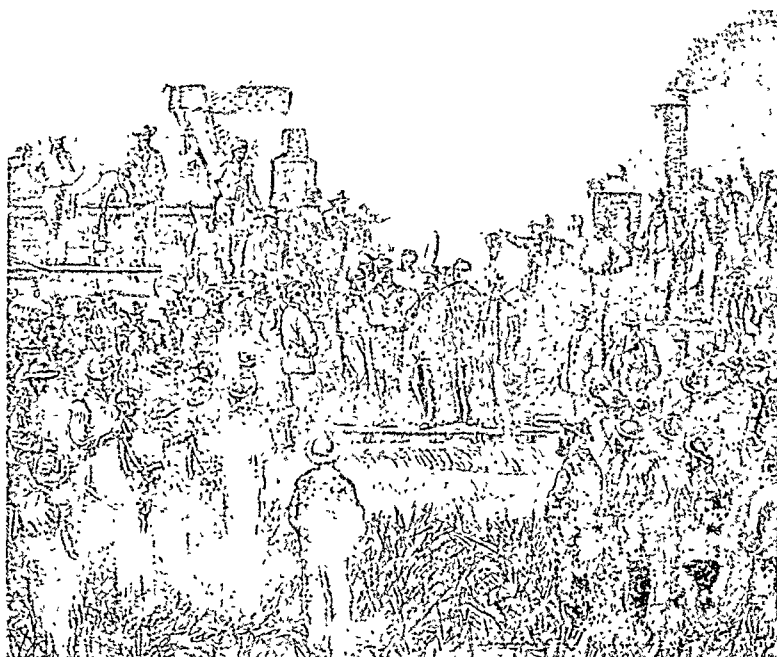
MINING IN THE COLORADO MOUNTAINS

The mining boom drew a stream of settlers to the Far West after 1860, and, while some of the more fortunate reaped rich rewards for their enterprise, others encountered only failure and ruin. The Colorado mountainside in this engraving is honeycombed with gold and silver mines.

From 'Harper's Weekly,' July 18, 1874

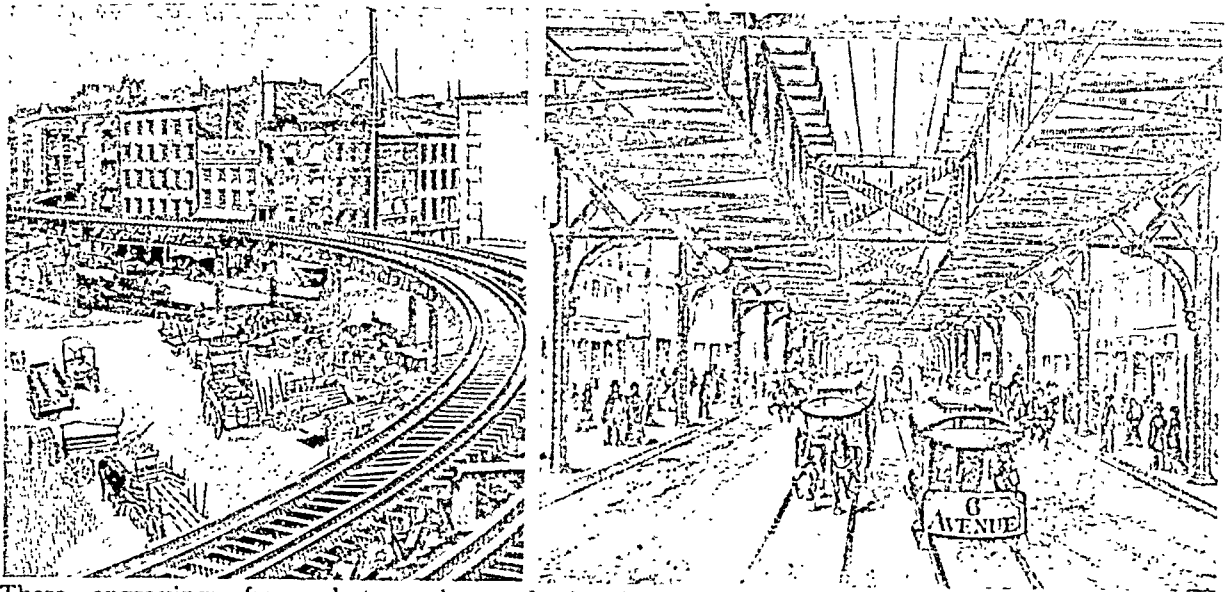
One of the most important forces leading to the settlement of the Far West and promoting its execution was the building of a series of transcontinental railroads, beginning with the Union Pacific, which was completed on May 10, 1869. Some of the incidents that were connected

with the building of the Union Pacific railroad well illustrate the corruption and graft which accompanied much of the railroad building in this period. The United States government loaned millions of dollars to the railroad company to aid in the construction of the road and gave it about twenty million acres of land. Yet, in spite of this generosity, the leading stock-holders in the enterprise defrauded the government and the small stock-holders of about \$25,000,000 (see page 4509). The government gave vast quantities of land to these railroads, thus removing it as a place of settlement by individual owners and making possible a large amount of economic and political corruption in the West. Yet the railroads have been



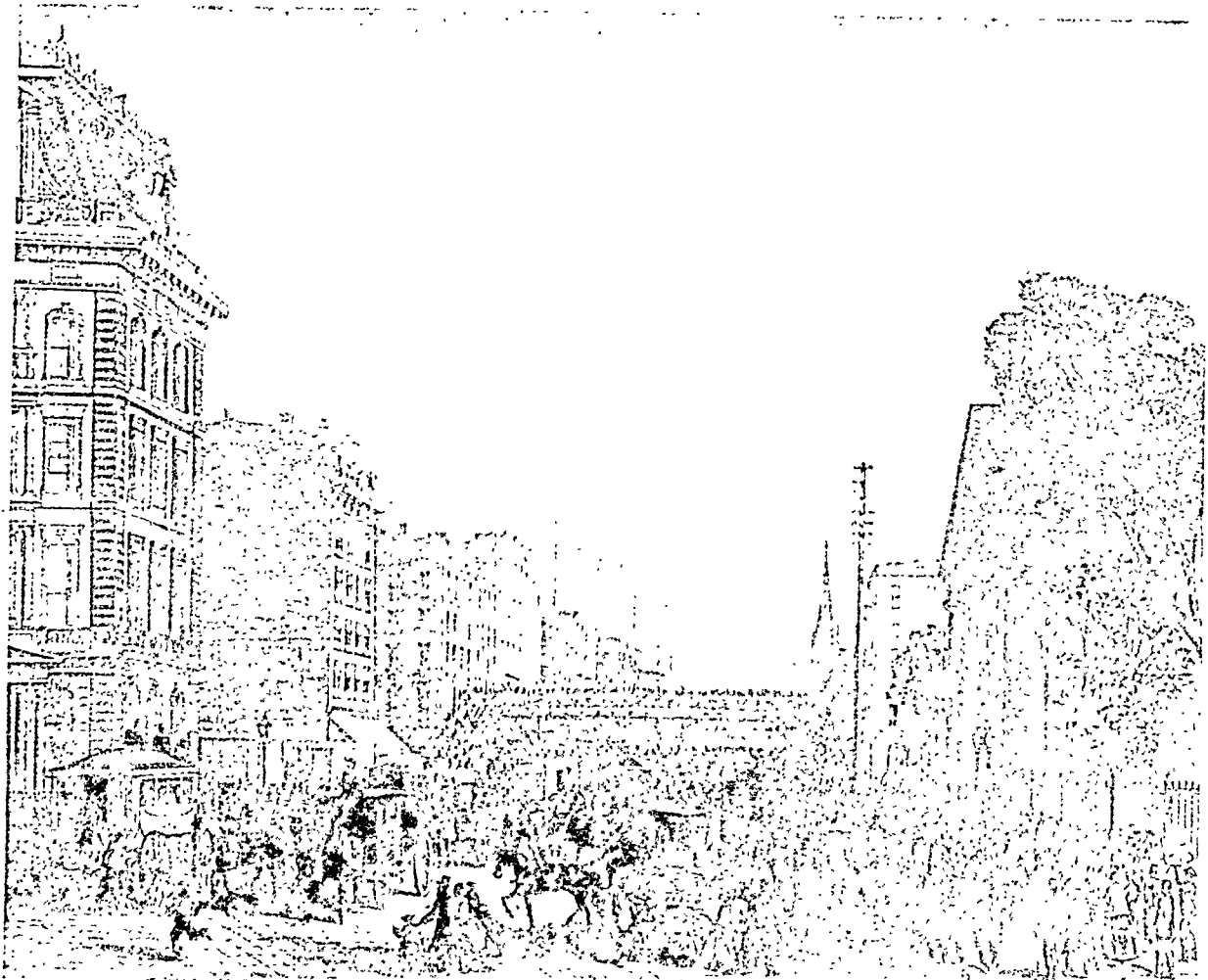
A GREAT MOMENT IN RAILWAY HISTORY

A great impetus was given to Western settlement by the construction of America's great transcontinental railroad, completed in 1869. This engraving of a photograph in Harper's Weekly for June 5, 1869, illustrates the point at which the Union Pacific Railroad and the Central Pacific Railroad met.



These engravings from photographs made in the late 'seventies show New York's elevated railway system from two angles. Left: the tracks, supported by iron pillars some thirty feet in height, seen from above. Right: the underside of the elevated railway where horse-drawn street cars glide to and fro beneath the thunder of trains passing above.

*From W. G. Marshall, 'Through America'*



Probably no other city in the world has shown more startling changes since 1870 than New York. In this view from Harper's Weekly, 1867, of Broadway at Fulton Street, no building appears to be more than six or seven storeys high. Modern Broadway includes many skyscrapers such as the Equitable Building with its thirty-eight storeys. Yet the earlier period had its traffic troubles as the footbridge spanning the street crowded with horsed vehicles proves.

**NEW YORK LIFE AND TRAFFIC TWO GENERATIONS AGO**

indispensable to the settlement and development of the great West, and most of the abuses connected with their building and management have been gradually lessened by legislation

A number of influences attracted settlers to the West in the generation after 1860 and made profitable incomes possible in the case of the more fortunate settlers. Among the more important of these was mining, which had, of course, been the great incentive to the settlement of California after 1849. Gold was discovered in many other Western states and stimulated migration to these mining districts. In the 'seventies a vast quantity of silver was discovered, particularly in Nevada. More recently great coal mines have been opened in Western states, particularly in Colorado. Copper is mined in great quantities in California and Montana. The rough and dangerous character of the work involved in mining has usually drawn to these mining centres the more adventurous and hardy type of workers. Oppressive treatment by mine owners has created much discontent in the mining districts, and some of the most bitterly fought labour disputes have taken place in

these regions. Such radical unions as the Western Federation of Miners and the Industrial Workers of the World have been produced by these bad conditions.

Another strong incentive to Western settlement came from cattle ranching and the meat industry. Down to 1869 the main cattle-raising district in the United States had been Texas. In 1869 there appeared an epoch-making invention in the history of the meat industry. The railroads had, of course, existed for a long time before this date, but it had been impossible to ship fresh meat for any great distance, except in the winter time. The refrigerator car, which was first successfully demonstrated in 1869, made it possible to ship fresh meat from Chicago to New York. Within ten years the methods of refrigeration had been so much improved as to make it possible to ship fresh beef from Chicago to London, and now it may be sent anywhere in the world. Cattle ranching immediately became one of the great Western industries. The buffalo was extinguished and the rich Western pasturage was made available for the great herds of cattle that now appeared on the Western plains and



**CATTLE FROM THE WESTERN STATES TRAVEL EAST.**

The opening up of transcontinental railroads since 1869 and the invention of the refrigerator car revolutionised cattle ranching in the Far West, where there are boundless rich plains for pasture. A cattle-shoot at Abilene, Kansas, an important centre for the eastward dispatch of longhorns from Texas and Mexico, is the subject of this woodcut of the early 'seventies.

*From 'Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,' August 19, 1871*



hillsides. In addition to cattle, great flocks of sheep soon appeared in the West; and at the present time the Western states vie with Australia, South Africa and Argentina as a centre of wool production.

Even more important has been the development of large-scale agriculture in the West. Settlers were induced to go into agricultural regions during the Civil War period in order to take advantage of the high price offered for grain in the United States and Europe at that time. The enormous increase in the population of the United States and Europe since then has been a continuous stimulation to the growth of large-scale agriculture. The most important influence making it possible has been the new agricultural machinery. The first epoch-making adventure along this line was McCormick's reaper, which began to be introduced after 1834. Since that time the list of important agricultural machines has been increased by the addition of the binder, header, steam thresher, the gang-plough, the disk-plough, the disk-harrow and the steam or gasoline tractor.

These led to an enormous increase in the grain production, which has not only enabled the United States to feed its own continually growing population but has also made it a great exporter of grain. In this way there has occurred an agricultural revolution almost as important as the revolution in manufacturing industry and transportation. As Professor Farrand has said:

The United States had long supplied its own needs, and now it exported its surplus products on a large scale and in increasing quantities until it achieved the leading place in the world's markets as a producer and exporter of breadstuffs and grains. But this involved changes that amounted almost to a revolution. In production it meant specialisation to the extent of one-crop farming, and natural resources were supplemented by increased use of improved machinery. In



GIANT RAFT ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

The great forests of the West attracted countless settlers to engage in and develop the timber industry. The logs that compose this enormous raft floating downstream to Portland were hewn from the forests that border the Columbia river in Oregon, a district famous for the richness of its lumber

*Photo, Photopress*

distribution it meant classification and grading of grains; it meant the use of elevators for storing grain in bulk, and the use of steam power in handling it. Finally the railroads provided the means of transportation, and the decline in rates made it possible to export at a profit.

As the better type of land came to be more and more occupied by settlers it became necessary to resort to the less fertile areas and to increase their productivity through artificial irrigation. It was first attempted by the Mormons after the settlement of Utah in 1847. By 1880 there were a million acres of land being cultivated by the aid of irrigation. This has now increased to nearly 10,000,000 acres, much more than all the land in cultivation throughout the United States a century ago.

The last important natural economic incentive to Western settlement was the

great timber industry made possible by the forests of the West particularly those on the Pacific slope. Here there were enormous forests of pine and red-wood, which have furnished prosperity and riches to many great lumbering companies. Much of this timber land was taken up in a corrupt and illegal manner contrary to the spirit, and often to the letter, of the Homestead Act. The courts usually confirmed these illegal seizures, and, in spite of the efforts of President Roosevelt, far the greater part of what should have been the great national forests of the West fell into private hands. The labouring conditions in the Western forest areas have been as bad as, if not worse than, those in the Western mines, and have done much to create labour unrest and the development of the Industrial Workers of the World.

The settlement of the West was linked up with some of the more important financial and currency problems of the period. In order

**Development of the Greenback movement** to help finance the Civil War the United States government had

issued great quantities of paper money, known as greenbacks. These had depreciated so that at one time they were worth only about a third as much as gold. Many Western settlers had borrowed large sums of money in greenbacks when they were much less valuable than gold. After the Civil War the Secretary of the Treasury started to retire the greenbacks and put the country back on a sound financial basis. This was unquestionably a desirable financial measure, but it worked a great hardship on Western debtors, who had borrowed cheap money and would have to repay their debt with dear money. Those who had borrowed money in 1864 when the greenbacks were at their lowest point would have to pay back in purchasing power about three times what they had borrowed, together with interest.

This situation led to the development of the 'greenback movement,' which demanded the suspension of the attempt to retire and redeem the greenbacks and to restore specie payment. By 1878 the Greenback party became powerful enough to cast a million votes. Another reason

for the support given by the West to the greenback movement was that a new and developing region like the West usually desires cheap and plentiful money, and it naturally favoured the system of issuing greenbacks. When the greenback movement failed, its Western supporters became advocates of a free coinage of silver money, which had been made feasible by the new discoveries of silver (see page 4512).

One of the interesting aspects of the final settlement of the Far West was the disposal of the Indian question. As the whites began to press into the Far West, the Indians realized that the time had now come for the final struggle between the red and white man, and they resolved to defend this last remaining area of Indian territory. They found the struggle a hopeless one, however, and by 1880 were compelled to accept the terms proposed by the United States government. The old Indian tribal organization was broken up and the Indians were settled on special tracts of land set aside for that purpose and called Indian reservations. The Indians were compelled to accept this plan largely because white hunters had killed off nearly all the Western buffaloes, upon which the Indians depended for most of their meat.

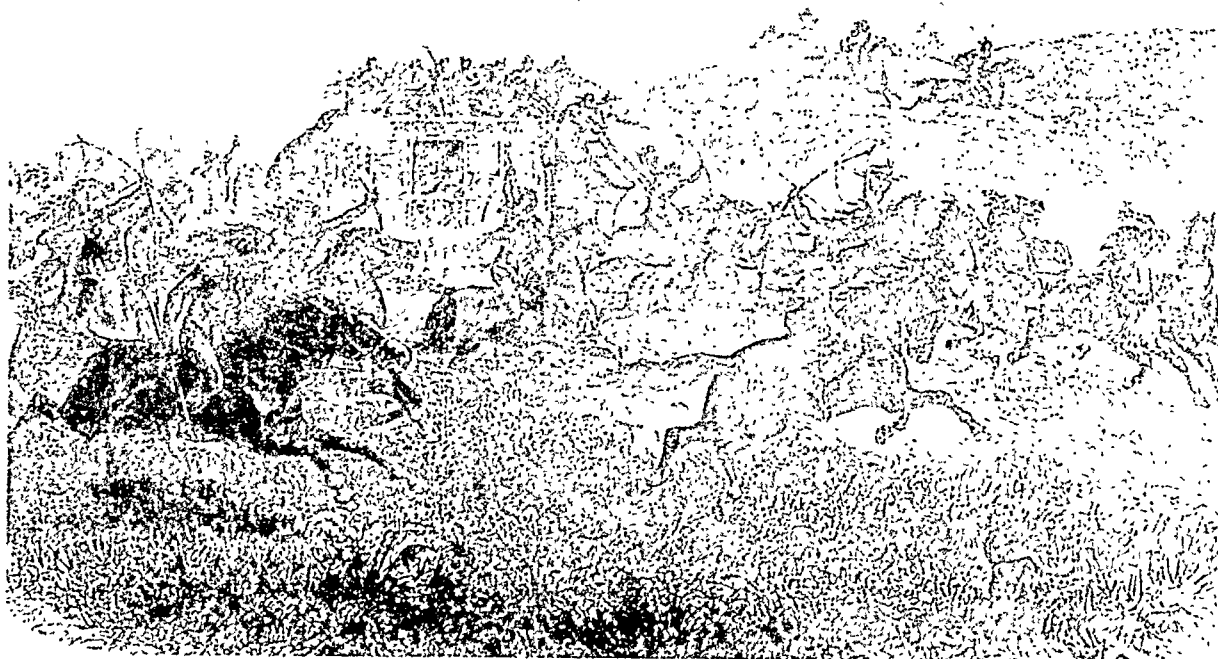
Since 1887 the United States government has gradually broken up the reservations and made the Indians individual owners of land under a considerable amount of government protection against white speculators and exploiters. Two of the most important acts making the Indians private landowners and citizens were the Dawes Act of 1887 and the Burke Act of 1906. The government has done much for the Indians in the way of education, spending annually millions of dollars to educate the young Indians. It is frequently supposed that the number of Indians in the United States has been greatly reduced since Colonial times, but the best estimates indicate that there are as many Indians in the United States to-day as there were in the same area in the time of Columbus. The character of the Indians has, however, been greatly

modified through intermarriage with the whites and educational opportunities. They will probably ultimately be absorbed into the white population through intermarriage and cultural assimilation.

The settlement of the West and the ousting of Indians from the control of the region were accompanied by the admission of a large number of new Western states, which shows that the Southerners were not far wrong when they feared that Western settlement would lead to the creation of a large number of new states opposed to slavery. Oregon was admitted to the Union in 1859; Nevada in 1864; Colorado in 1876; Washington, Montana and North and South Dakota in 1889; Idaho and Wyoming in 1890; Utah in 1896; and New Mexico and Arizona in 1912. These new Western states have developed a new sectionalism replacing the old division between North and South which existed before the Civil War. The West has, in general, lined up in politics and economics against the East, particularly against the manufacturing and financial north-east. At times it has

united with the agricultural South against the interests of the north-east. Being a developing, debtor and agricultural community dependent upon the manufacturing East for its money, markets and transportation, the West has very frequently found its interests opposed by those of the East. It has been much more progressive and given to supporting various programmes of reform than has the East.

The period of Civil War and reconstruction was almost as important in its reactions upon politics as it was in its influence upon industrial changes. Before the Civil War the Democratic party had been in power during most of the time since the fall of the Federalists. It had come to be under the control of the great slave-holding landlords of the South, the so-called 'slavocracy.' The Republican party, which had originated as a national force in 1856, was in the period of its origins a party of radicals with a strong working-class basis. The Civil War had discredited the Democrats. Most of their great leaders were from seceding states, and the Northern Democratic leaders were



A BAND OF INDIANS ATTACKS THE OVERLAND U.S. MAIL

Natural resentment filled the Indians of the West as the white man penetrated ever farther into the territory which the red man regarded as peculiarly his own. They succumbed inevitably to superior pressure and accepted in 1880 the terms offered them by the United States government. The violent assault on an overland coach which is shown in this illustration to *Hearth and Home* of March, 1869, represents the type of attack made in the days of the Indians' last desperate defence.

stigmatised by having associated with these men. Again, a number of prominent Democrats in the North were accused of opposing the attempt to coerce the South.

On the other hand, the Republican party gained by all these things. It was the party in power during the Civil War and naturally it claimed credit for having preserved the Union. It did its utmost to capitalise the prevailing patriotism of the war period. It is significant that every Republican president from Grant to McKinley possessed a notable Civil War record. Not only did the Republican party become the largest and most powerful of the two great parties in the country, but it also became radically different in its constitution. The new classes of business men and office holders, who had gained their prestige from the advantages they had enjoyed during the Civil War, were able to get control of the Republican party and to make it the supporter of big business and conservatism.

Another striking aspect of the political revolution produced by the Civil War and reconstruction and the economic changes accompanying this period was the rise of the 'boss.' There had been plenty of political bosses even as early as Colonial



**AN INDIAN OFFICIAL**

Special reservations of land have been allocated to the North American Indians, whose tribal organization was broken up by the white invasion. This decorative gentleman is a native justice of the peace of the Blackfeet Reservation.



**INDIANS AND PRESIDENT HARDING**

The amicable relations between the United States government and Indians are illustrated in this photograph of President Harding in the midst of a group of Indians who have come to the White House, Washington, to request that one of their own race shall be appointed as commissioner of Indian affairs.

*Photo, Underwood and Underwood*

times, and great political leaders had characterised the history of the country from the adoption of the Constitution to the Civil War. Notable among such leaders had been Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson. But now there appeared a new kind of boss, different in degree, if not in kind, from anything else that had been known in the country before.

The great business interests in banking manufacturing, transportation and commerce desired laws passed in state and federal governments which would be highly favourable to the fullest and freest development of business enterprise. Above all, they desired to prevent the enactment of any restrictive legislation. At first they tried to deal with

individual legislators in order to induce them to keep legislation favourable to business interests, but they found this rather too slow and expensive a process. Jay Gould, one of the most powerful and notorious of the business men of his day, well expressed this point of view when he said that he found it too expensive to bribe individual legislators and Congressmen, but preferred to make a single bargain with a politician powerful enough to deliver a majority of votes favourable to laws advancing the interests of big business.

The boss has agreed with the business interests to secure and perpetuate governmental attitudes and policies wholly favourable to big business, while he has received from big business, as his reward, either direct gifts of large sums of money or, more frequently, political patronage, lucrative contracts on public works, and often important official and social positions gratifying to his pride and involving no little indirect pecuniary advantage. Most attacks upon the boss have been

directed against the boss himself and have failed through their ignoring of the 'system' underlying the boss and making his perpetuation possible. The boss was greatly aided during this period by the rise of the industrial city and the coming of a large number of immigrants to these cities. Usually illiterate and inexperienced in politics, they were an easy prey to the avarice, greed and unscrupulous manipulation of the boss.

The chief significance of the two administrations of General Grant lies in the fact that they exhibit in its earliest and crudest form this domination of big business over politics and the rise of the power and influence of the boss. One of the first conspicuous examples of corruption was that associated with the building of the railroads, and the most notorious railroad and political fraud was that known as the *Crédit Mobilier* episode, which was revealed by a Congressional investigation of 1872. This investigation showed that some railroad stock-holders, in collusion



#### JUSTICE CHALLENGES THE PRESSMEN OVER THE CREDIT MOBILIER QUESTION

The discovery that many prominent men were involved in the scandalous railroad fraud known as the *Crédit Mobilier* episode caused the American papers to launch a violent attack on the prevalent commercial corruption. The artist responsible for this satire, which appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in 1873, was evidently of the opinion that the morality of American pressmen ill fitted them to pronounce judgement on others, and to this end shows Justice admonishing them for their temerity.

*From 'Harper's Weekly,' 1873*

with prominent politicians, had as we have seen cheated the government and sub-stock-holders out of some \$25,000,000 through fraudulent construction contracts. Prominent congressmen and senators were shown to be implicated in the fraud, and even the vice-president of the United States, Schuyler Colfax, was proved to be involved in the affair. The only good result of this scandalous exposure was the fact that it served to prevent at least open and palpable frauds in railroad construction and management. More subtle methods, depending upon legal manipulation, had to be substituted.

In addition to this and many other similar scandals, the general moral and efficiency of the Grant administration were on an extremely low level. The spoils system dominated political appointments as never before since the time of Andrew Jackson. This subordination of efficiency to favouritism even went so far as to lead to the removal of the two most efficient men whom Grant had himself originally appointed to his cabinet, Attorney-General Hoar and Secretary of the Interior Cox. These men had offended the office seekers by their opposition to graft and favouritism in appointments. On the whole, graft, corruption and inefficiency characterised all phases of Federal administration under Grant and did much to lose for him the reputation he had established as a Northern general. Yet Grant himself was not guilty of personal corruption, and most of the trouble arose from the fact that he was not a man fitted by his personal traits to be a responsible civil official.

This degeneration of political moral and the degradation of the Republican party aroused the anger and disgust of many prominent Republicans of honesty and intelligence, some of whom had been associated with the Republican party in the days of its idealistic origins. They first tried to reform the party through pressure upon Grant and upon the existing party organization. Failing utterly in this, they organized a separate party in 1872, known as the Liberal-Republican party. They were led by the distinguished publicist and general, Carl Schurz, and

were supported by Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune. The Liberal-Republicans met in Cincinnati in May, 1872, and nominated Greeley and Brown as their candidates for president and vice-president. Their platform called for the restoration of the Southern states, the resumption of specie payment, and civil-service reform; but the latter was the all-important element in their campaign. Though the Liberal-Republican party was an utter failure as an effort to defeat Grant and the forces of corruption, it set a healthy precedent for party insurgency whenever the Republicans surrender too flagrantly to graft and dishonesty.

Closely connected with the Liberal-Republican movement was the rise of the civil-service reform agitation. Efficiency in public service had scarcely existed since the time of Andrew Jackson.

**Demand for civil-service reform**

About the time of the close of the American Civil War, Charles Sumner became interested in the progress of civil-service reform in England, and endeavoured to get the United States to establish similar procedure. A general investigating committee of Congress reported on the European civil-service systems in 1868, and the reformers, led by Carl Schurz, William Cullen Bryant, George William Curtis and E. L. Godkin, were able to secure an act in 1871 providing for the establishment of a civil-service commission. Grant soon surrendered to the spoilsmen, however, and the movement came to naught for the time being. It was not until ten years later, under President Arthur, that civil-service reform received its permanent initiation. It has been subsequently advanced, mainly through the efforts of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft.

Almost the only creditable achievements during Grant's administration were the Amnesty Act of 1872, making possible a more liberal attitude towards the whites who had been in the Southern Confederacy, and the Treaty of Washington with England of May 8, 1871, according to which the claims arising from the Alabama depredations during the Civil War were satisfactorily settled. An inter-



national tribunal met in Geneva, Switzerland, and on September 2, 1882, voted the United States damages to the amount of \$15,000,000. The net result of popular reaction against the corruption of Grant's administration was the regeneration of the Democratic party. In the election of 1868 the Democratic party had been in a hopeless minority. By 1876 so great was the popular indignation over the carnival of misrule under Grant that the Democratic candidate for president had a clear majority over the Republican candidate, though he was cheated out of the office.

The question of customs duties has long figured in American history. The American Revolution was fought, to a large extent, to overthrow the English protectionist system.

**Free Trade or Protection** One of the first acts of the first Congress of the United States was to pass a tariff bill. After 1816 the tariffs became progressively higher until, from 1828 to 1832, it became so high as to threaten the integrity of the Union, and to lead South Carolina to attempt secession. After 1833 the customs duties were lowered until, in 1857, they reached the lowest point since 1816. During the Civil War, as we have already seen, the tariff was greatly increased, in order to bring more revenue into the national treasury. It was retained after the war through the influence of the new business class, which desired to use it to protect their new industries and to keep out foreign competition. From 1875-1913 the tariff was perhaps the most discussed issue in national politics.

Those who favoured a protective tariff argued that it was necessary to protect the new infant industries from foreign competition and the dumping of the surplus products of foreign countries, to ensure international independence and self-sufficiency, to diversify national industry, to protect American labour against the more lowly paid European and Asiatic labour, and to ensure a better home market for American manufacturing and agricultural products. Those who favoured freer trade or a revenue tariff insisted that protection was disastrous and undesirable because it prevented a country from specialising in those industries for which it was best

adapted, lowered national productivity, profits and wages, fostered legislative corruption, made possible monopoly and high prices in protected industries, and put an unjust indirect tax upon the consumer for the benefit of the producer. Later, the free-traders severely criticised the protectionists by arguing that the so-called infant industries had reached a healthy adult stage and no longer needed any large amount of protection.

The question is far from settled to-day, but it is apparent that the difference between the two parties on the subject has become merely a difference in degree and not in kind, due largely to the industrialisation of the South. A new party will probably be necessary if the issue between free trade and protection is to be fought out in the political field.

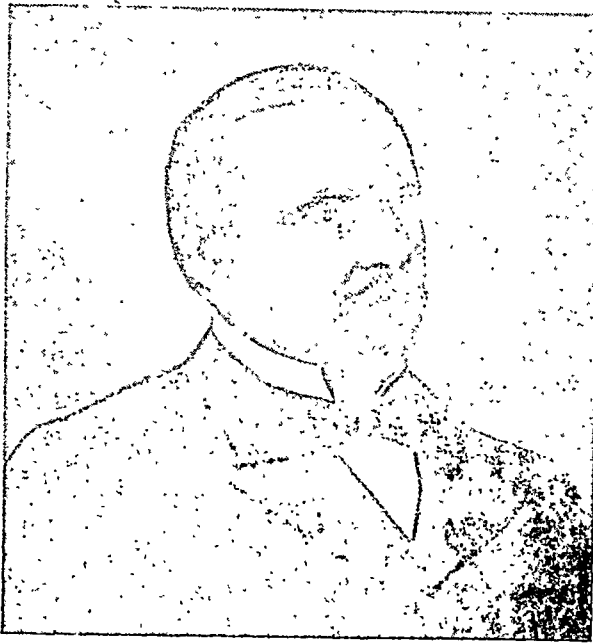
Another extremely important issue which came up in the generation after the Civil War was the matter of the currency. Since silver was undervalued in the coinage ratio, there had been little in circulation in the United States in the twenty years before 1873. In 1873 an act was passed concerning the coinage system of the



THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT

The political cartoonist Thomas Nast established the elephant as a symbol of the anticipated Republican majority. This caricature, which appeared in Harper's Weekly, satirises the battered condition in which the elephant emerged after the electoral contest of 1876.





PRESIDENT CLEVELAND

A man of strong character and organizing ability, Stephen Grover Cleveland (1837-1908) was president of the United States 1885-89 and 1893-97. The repeal of Sherman's silver purchasing act in 1893 was secured by his efforts.

United States which left the silver dollar out of the list of standard coins. At the time there was little criticism of this act, but during the 'seventies there came an enormous increase in the available supply of silver. This created a natural economic pressure for an extension of the coinage of silver, which was still further intensified by the desire of the mine owners to sell more silver to the government and the wishes of the Westerners for more and cheaper money. Those who now favoured extensive coinage of silver vigorously criticised the government for passing the bill of 1873, which act they denominated 'the crime of '73'.

The silver forces, led by Congressman Richard P. Bland of Missouri, were able to secure the passage of an act in 1878 known as the Bland-Allison Bill. This directed the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase monthly for the country not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion for coinage into silver money. Silver certificates on the basis of these silver dollars began to be issued in 1886. At first it was difficult to keep the silver dollars and certificates in circulation, but the great prosperity of the country from 1889-1893 created a need for more money and the increased

circulation lessened the silver reserve. In 1890 a new currency act was passed, known as the Sherman Silver Act. It had been designed as a bait for Western votes which were needed in order to pass the McKinley Tariff Bill, which was desired by the Eastern manufacturers. The Sherman Act directed the government to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly, to be paid for in government notes redeemable in gold or silver at the option of the government. In the years 1889 and 1890 six new silver states were admitted to the Union: North and South Dakota, Washington, Montana, Idaho and Wyoming. This naturally increased the power of the silver forces in Congress.

A crisis in the currency problem was produced by the panic of 1893. When silver certificates were presented for redemption, President Cleveland sought to increase the financial standing and reputation of the Federal government by redeeming these silver certificates in gold instead of in silver, as he was legally authorised to do. The gold which he used to redeem these silver certificates was purchased at a high price from New York and Philadelphia bankers.

At the same time the **Phases of the Sherman Act was re-currency problem** repealed on October 30, 1893. The redemption of the silver certificates in gold and the repeal of the Sherman Act constituted a double blow to the West. Again, the failures and hard times from 1893-96 were laid to the repeal of the Sherman Act. Debtors resented the rise in the purchasing power of money. The Western farmers as a whole attributed the low prices of 1893-96 to the fact that the new gold money which now dominated the currency was too dear and too scarce. The Western silver producers gravely resented the reduction of their market for silver through the failure of the United States to purchase large quantities for coinage. All these various factors combined to give the free silver agitation great vitality in the West from 1893-1896. After the defeat of Bryan in 1896 the silver movement lost its strength, and on March 14, 1900, President McKinley signed the Gold Standard Act making gold the standard coinage for

the United States. The rapid increase in the amount of gold available, due to new discoveries in South Africa and Alaska, and to the introduction of new and more scientific mining of the poorer goldfields in the United States, has served to make gold money at present relatively cheap money, and has led many thoughtful economists and statesmen to consider various devices for stabilising the value of the gold dollar.

The new railroads in the West, while indispensable to the settlement and prosperity of the region, soon developed very

corrupt and oppressive practices in the shipment of the grain and cattle of the Western

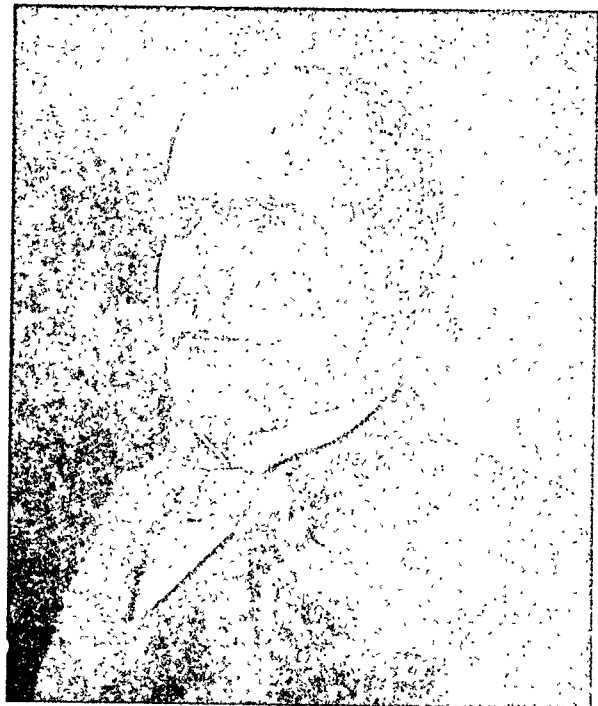
farmers. All types of discrimination and extortionate rates were introduced. In the early 'seventies these abuses had become too marked in the middle Western states to be longer tolerated. Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa led in the passage of laws classifying and regulating the rates which might be charged by railroads, especially with respect to the storing, handling and transportation of grain. This very important step of subjecting railroads to public control and regulation by the individual states was sustained by the United States courts in the famous decision of *Munn versus Illinois* in 1876. The practice was, however, severely limited, if not nullified, by later judicial decisions of 1889, 1890 and 1893, which declared that the United States courts had power to review the railroad rates established by any state and to set them aside if they regarded them as too high.

One of the strongest forces behind this notable attempt of the 'seventies to regulate the corrupt and powerful railroads was the organization known as the Patrons of Husbandry, or the Grange. This had originated in 1867 and seven years later it had 20,000 local branches with 1,600,000 members. The Grange was strongest at this time in the middle north-west. On account of the prominence of the Grange in the attempt to subject the railroads to state control, the movement is usually referred to as the Granger Movement.

The general failure of the Granger Movement through adverse judicial deci-

sions led to continued agitation on the part of Western farmers for some method of securing relief from the oppressive policies of the railroads and bankers and from the hard times which came to them from 1885-1896. The Western farmer had a large number of grievances. In the first place, he had scarcely more than recovered from the effects of the depression following the panic of 1873 when the prices paid for grain began to decline seriously. Most of the Western farms were newly settled and had been mortgaged in order to meet the early expenses. In this period of depression mortgaged farms were still more deeply mortgaged, and many farms that had been fully owned and clear of mortgage had to be mortgaged by their owners in order to meet expenses. Many farmers could not meet the interest, the mortgages were foreclosed, and the farmers became tenants. In the face of these conditions the farmers were still further oppressed by the fact that the much-needed money had to be borrowed at excessive rates of interest.

To secure relief from this intolerable situation the Westerners organized in 1890 what was known as the People's Party.



PRESIDENT McKINLEY

After twice serving as governor of Ohio, William McKinley (1843-1901) was elected president of the United States in 1896. He opposed the free silver policy supported by Bryan, and in 1900 successfully advocated the gold standard.

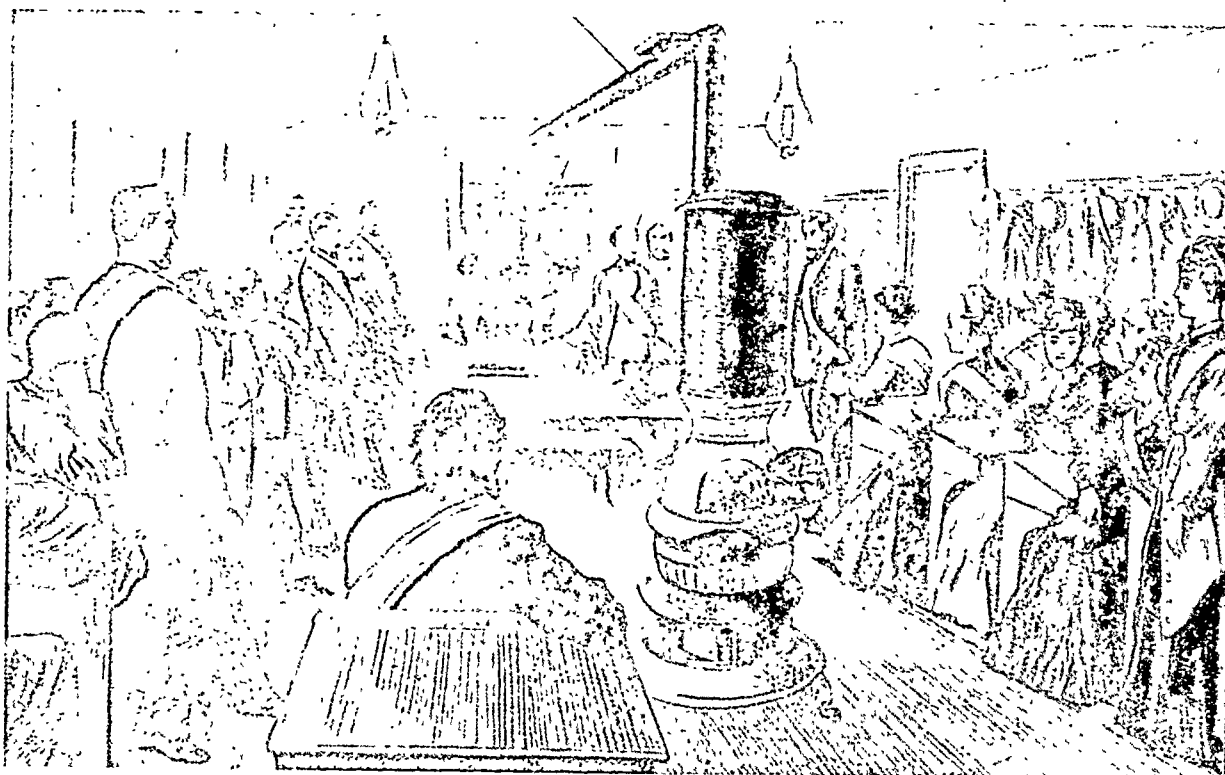
It later became known as Populism. It was recruited from the remains of the old Granger and Greenback movements and from the discontented elements in the West generally. The grievances set forth in their platform are an admirable indictment of the evils of American society at that time. Professor Paxson selects the following section as best summarising their attitude :

The Populist platform, based upon discontent among the 'plain people,' recited a long list of grievances 'in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislature, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralised ; most of the states have been compelled to isolate the voter at the polling-places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidised or muzzled ; public opinion silenced ; business prostrated ; our homes covered with mortgages ; labor impoverished ; and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection ; imported pauperised labour beats down their wages ; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by

our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind, and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes of tramps and millionaires.'

Their platform provided for a series of reforms designed to remove these abuses. This series of reforms demanded in the Populist platform have been well summarised by Professor Paxson in the following paragraph :

They demanded monetary reforms including free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one, and an increase in the circulating medium to the amount of fifty dollars per capita ; a national currency to be laid by the government at two per cent. and a graduated income tax, as well as postal savings banks. A second group of demands declared for the government ownership of railroads, telegraphs and telephones. A third group demanded the suppression of alien ownership of land, and appealed to the



MEMBERS OF THE GRANGE MEET IN A SCHOOLHOUSE AT ILLINOIS

Founded in 1867 for the improvement of American agricultural conditions, the Society of Patrons of Husbandry, or the Grange, was a highly influential organization among the farmers of the West. A marked feature of its policy was the attempt to regulate the corrupt railroads. The movement began to decline about 1873. Women were eligible for membership and a number of them are represented in this sketch in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper for January 31, 1874.

*Courtesy of Judge Publishing Co.*

single-tax followers of Henry George by asserting that land is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolised for speculative purposes. In an addendum to the platform the party expressed its belief in the Australian ballot, reduction of taxation, liberal pensions, an eight-hour day, the Initiative and Referendum, a single term for the president, and the direct election of United States senators. It condemned protection, national subsidies to private corporations in any form, and Pinkerton detectives.

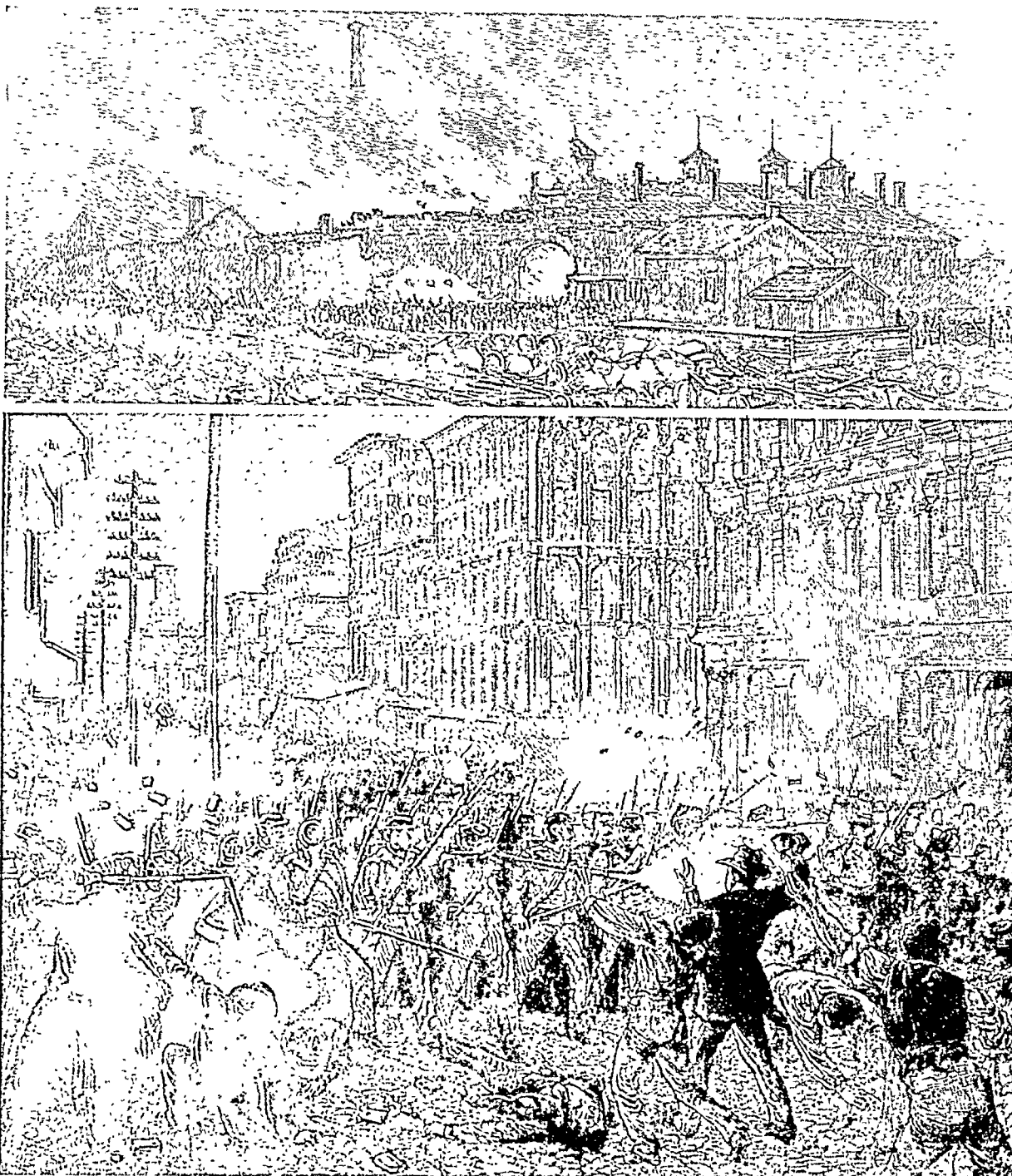
A considerable amount of strength came to the movement not merely from the West, but also from the discontented Southern farmers, who were likewise oppressed by the extortionate merchants and bankers. An attempt was also made by the Populists to secure an alliance with the great labour unions of the time and to form a farmer-labour party of overwhelming strength, but this attempt failed, largely through the fact that the prominent labour leaders looked upon the interests of labour as distinct from, and often opposed to, those of the farmers. In 1896 the Populist party endorsed Bryan for president and was gradually absorbed in the new and more radical Bryan Democracy.

Western discontent with oppression by the plutocratic East has since reappeared in such movements as the *Farming West* the Progressive movement led by Roosevelt in 1912, the *Business East* the Non-Partisan League, which has made some headway in the north-west in the last decade, and the Farm-Bloc, which is a power in the Federal Congress. In many ways, this linking-up of the farmers of the South and West against the banking and business North and East has furnished more actual political conflict than the rather artificial struggle of the Democratic and Republican parties for offices and political spoil.

The advantages of large-scale industry and the expensive nature of unlimited competition in industry and transportation naturally led to the tendency toward large-scale combination in business. Attempts were made to bring competing concerns into some form of agreement which would eliminate competition and make it possible to raise prices and increase

profits. The evils of monopoly were soon discovered, and an effort was made to curb its growth. In 1890 the famous Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed, which declared illegal any combination in restraint of trade. This act, however, had relatively little influence; a judicial decision in 1895, the *Problem of E. C. Knight case*, seriously *the Trust* limited the operation of the Sherman Act over monopolies by interpreting this act to apply only to monopolies engaged in trade, and not to those engaged in manufacturing, and its effect was still further weakened by an opinion of the United States Supreme Court given in 1911, which claimed that not all restraint of trade by monopoly was illegal, but merely 'unreasonable' restraint of trade. President Wilson attempted to do something in the way of reducing the evil influences of monopoly through the passage of the Clayton Act in 1914 and the simultaneous creation of a Federal Trade Commission as a permanent body to inspect and investigate alleged monopolies. Modern court decisions, however, incline one to feel that the movement against monopoly in the United States has really been an utter failure as far as actual results are concerned. These decisions have made it possible for monopolistic concerns which have been legally dissolved actually to go on doing business in a more profitable manner than ever.

With the great increase of business in the United States after the Civil War, the coming of the Industrial Revolution, the completion of the factory system and the employment of labour upon a large scale in individual factories, it became necessary for labour to organize, in order to protect itself from unscrupulous exploitation by employers. This fact was soon recognized by the workers, and labour organization and the attempt at collective bargaining were initiated on a large scale immediately after the Civil War. Whatever one may think about the policies which have characterised such labour unions, there can be no doubt that they are an indispensable source of protection to the working class and can be condemned only by those who have no regard for its health and happiness.



#### DEFIANCE AND DESTRUCTION IN THE RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1877

A ten per cent. cut in railway wages in July, 1877, was responsible for the strike that immediately followed. The first serious riot occurred in Baltimore, when an infuriated mob attacked the Sixth Maryland Regiment, and nine citizens were killed. More alarming were the activities of Pittsburg strikers who attacked government troops sheltering in the roundhouse. Pillage and incendiarism flourished and the soldiers were driven from their refuge when the rioters set fire to it (top).

*From Harper's Weekly, August 11, 1877*

Labour organizations of a crude and elementary sort had appeared early in the nineteenth century. As has been shown above, there was much activity in labour organizations between 1848 and 1860, due largely to the spread of the radical labour movement which was developing in Europe. In 1869, largely as a result of the new industrial development, there came the

first great national union, known as the Knights of Labour. It was organized by Uriah S. Stephens and Terence V. Powderly. Its programme was a broad one, looking towards progressive reform in both political and economic fields. It advocated the use of the political referendum, the establishment of a bureau of labour statistics, a weekly pay-day, the abolition of the contract

system of labour on public works, the abolition of payment in kind, the prohibition of employment of children under fourteen years of age, the substitution of arbitration for strikes, the eight-hour day, the reservation of public lands for actual settlers and the prevention of their occupation by land speculators, and the abrogation of laws bearing unequally upon different classes of the population.

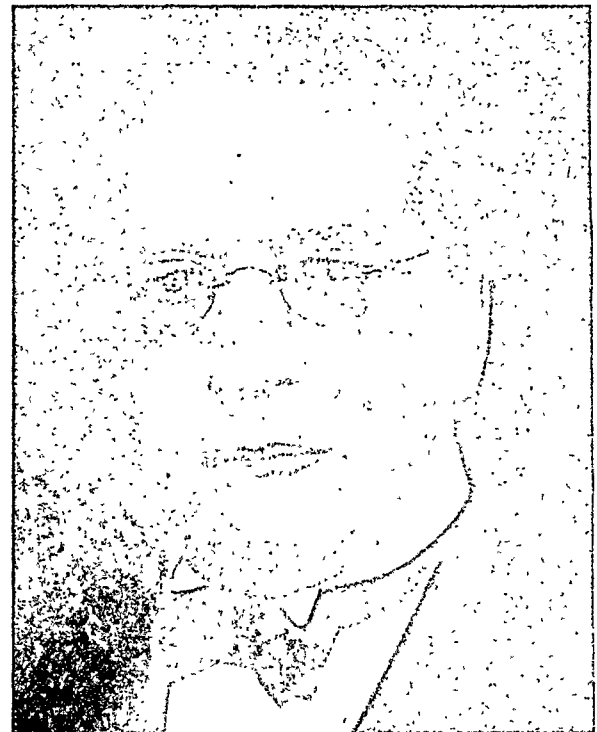
Differing to a certain extent from earlier and later labour unions, the Knights of Labour exerted their influence quite as much through legisla-

**Labour Unions:** tion as through strikes.  
the 'Knights' Their greatest weakness lay in the fact that they attempted to organize all kinds of labourers in every sort of industry in a heterogeneous union which had no definite local or industrial unit. This produced serious internal weaknesses and friction. The Knights were still further weakened through adverse public opinion which was caused by the violence of strikes in which some of the Knights were involved, particularly the serious strikes in St. Louis and Chicago in 1886. From these two sources of weakness, internal disunity and external disapproval, the Knights of Labour gradually died out in the decade following 1886. Yet their influence had been a highly salutary one. Largely owing to their pressure, legislation had been enacted establishing the United States Bureau of Labour, prohibiting the importation of contract labour, excluding Chinese labourers, restricting the labour of women and children, compelling the payment of wages in at least bi-weekly periods, establishing state boards of arbitration and securing the better protection of labour in several states.

While the Knights of Labour were gradually disappearing, there was coming into existence another and more permanent form of labour organization known as the American Federation of Labour. It was led by Samuel Gompers, and was based upon many different notions and practices from those which had characterised the Knights of Labour. Instead of trying to combine all types of trades, and skilled and unskilled workers, Gompers formed his federation on the basis of separate

crafts and trades, and the local organization of each of these various crafts was brought together in a central labour union body. These local bodies were then linked up on a federal basis culminating in the American Federation of Labour. In general it was fairly strictly limited to skilled working men. While it has unquestionably been a powerful aid to the cause of labour, it must be admitted that many employers regard it with hostility. In addition to the American Federation of Labour there are powerful unions outside, such as the organization of the railway engineers and train men.

A type of union which many believe to be much more promising than the American Federation of Labour is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, probably the strongest industrial union in the country. Instead of resting upon the organization of skilled workers by crafts, like the American Federation of Labour, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers provide for the organization of all the workers in the industry, skilled and unskilled, though most stress is put upon the close co-operation of the highly skilled



A GREAT TRADE UNIONIST

Samuel Gompers, born in 1850, formed the organization known as the American Federation of Labour in 1881. He became its president in 1882, and except for one year held that office continuously until his death, in 1924.



and specialised workers. Another distinct difference is that they do not rely to any great extent on strikes to gain their end, but insist upon an agreement with the employers providing for mutual compulsory arbitration of all difficulties, thus saving employer, employee and the public from the waste of industrial strikes. Further, the union attempts to make an appeal to the employer through agreeing to do everything possible to increase the volume and quality of the output. To many it seems to be the most promising and forward-looking type of labour union which has yet reached any position of strength in the country.

Much more radical than any of the above types of union are the Industrial Workers of the World, the American exemplification of syndicalism. This body is frankly opposed to the economic and political system which now prevails throughout most of the civilized world. It aims at destroying both the political state and capitalism. It would have a society governed entirely by trade unions largely increased in power. It hopes to attain its ultimate goal through sabotage, or all types of irritation to the employer, and finally by a general strike that will paralyse the political and economic institutions of the country. Many writers, however, have been inclined to believe that this ultimate programme of the I.W.W. is of little practical significance, and that its real purpose is to secure better working conditions for the unskilled workers of the West in the harvesting, mining and lumber industries. The I.W.W. began its organization in 1905, and before the Great War had a large membership drawn from those industries. Its strength was at least temporarily broken by attacks made upon it by Patrioteers during the Great War.

The employers have developed counter-organizations with which to fight the labour organizations. In 1895 there was formed the National Association of Manufacturers, which is the closest employers' counterpart to the American Federation of Labour. Trade organizations of employers also are all used to oppose the organization of workers in a

particular trade or industry. Since the Great War a vigorous campaign against trade unions has been carried on by employers. One of the strongest forces which has been utilized by the employers against trade unions has been the injunction issued by a court and resulting in the paralysing of strikes that promise to be successful. Courts have also allowed employers to collect damages from striking labour unions, the most notable case being that of the hatters in Danbury, Connecticut. In 1921, however, a court set a precedent in New York City for the use of the injunction in the interests of labour by forbidding an employer to break his agreement with his employees. A serious judicial blow to trade unionism was delivered in 1917, when the courts declared in the so-called Hitchman case that it was not permissible or legal for a labour union to organize the plant of an employer against his will, even by peaceful methods. Propaganda in the interest of employers has been disseminated by bodies such as the National Civic Federation.

American political history is usually limited to a consideration of the acts and policies of the president and Congress, but it is often the case that the decisions of the Supreme Court are quite as important as federal legislation or administrative decrees. Particularly has this been true since the Civil War. The action of the courts has related chiefly to the new social and economic issues which have arisen from the Industrial Revolution. The basis for most of the important court decisions has been the so-called 'due process' clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (see page 4491), which, while it has never protected the negro, has been invoked to cover a multitude of cases of every description. Professor Collins has brought together some representative cases selected at random :

A suit to recover the value of a dog in Louisiana on which no tax has been paid ; the right of a preacher to hold meetings on Boston Common ; the right of a woman lawyer of the District of Columbia to practise before the courts of Virginia ; a suit in New York to recover damages for the illegal use of the plaintiff's photograph ; the



sale of cigarettes in Tennessee; the regulation of the height of buildings in Boston; the question whether a convicted murderer in Idaho should be hanged by the sheriff or by the warden; the question of the sanity of a certain man in Alabama; . . . determining the amount of damages for a dog bite in Michigan; reducing street-car fares for school children in Boston; the labelling of mixed paints in North Dakota; the selling of game in New York; . . . the right of women to vote in Missouri; and the regulation of graveyards in California.

In general, under the authority of this amendment, the Supreme Court has set aside as unconstitutional a great number of laws designed to limit the complete freedom of business, and in some cases to protect labour and advance social progress. In certain ways such action has been a reversal of the earlier broad interpretation of the Constitution in relation to implied powers and general welfare. In the railroad cases from 1889 to 1893 (see page 4513) the court assumed the right to set aside state regu-

**Decisions for** lation which it considered **Big Business** unreasonable and to determine what was reasonable.

Much so-called social legislation has been declared unconstitutional, including efforts to regulate the hours of work in factories, child-labour legislation, certain phases of workmen's compensation, a federal income-tax law, and the labour cases just mentioned. This has aroused the criticism of many progressives who have accused the court of a bias in favour of big business. In fact, in the *Lochner* decision of 1905, relative to regulating hours of labour in bake-shops in New York, Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes denounced the majority decision as an effort to make the Constitution selfishly and archaically individualistic.

At the same time, the court has taken a very liberal attitude towards great transportation and business corporations. The *E. C. Knight* case and the ruling of 1911 have already been mentioned as showing its attitude towards the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Accordingly, it has decided that the United States Steel Corporation is not a monopoly and that the International Harvester Company, a much smaller and weaker concern, is a monopoly and must be dissolved. The Clayton Bill in

Wilson's first administration was designed to strengthen the Sherman Act, but the court has weakened it by several adverse decisions. The court also set aside the fine of over twenty-nine million dollars imposed on the Standard Oil Company during the Roosevelt administration.

It should be pointed out, however, that on several occasions the court has given decisions unfavourable to

great business interests. **Decisions against**  
In 1904, during the ad- **Big Business**  
ministration of Roose-

velt, it dissolved the Northern Securities Company, which was designed to unite the Great Northern and Burlington Railroad systems (see page 4715). In Wilson's administration, it declared constitutional the Adamson Act which involved far-reaching regulations of railroads.

These groups whose interests have been injured by the decisions of the Supreme Court have attacked its right to declare unconstitutional the will of the people as embodied in legislation. President Roosevelt in particular attacked this practice of the court after 1910 and proposed a remedy in the form of the recall of judicial decisions (see page 4717), a sort of popular referendum on Supreme Court decisions which involved important social legislation. In his platform of 1912 he embodied this proposal. Such attacks upon the court have so far proved futile. The supporters of the court have convinced the majority that this right of judicial review is the corner stone of private liberty.

Down to about 1890 the expansionist impulses in the United States had been largely expended in the occupation of the West by purchase, as in the case of the Louisiana Territory bought by Jefferson or by war, as in the case of the territory secured from Mexico. By 1890 the West had been occupied, and it became necessary to find areas for investment and expansion outside the territory embraced in the central portion of the American continent. An active interest in both the West Indian and Caribbean regions and in the Pacific began to appear. One of the first episodes reflecting this change of interest was the friction with Great Britain over Venezuela in 1895. The United States endeavoured to induce Great Britain to submit the

dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela concerning the boundaries to an impartial board of arbitration. Sharp notes passed between Washington and the British Foreign Office, and war at one time seemed possible; but the good sense of the people in both England and the United States prevailed, and the incident was ended without any serious difficulty. The American interest in this area, however, continued through the Spanish-American War, the occupation of Cuba and Porto Rico, the building of the Panamá Canal, the practical domination of Haiti and Santo Domingo, interference with Honduras and Nicaragua, the purchase of the Virgin Islands from Denmark, and threatened intervention in the domestic policies of Mexico. There can be little doubt that at the present time the United States is the dominant foreign power in the area between the Gulf of Mexico and the equator.

An early proof of interest in the problems of the Pacific was the purchase of Alaska by Secretary Seward in 1867. Next there was the intervention in the Samoan controversy from 1887 to 1889. A still more positive step appeared in the progress of the annexation of Hawaii, which had been a matter of consideration since 1876. Annexation was finally achieved in 1898. American interest in the Far Eastern question goes back to the commercial

treaty between the United States and Japan negotiated by Commodore Perry in 1853. An active interest developed in China in 1899, when it seemed as though various powers were about to parcel out China among themselves and absorb the industrial and commercial opportunities that existed there. Secretary Hay stood for the general policy of the

open door or the equality of all powers in availing themselves of these opportunities. Interest in the Far East

He had considerable success in securing the acquiescence of the various states of the world in this policy, but it was given up in large part in 1917 in the agreement made by Secretary Lansing with Japan whereby the latter was recognized as having special interests in China.

Interest in the Pacific was further increased by occupation of the Philippine Islands as a result of the war with Spain. The possession of both Hawaii and the Philippines has led American naval authorities to consider the importance of increasing the American sea power in the Pacific and obtaining and fortifying strategic islands in the Pacific area. The prominence of the United States in the Far Eastern question was again emphasised in 1905 when President Roosevelt intervened to bring the Russo-Japanese War to a close; and culmination of these Eastern

activities came in the initiation of the Washington Conference of 1921-22, which resulted in a far-reaching diplomatic settlement of many of the international problems in that area.

In this way the United States became a great world power. Like the European powers, it was induced to take an interest in commercial and colonial expansion by the commercial pressure exerted through the vast increase of productivity which had been brought about by the Industrial Revolution, the great increase of agricultural efficiency, particularly in the West and the accumulation available for investment outside the country.



MAIN STREET OF SITKA IN ALASKA ABOUT 1898

Alaska, first explored in 1741, was a Russian possession until 1867, when it was bought by the United States. Sitka, with its Greek church and other Muscovite relics, was the capital until replaced by Juneau. Its fisheries, sealing industries, and gold and other minerals, make the district a valuable possession.

## SCIENCE AND THOUGHT

The Impact of an accumulating Material Knowledge  
on the Mental Outlook of the Nineteenth Century

By HUGH ELLIOT

Author of *Herbert Spencer, Modern Science and Materialism, etc.*

A HISTORY of thought differs from a history of material events in that it is not amenable to sharply marked divisions of time. There is no continuous flow of new thoughts and ideas to match the continuous flow of new events. For whereas the outer world of matter is, for practical purposes, unlimited, and its vicissitudes endless, the inner mind of man is severely circumscribed, and the number of ideas to which it can give birth is strictly finite. And, looking back over the great ages of the past, we are impressed with the fact that a large proportion of human ideas was set forth in distant ages, in the earlier outbursts of civilization, and that there has been no subsequent accumulation of them, such as has occurred on the material sides of human progress. They change, no doubt, from age to age, but the change is more of the nature of a rise and fall than an introduction of novelties: a redistribution of emphasis, a purification and elaboration of some ideas, and an elimination of others. Their outward aspect is constantly varying, their inner reality remains unchanged.

Far otherwise is it with the progress of knowledge. Here new facts are always being discovered, novelties are ever being introduced never dreamt of by the ancients. Every generation hands down to its successor an inheritance of knowledge greater than it received from its predecessor. Knowledge is cumulative, it resembles the material possessions of mankind in that it increases from age to age, while having the added advantage of being less easy to destroy.

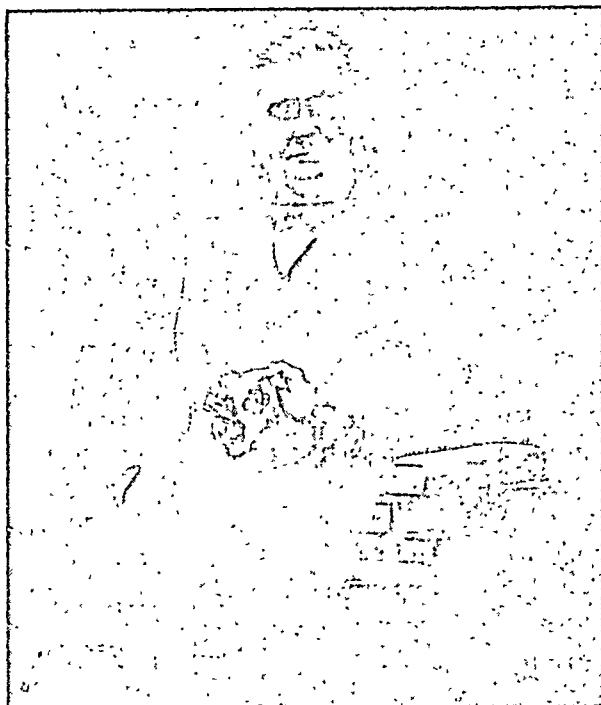
This contrast furnishes the keynote to the thought of the nineteenth century. Considerable stores of knowledge were

laid up by the ancient Greeks, and carried along with the Roman Empire. If knowledge had been destructible, the thousand years of darkness which succeeded the ancient civilization would have destroyed it. But it lingered in the monasteries, and the flame, though it burnt low, was never totally extinguished. With the revival of learning it burst forth again, and henceforward progressed, at first in somewhat flickering style, but afterwards more regularly. As the nineteenth century grew up, the progress began to assume the form of a torrent. Instead of advancing with constant velocity, it advanced with constant acceleration. It is this great expansion of knowledge, unprecedented in history, that marks the century as the age of science.

The eighteenth century was the age of philosophy. Philosophy, indeed, included science, it covered all forms of knowledge, the differentiation of science as a separate department had hardly begun, and the eighteenth-century encyclopedists aimed at covering the whole range of existing knowledge. But when once the differentiation had started it tended to assume the form of a divorce. At the end of the nineteenth century few men of science understood the works of contemporary philosophers, and many regarded them with something like contempt. There was no expansion of philosophy to correspond with the expansion of science. The great philosophic movement which continued from Kant to Hegel was incomprehensible to all but the initiated, and barren of any practical result. Moreover, it produced no general agreement, even among those who understood it. By contrast with the

progress of science, philosophy was relatively stagnant. At the end of the century men were still puzzling over the ultimate problems of philosophy; the nature of the universe, the relation of mind and body, and so forth; very little wiser than they were at the beginning.

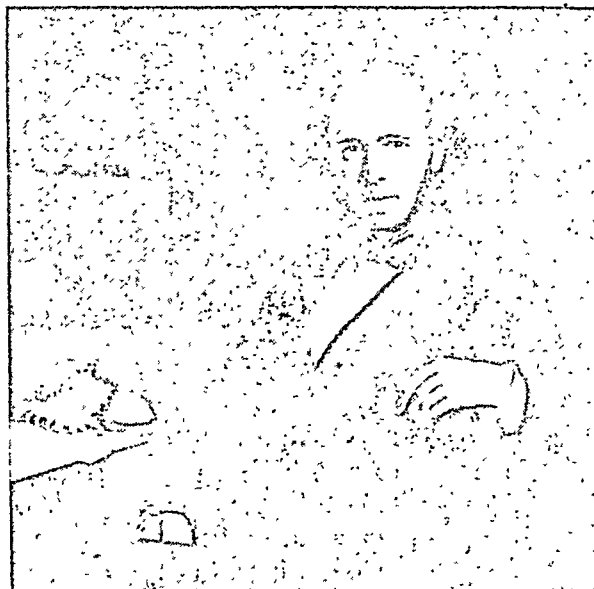
It is remarkable that so great an accession of material knowledge should have thrown so little light on philosophical problems, and led to so little that was new in the way of ideas. An attitude grew up which questioned the validity of philosophic methods and asserted that the subject matter of philosophy was for ever beyond the range of human intellect. Huxley coined the word 'agnosticism' to define his position; he believed that the advance of knowledge lay through science alone, and affirmed that we could know nothing of things which lay outside the province of science. Herbert Spencer wrote a system of philosophy in ten volumes; but by philosophy he understood the wider generalisations of science. The ancient province of philosophy he summed up in no more than a hundred pages under the title of *The Unknowable*.



THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY

Apart from his own invaluable contributions to science, Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-95) is chiefly famous as the vindicator of the doctrine of evolution formulated by Darwin. This portrait was painted by the Hon. John Collier.

*National Portrait Gallery, London; photo, Emery Walker*



HERBERT SPENCER

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) produced his first important work, *Social Statics*, in 1850. Thereafter he devoted himself to compiling his *System of Synthetic Philosophy* published between 1860 and 1896. John Burgess painted this portrait.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

These writers, more than any others typical of the nineteenth century, included religions in their general condemnation of philosophies. Religion, in fact, is a form of philosophy, suited to the multitude; and the term agnosticism soon became in the minds of ordinary men a synonym for atheism. Yet neither Huxley nor Spencer would admit to the title of atheist; to affirm that there is no God is to make a positive statement, and their philosophy was that no positive statement could be made. They held that the scientific position was that of not knowing; or, even more, of affirming that no knowledge was possible. Between the religion of the century and the science of the century a sharp conflict arose. It was promoted largely by the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859; for the account there given of the origin of man was totally incompatible with a literal interpretation of the Book of Genesis, and the whole doctrine of evolution was in consequence opposed by the Church. Scientific thought, therefore, was not only constructive but destructive. As new scientific theories asserted themselves, old philosophic and religious theories were displaced. The nineteenth century was a transition age, and an age

of intellectual warfare. At the end of it, science was established as supreme in all the spheres which it entered.

In order to understand the dominant trend of scientific thought it is necessary to realize the mental attitude which preceded it. Man was regarded as the centre of the universe. All nature

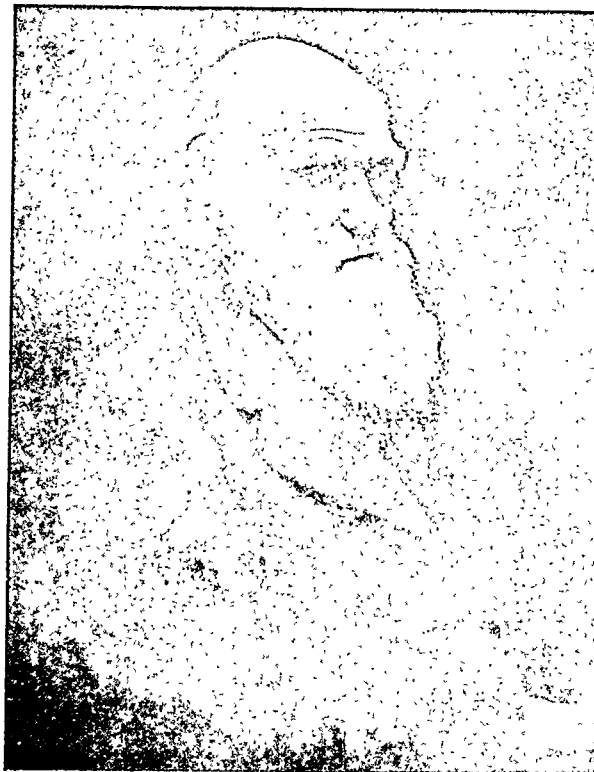
Doctrine of Teleology was designed with reference to man; all events had some bearing on his welfare. No regular sequence of cause and effect was recognized. All natural occurrences appeared to be haphazard and unaccountable, except as means designed for the furtherance of human aims. Purpose was believed to be inherent in every event. Why does an earthquake occur? As a punishment for the sins of the people. Why does ice float upon water? Because if it sank the whole mass of water would be frozen through, and all the fishes would be killed in winter. Why is a melon divided into compartments by ribs? In order that it may more easily be cut into portions for human consumption. This was the type of explanation adopted, not only by the masses, but by most of the philosophers at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their notion of explaining things was to indicate what use or purpose they possessed. This general method is known as teleology. It seeks for final causes in the realm of utility.

Teleology was broken up during the nineteenth century. The doctrine gradually became established that like causes always have like effects; that law reigns supreme throughout the universe—not the law of utility, but the law of indissoluble connexion between cause and effect. Events are not haphazard; they are due to some physical cause, which we may or may not perceive. And since physical causes are blind in their operation, the idea of universal purpose gradually lost its hold. It was recognized that many events at least were due to causes which had no relation whatever to human life or human utility.

This idea was of course not new. As has already been pointed out, novelty seldom arises in the region of pure ideas. The idea of universal physical law is in fact very old; and what happened

in the nineteenth century was this—that instead of being a heterodox opinion entertained by a small minority of learned men, it became the orthodox view of contemporary thought. It was forced upon mankind by the discoveries of science, first in physics and afterwards in biology, as will shortly be described.

If absolute uniformity of cause and effect is the law of nature, it follows that every event follows fatally from some preceding event, and gives rise with equal certainty to some subsequent event; so that, if we but knew the exact facts of any situation, we could deduce all the facts which must have preceded it and must follow it. Laplace, in his *Essai philosophique sur les probabilités*, carried this doctrine to its extreme limit when he affirmed that if we knew the exact disposition at any moment of all the matter and energy in the universe, and the direction of motion of every moving particle, and if we had unlimited powers of deduction, we should be able to foretell the exact state of the universe in every detail at any future moment of time.



CHARLES ROBERT DARWIN

By the publication of *The Origin of Species* in 1859, supplemented by *The Descent of Man* in 1871, Charles Robert Darwin (1809–82) established the theory of natural selection whereby to explain the observed facts of organic evolution.

It must not be supposed that this proposition of Laplace, enunciated in 1819, was generally accepted; at the end of the century it was still widely denied. It is, however, specially characteristic of the thought of the nineteenth century. In the course of the century it became generally accepted as applying to all physical or inorganic phenomena, and was contradicted mainly in the spheres of life and consciousness. By many, the uniformity of law was extended into the sphere of life, which was regarded merely as a manifestation of physical processes. Others, however, continued to insist that life was a lawless element; and that human activity in particular was free from the bondage of physical necessity. Thus one at least of the great issues of philosophy—that of free will versus determinism—was carried through the century unsolved; if by solution is meant a general agreement of the learned.

Blind operation of physical law involves, of course, an abolition of the idea of purpose underlying the universe. If things happen through blind physical necessity, then they cease to have reference to the welfare and utility of man. Thus the conception of man as the centre and cynosure of all existence must lapse. Many scientific discoveries promoted this change in thought. Astronomy disclosed the fact that the Earth is but a minor planet revolving round the Sun; that the Sun itself is a star, and not a very large one, among countless numbers of other stars. Geographically, man's place in the universe is obscure and unflattering. But the doctrine of evolution did far more to reduce men to a humbler view of their own position; for they learnt then that they are not like gods, apart from the rest of creation, but of the same flesh and blood as the brutes whom they despised. Evolution was combated with all the fury of outraged dignity; but it won, and probably the greatest revolution in thought that occurred in the nineteenth century was the revision of man's own opinion of himself.

This general tendency of thought has caused the belief to arise that the nine-

teenth century was a period of philosophic materialism. This belief is largely due to a lack of historical perspective. Some kind of materialistic philosophy has existed since ancient times; it has risen and declined from age to age. It has always been a 'minority' view, but it has never been altogether extinguished. The methods of science are always materialistic, and the rise of science was indeed a rise of materialistic thought, but was not a movement towards materialistic philosophy. Materialism and atheism were more in evidence in the eighteenth century than they were in the nineteenth. The latter century produced no work of the order of d'Holbach's *Système de la Nature* (see page 4067), nor did it present any advance on the views of Diderot, d'Alembert and Voltaire.

It is true that in Germany a certain amount of crude materialism existed side by side with systems of extreme idealism; but in England there was not even this. The professed materialists were not found among the thinkers. The successes of materialistic science did not turn the scientists to a materialistic philosophy. The great champions of science, such as Huxley and Spencer, rebutted the charge of materialism with as much vigour as they did that of atheism. But in this connexion it has to be remembered that they were engaged in defending very unpopular causes; further, that materialism and atheism were anathema to the people, and that, if they had associated themselves with these damaging doctrines, the fight with which they would have been confronted would have been too arduous to leave much hope for success. For in reality their doctrines are almost all materialistic. Huxley's 'automaton theory' represented man as the mere interplay of physical and chemical forces. In the previous century La Mettrie had stated the same theory in his *L'homme machine*, when it was regarded as a flaming instance of materialism. Spencer's writings likewise assume the non-existence of a god. Here and there he goes even farther; and the general reader might well wonder why these writers were so

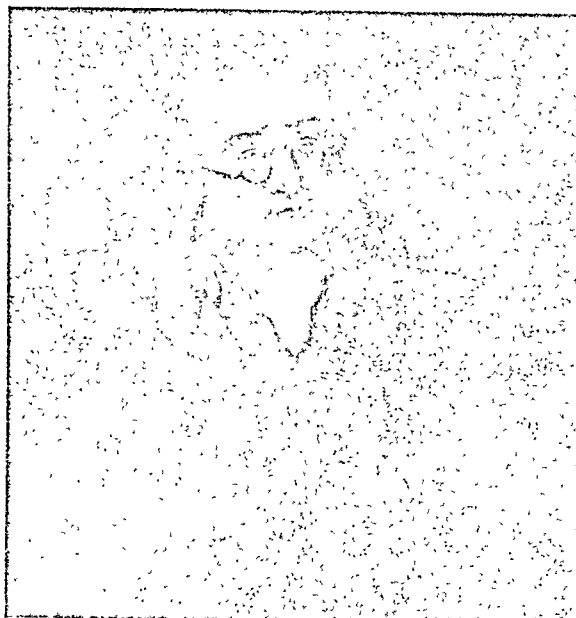
anxious to dissociate themselves from a school to which they were apparently so closely allied.

But it was not an age of philosophy. The leaders of thought preferred to confine themselves to the region of science, and made little real effort to investigate the philosophical bearings of new discoveries. When they did wander into philosophy, they met with very little success.

First in date of the scientific principles which engendered these tendencies of thought was the revival of atomism, with Dalton and his atomic theory. Dalton was the first to enunciate with scientific precision the view that matter is not continuous in structure, as appears to the eye and under the microscope, but that it consists of a vast number of extremely minute particles. These particles, called molecules, consist again of other particles still smaller, called atoms. A molecule may consist of one atom, but far more frequently it consists of two or more linked to-

**Revival of Atomism** together by invisible attraction. The atom therefore (even if capable of further subdivision) is the basis of all matter. Moreover, in Dalton's time not many different kinds of atoms were known. At the present day the number is in the neighbourhood of 90, and there are reasons for believing that this is about the full complement, in so far as the Earth is concerned. The vast variety of known substances, therefore, are all made up from combinations of relatively few varieties of atoms. The variety is caused by the different numbers and kinds of atoms which are combined to form a molecule; different collocations of a small number of atoms can give rise to an almost infinite number of molecules, and matter is only a vast collection of molecules.

The atomic theory was at first accepted as an hypothesis. It was not proved; but, by assuming it to be true, a whole series of other discoveries was made, which were proved. No conflicting evidence came to light, and the concourse of supporting evidence became so great that, long before the end of the century, it had been elevated from the rank of a working hypothesis to that of an ascertained fact.



**CHEMIST AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHER**

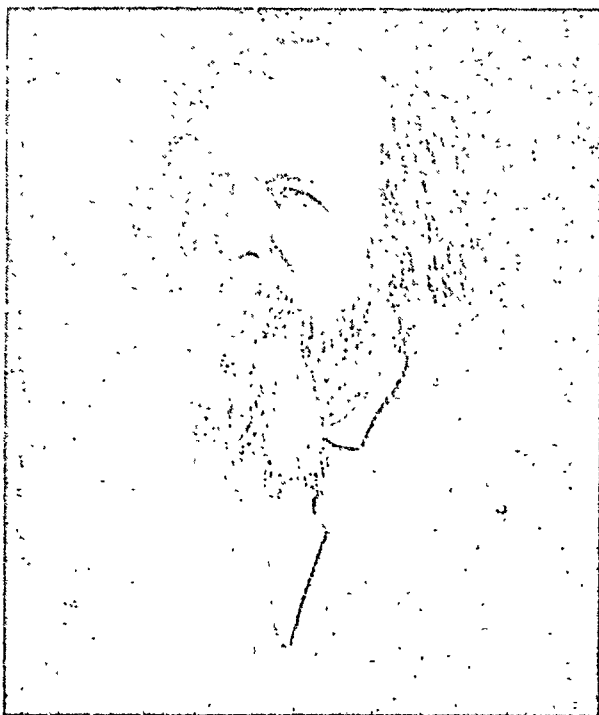
John Dalton (1766-1844) published the *New System of Chemical Philosophy* in 1808. He is commemorated by Dalton's hypothesis, the theory which explains in quantitative form the ways in which chemical combination takes place.

*Engraving by Allen after Cook*

The actual nature of the atoms still remained a mystery. They were usually imagined as incredibly small, hard, spherical balls. This conception has long been cast aside; but that has been the work of the twentieth century. The atom represents the deepest effort of scientific analysis in the nineteenth century; and its constitution was merely a subject of dilettante speculation.

That the different kinds of atoms were not totally unrelated was suggested by the discovery of Mendeléeve that they could be arranged in a regular sequence, not only as regards weight, but as regards chemical properties. Mendeléeve drew up a classification of the elements; but the classification was found to contain a number of gaps, and the prophecy was made that elements would some day be discovered to fill these gaps. Thus the metal gallium was prophesied in 1871, but actually discovered only in 1875. Mendeléeve prophesied correctly not only its atomic weight, but also its melting point, its specific gravity and many of its chemical properties. Scandium and germanium were similarly predicted, years before they were actually discovered. Helium was perhaps the most notable case of all. It





A GREAT RUSSIAN CHEMIST

Dmitri Ivanovitch Mendelée (1834-1907) announced his theory of periodicity in 1869 while professor of chemistry at St. Petersburg. Most of his predictions of the future discovery of then unknown elements have since been realized.

*Photo, E.N.A.*

had already been discovered in the Sun by means of the spectroscope; and it was not till long afterwards (in 1895) that it was discovered on our own planet.

The atomic theory is a classical instance of the method of adopting hypotheses, which are distinguished from proved facts, but are found to work. The hypothesis is retained as long as it works, or until some other hypothesis is discovered which works better. It is then discarded. Or on the other hand it may prove to be an ultimate fact, and is permanently incorporated into human knowledge. This is what happened in the case of the atom.

Another hypothesis, which history will no doubt associate peculiarly with the nineteenth century, is that of aether. Heat and light travel through space; and it was found that the phenomena which they present were accounted for by supposing that they were waves or undulations. But it is impossible to have an undulation unless there is something to undulate. Hence in 1801 Young invented aether, as an all-pervasive substance filling the entire universe. The properties which aether was assumed to

possess were very remarkable. It was 700,000 times more elastic than air; it had a rigidity greater than steel, and a density many million times that of lead; yet it was so attenuated that the Sun and stars could travel through it at immense velocities without the smallest sign of retardation or friction.

The hypothesis of aether gathered strength as the century wore on. By its aid a number of new discoveries were made. By many it was ranked as no less certain a fact than the atomic theory. By the end of the century it was more firmly established than it had ever been before. But the twentieth century brought a new hypothesis, which accounted equally well for all the facts which aether was invented to explain, as also for some others that aether did not explain. Aether, therefore, cannot be said to have passed beyond the rank of an hypothesis.

The leading principles of physics which captivated the thought of the age were perhaps the principles of the indestructibility of matter and the conservation of energy. If we burn a piece of wood, matter seems to have been destroyed; but if we collect all the products of combustion—the ashes, the smoke which has gone out through the chimney—and weigh them all, no particle of the original wood is found to have been lost. Matter can neither be created nor destroyed; it is merely rearranged. As matter of one kind disappears, matter of another kind comes into existence. The atoms, in fact, preserve their integrity through all vicissitudes; all that happens is that they enter into new combinations.

The same law holds good of energy in its various forms: motion, light, heat, sound, electricity, etc. The apparent cessation of one form of energy implies the instant appearance of some other form. Thus, when a stone drops on the ground, its energy of motion appears to be destroyed. But at the moment when its motion ceases new forms of energy arise. Much will appear in the form of heat where it strikes the ground. Some will take the form of aerial vibrations, which we know as sound. There may be an

emission of light, and electrical or magnetic effects; in short, the sum total of new energy will be precisely equal to that of the energy lost. The statement is somewhat complicated by the fact that energy may become potential. Thus, if a stone is thrown into the air and lands on a ledge at the height of its trajectory, its motion is lost without any appearance of new energy in compensation. But the energy is still present, consisting in the position of the stone, which is such that if at some future time the stone were to fall to the position from which it had been thrown, it would give out the same amount of energy in falling as had originally been impressed upon it. Another form of potential energy is chemical affinity. The light of the Sun falling on the leaves of a tree becomes used up in forming complex organic molecules. When later on the wood is burnt in a fire, the molecules are broken down again; the locked-up energy is released in the form of heat and light.

It was on these two cardinal principles that Herbert Spencer founded his System of Philosophy. Apart from life, everything of which we have experience falls within the two categories of matter and energy. Since the sum total of these is a constant quantity, all events of every kind consist merely in a redistribution of matter and energy. He regarded the universe as being composed entirely of a fixed quantity of matter and a fixed quantity of energy, in a state of perpetual flux. He attempted to describe the general aspect of this flux under the title of the Law of Evolution:

Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from a relatively indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a relatively definite, coherent heterogeneity; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation.

No one now pays much attention to this elaborate formula; but it does embody certain truths. The first is the fact of general evolution, which will be dealt with shortly; the second is that the energy (here called motion) which we can observe in the universe tends to dissipation. The

reason is that transformation of energy is usually attended by the production of heat, which radiates ineffectively into space. A continual leakage of heat is occurring; and the result must be that, if the energy of the universe is a fixed quantity, it will all be converted in course of ages into heat. The heat will tend also to a dead level of temperature; so that the final goal of the universe, in so far as it can be perceived, is dead, inert and motionless matter, uniformly warm. The universe was looked upon as being like a clock that is slowly running down.

These speculations, however, have been partially modified by later discoveries. Twentieth-century science indicates that, though the sum total of matter and energy is constant, matter may be destroyed by conversion into energy and is therefore, like it, subject to dissipation.

Biology, the science of living beings, did not exist before the nineteenth century. It became possible only when Schwann proclaimed, about 1840, the essential identity of animal and plant; for he found that the structure of both consisted of a vast collocation of similar units, which were called cells. Cells build up living bodies, as bricks build up a house. The analogy is indeed very imperfect, for the cells become differentiated from one another, and are in organic connexion. A study of the nineteenth century would be incomplete without reference to the cellular theory; but the main subject both of philosophic and popular interest during the latter half of the century was the theory of organic evolution, associated with the name of Darwin.

The idea of evolution was, of course, very far from new, and is not a discovery of the nineteenth century. It was not till the beginning of the century, however, that the idea began to take scientific shape, when Lamarck published his *Zoologie philosophique* in 1809. In that work he laid down the theory that all animals were the result of development. He drew up a linear scale of all known animals, and affirmed that each one had developed from the one next below it in the scale. Man, who was at the top of the scale, included

among his ancestors every species of animal. Not only had he bird, reptile and fish ancestors, but also arachnid, insect, worm and starfish ancestors. He passed through the stage of being a scorpion and a spider. He traversed in turn every known species of insect. He was a tape-worm, a sea-anemone, a polyp and an amoeba.

To our modern ideas, the theory is in the utmost degree crude and unreal. But it did represent one of the most important advances ever made in philosophic thought. For it broke away from the old conception of the fixity of species. It had hitherto been almost universally supposed that species were fixed and immutable; that they had originally come into existence by special acts of creation, exactly as they are now; and that their structure had never altered during the remote ages of the past, and never would alter in the future. As against this ancient belief, Lamarck insisted that slight alterations do occur from generation to generation; so that after an immense number of generations the slight alterations have accumulated into complete transformations, such

as that of a fish into a man. The mutability of species is the cardinal truth which he presented, set though it was in a great cloud of error on almost every point of detail.

For half a century the doctrine remained as a small minority opinion. It failed to make any impression on orthodox science, and did not reach the public as a whole. The reason is not far to seek. Lamarck gave no plausible account

as to how or why evolution had taken place. The main fact to be explained

Inadequacy

of Lamarckism

is that of adaptation. Every species of animal is so nicely adjusted to its environment as to suggest the idea of purpose. Every organ of the body serves a purpose of the individual. Legs are for locomotion, ears are for hearing; the whole structure is interdependent, and apparently purposive, the aim being that the animal shall thrive in the environment in which it is placed. How could evolution bring about this wonderful system of adaptation? Was it not far simpler to believe that an all-powerful Being had arranged it so?

Lamarck saw the difficulty and tried to explain it; but his explanation was crude and unconvincing. Moreover, he was unable to produce positive facts to support it. It is true that there were no positive facts to support the view of fixity of species, but that view was firmly entrenched in the habits of thought of his age; it was backed by the overwhelming influence of religion, and its displacement needed something more than the feeble evidence which Lamarck's age was able to produce.

During the first half of the century, therefore, evolutionists were busy trying to find some plausible factor to account for adaptation. The only one that seemed worth consideration was that called 'inheritance of acquired characters.' It had been noticed that organs are developed by use and dwindle with disuse. The muscles of a blacksmith's arm are more powerful than those of a sedentary worker. In short, individuals do show adaptation to their environment; they become modified to meet the necessities of their lives. It needs but to suppose that these modifica-



JEAN BAPTISTE DE LAMARCK

In his *Philosophie zoologique*, published in 1809, and his *Histoire naturelle des Animaux sans Vertèbres*, published 1815-22, Lamarck (1744-1829) propounded the evolutionary theory known as Lamarckism. It was superseded fifty years later by Darwin's theory of natural selection.

tions are inherited, and all adaptation is accounted for. Why has the giraffe a long neck? Because during life he is frequently stretching it to reach leaves high up a tree. His neck lengthens in consequence; his progeny is born with slightly longer necks than before; and in the course of many generations a very long neck becomes normal to the giraffe.

The explanation was certainly plausible; but it was subject to the drawback that no evidence whatever could be found to support it. It was, in fact, pure speculation. It was obvious that individuals become modified by their environment; but no case was produced to show that such modifications are inherited by offspring. It seemed natural to suppose that they were, but this was a pure assumption. Any theory of evolution based upon it was therefore little better than a guess.

This was the position when Darwin published his *Origin of Species* in 1859. He suggested an altogether different factor to account for evolution; and he called this factor 'natural selection.' His theory in brief was

Darwin's theory of this: in every generation, congenital variations occur among the individuals. This, of course, is an admitted fact; individuals, even of the same family, differ from each other congenitally. It is also an admitted fact that these congenital variations are inherited. The variations of which Darwin spoke have nothing whatever to do with the environment; they are purely haphazard, set up by unknown pre-natal causes, and they occur in every direction, some of them favourable, some unfavourable, and some indifferent to the life of the animal. This was Darwin's first proposition; it was not an assumption, but an observed fact.

Secondly, he showed that animals tend to produce more progeny than there is room for. Most animals, in fact, tend to multiply at such a rate that they would soon occupy the entire earth. But in fact the numbers of each species remain more or less constant. Hence there is a great mortality; out of those that are born, only a small proportion survives long enough to perpetuate the species. This is called the 'struggle for existence.'



#### POPULAR TRAVESTY OF EVOLUTION

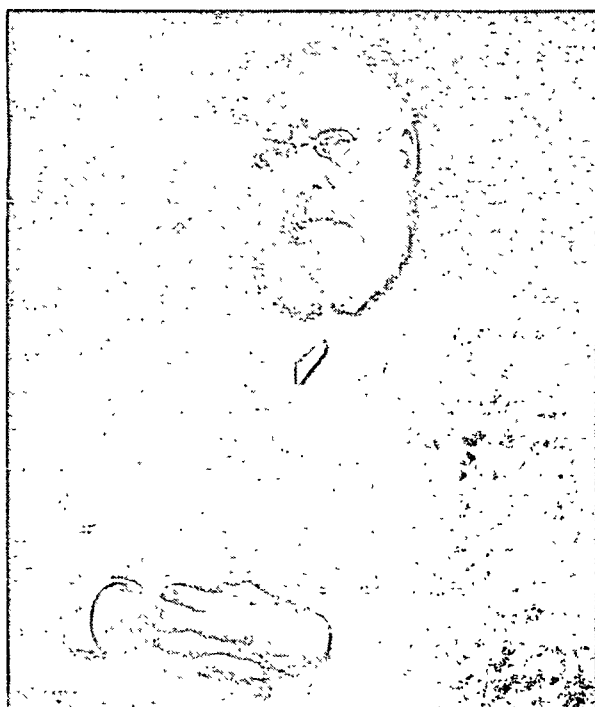
Almost immediately after its first enunciation Darwin's theory of the Descent of Man was popularly resented as implying a gorilla ancestry for the human race. The misconception is satirised in this cartoon from *Punch*, May 23, 1861.

Now, in the struggle for existence those individuals that are born with favourable variations tend to be the successful survivors, while those with unfavourable variations die out; the species is perpetuated mainly from the individuals with favourable variations. This process accounts for the adaptation of species to their environment. It is not due to a direct action of the environment, but to indirect action; the extinction of ill-adapted individuals. According to Darwin the possible forms of life are almost infinitely various; but of those possible forms only a few happen to fit the environment. These are 'selected' by natural selection; the rest fail in the struggle for existence, and die out; the whole process being otherwise called the 'survival of the fittest.'

The case of the giraffe's neck was now explained quite differently. Giraffes' progeny show congenital variations in every direction. Some of these would be in the direction of having longer necks than usual. Since the giraffe's food is on the branches of trees, those with the

longest necks would have the largest supply of available food ; they would have an advantage in the struggle for existence. The natural mortality of the species would fall most heavily on those with shorter necks ; hence the long-necked variations would survive and produce more progeny than the short-necked variations ; and that progeny would generally inherit the long necks of their parents.

Such was the main proposition of the *Origin of Species*. Every step in the argument was a proved fact. Hence for the first time an unanswerable reason was given as to why species should alter, and how evolution might have come about. Darwin did not attempt to account for the whole of evolution by natural selection. He still believed in the inheritance of acquired characters ; but natural selection was established as the dominant factor. It was proved to be a 'vera causa.' Men of science had previously looked askance on the doctrine of evolution, because they saw no means by which it could be accounted for. Natural selection fulfilled the requirement. It made evolution a plausible hypothesis.



DISCIPLE OF DARWIN

Accepting Darwin's evolutionary teachings as his base, August Weismann (1834-1914), the German professor of zoology at Freiburg, wrote *The Germ Plasm, a Theory of Heredity*, which appeared in 1893. His views have been called neo-Darwinian.

*Courtesy of Linnaean Society*

The result of the publication of the *Origin of Species* was surprising. For the first time the whole doctrine of evolution was hoisted into the attention of the public at large. The view that men were descended from apes aroused intense prejudice and animosity. The doctrine appeared to contradict the Bible, and the influence of the churches was enlisted against it. But the evolution theory was well defended. Huxley became its leading champion in public controversy ; Spencer became its leading philosopher ; the younger men of science mostly espoused the cause ; and after a strenuous campaign lasting for years evolution gradually began to be accepted by the masses. Before the century was over nearly all educated people had been converted to it, or were resigned to it.

Its influence on thought was enormous. In the first place, it displaced the idea of fixity and permanence in nature. It introduced the conception of perpetual flux and change.

#### Influence of the Evolution Doctrine

The old static view of nature died away, and gave place to the new kinetic view. In the second place, it was the greatest step ever made in upsetting the primeval belief of humanity that man is the centre of the universe, and the object to which all phenomena are subsidiary. It put man in his proper place and relieved the anthropocentric distortion which had previously vitiated philosophy.

The later story of Natural Selection is soon told. As usual with great discoveries, the disciples outran their master. Darwin had said that selection was a cause of evolution ; a school quickly arose which said that it was the one and only cause. One of the leaders of this school was Weismann, who developed his theory of the complete separation of the germ-plasm from the soma-plasm. This theory was mainly levelled against the doctrine of inheritance of acquired characters. Concerning that doctrine, a heated controversy continued for many years ; even at the time of writing it is not yet over. The argument of the neo-Darwinians was that no adequate evidence had been produced to show that it was a vera causa. The

theory, therefore, fell into considerable discredit; but when the neo-Darwinians went on to assert that natural selection accounted for everything, they were on weaker ground. It does not follow that, because the mind of man has only been able to think of one or two factors of evolution, the whole process must be explained in terms of those factors. There may be others, not yet discovered. Before Darwin, some writers endeavoured to account for the whole of evolution by the inheritance of acquired characters, which fifty years later was generally considered to account for nothing whatever in evolution. Natural selection, at first put forward as one factor, then set up as the sole explanation of everything, ended by losing a part of its prestige. No one doubts that it is a true factor in evolution, but few will be prepared to regard it as the exclusive factor.

In the realm of thought natural selection has served its purpose well. It was instrumental in establishing the evolution theory as a universally accepted axiom of science. Opinion about natural selection has changed from time to time, and is still quite unsettled. Opinion about evolution has changed only in the direction of increasing conviction and certainty. Facts have poured in from every side to prove its truth. By the end of the century it was absolutely unassailable, and controversy turned only on matters of detail; not whether the evolutionary process occurs, but how it occurs.

Speculation about the origin of man naturally affected belief on the nature of life and consciousness. As has already been shown, the belief

**Nature of Life and Consciousness** in universal law became orthodox in the nineteenth century. That every event has a cause, and that those causes are immutable and necessary, became an established doctrine in the realm of the inorganic. But there still remained outside this scheme of nature the whole sphere of life. Life, it was affirmed, is an agency that has nothing to do with physics and chemistry, and is not subservient to natural law; the actions of a living being are not part of the universal sequence of cause and effect, but

arise from some force outside the scope of science, and usually referred to in the nineteenth century as the 'vital force.'

This opinion was severely challenged from several quarters. The German materialists freely alleged that life and consciousness could be reduced to terms of physics and chemistry. Karl Vogt affirmed that the brain secretes thought as the liver secretes bile. But the main propaganda came from physiologists such as Du Bois-Reymond and Huxley, who stated the case against

'vitalism' far more **Automaton theory scientifically than had versus Vitalism** hitherto been done. The

views of Huxley, representing the best scientific opinion of his time, were stated in his 'automaton theory.' He insisted that all animals, including men, are part of the universal scheme of natural law; that human actions are the result of physico-chemical processes in the brain, and, in fact, that animals are automata. This doctrine had been set forth long ago by Descartes, who, however, had excluded man from his theory. It was natural enough that the evolutionist, regarding man as one kind of animal, should abolish Descartes' exception, and affirm that man also is an automaton.

There is no occasion to go into the arguments adduced in favour of this theory. It is mentioned only as a dominant movement of thought in the nineteenth century, and also for the purpose of showing in what respect nineteenth-century thought failed. It failed when it endeavoured to bring consciousness within the compass of its theory. If a man voluntarily performs an action, there are two antecedent causes—the conscious will of which he is aware, and the physico-chemical forces released in the brain. Physiology showed more and more clearly that the actual motive force is physico-chemical, and that human movements resemble inorganic movements by their complete conformity with the general laws of physics and chemistry. How, then, does consciousness come in? For consciousness is the only factor of which we are definitely aware.

Huxley tried to solve the problem by asserting that consciousness is an

'epiphenomenon' attached to the brain. By this he meant that, when, for instance, a man moves his arm, the real motive force is purely physical, and set about by physical activities in the cells of the brain, and that consciousness accompanies these activities inertly as a shadow accompanies its objects. If a man thinks he is doing something of his own volition, he is right in a certain sense; for that consciousness of volition is an invariable accompaniment or 'epiphenomenon' of the physical and material factors which are the true cause. Huxley accepted the automaton theory in essence; he deprived consciousness of any activating motive force; he relegated it to the position of a shadow, always present but always impotent.

The divorce between science and philosophy in the nineteenth century has already been mentioned. Men of science were not philosophers; nor was Huxley a philosopher; and the theory of epiphenomenalism, which could not withstand for a moment the destructive assaults of philosophic analysis, was accepted by a large school of men of science as at any rate good enough for them. All they felt concerned about was the truth of the automaton theory. That consciousness is a super-added epiphenomenon was an opinion that they were perfectly ready to entertain, so long as it was understood that it interfered in no way with the uniformity of physico-chemical sequences.

The vitalists, on the other hand, ascribed to consciousness a far more active rôle; they affirmed that it is a force in itself, which does break into the sequence of material processes, and that life therefore never can be reduced to purely physical and chemical terms.

The controversy raged on, flaring up at intervals and dying down again, and eventually was passed on to the twentieth century for solution. The attitude of the automatists remained and still remains unshaken; but epiphenomenalism has gone. It was killed, first by philosophy and then by science. It left in its wake a number of theories embraced under the name of psycho-physical parallelism;

but these scarcely belong to the nineteenth century. It should be mentioned, however, that psychology definitely broke off from metaphysics and became a separate science as the century wore on. The most important school of psychology in England was that called the 'association' school, of which Alexander Bain was the greatest exponent. It endeavoured to trace the connexion between different mental states on purely scientific lines. The discovery of evolution gave an enormous impulse to psychology. Herbert Spencer was first in the field; and since his time evolution has been the basis of scientific psychology.

Another science born in the nineteenth century was sociology. Ethics and political economy were also subjects of thought and speculation—the foundations of both these were laid in the eighteenth century. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, remained a classic all through the following century. His *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, not quite so famous, was yet so profoundly philosophical that few ethical works of the nineteenth century can rank beside it.

Opinion on social affairs advanced so rapidly in the nineteenth century that it is very difficult for us living in a later era even to conceive the popular attitude when that century opened. The general view, not only among the people but among the thinkers also, was that law and social institutions were sacrosanct. Whether attained by Rousseau's 'social contract,' or by divine providence, they were above and beyond criticism. To question the desirability of an established social institution would have appeared to them no less shocking than it would now appear to us if someone were to question the validity of some universally accepted principle of our moral code. Lord North, in 1785, described the British constitution as 'the work of infinite wisdom . . . the most beautiful fabric that had ever existed since the beginning of Time.' To the ordinary man the idea of criticism never occurred. For him, the institutions of society were a fact of nature, like the existence of God. If they hit him hardly, he would not dream of



rying to change them; they were the necessary and established conditions of social life.

If once we succeed in realizing the prevalence of this mode of thought—or rather absence of thought—we shall perceive the high audacity of those revolutionary thinkers who first broke the charm. The chief credit is due to Jeremy Bentham. He laid down

Bentham and the proposition that social  
Utilitarianism institutions exist for the benefit of the people and that they should be tested by the principle of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' He founded the school of 'utilitarianism,' and set about to deprive social institutions of their transcendental character, and submit them to the crucial test of utility. He was followed by James Mill, and later by John Stuart Mill. The way was thus paved for a rational study of social science.

At the same time, various thinkers were familiarising the people with the idea of natural economic law. One of the first was Malthus, in his famous essay *On Population* (see page 4285). Ricardo's theory of rent and wages went still farther in promoting the conviction that natural law reigns in the region of economics no less than it does in the region of physics, or of chemistry, or of biology. In the middle of the century Buckle brought out his *History of Civilization*, showing the connexion which existed between apparently independent social events, and introducing the statistical method. Henceforth the uniformity of law in social affairs became an admitted fact; and with it came the opportunity for the new science, called sociology.

That science had already been born when there was yet little material for it to work upon. It was invented by Auguste Comte, who made it a part of his *Positive Philosophy*. It was re-invented later by Herbert Spencer, who similarly made it a part of his *Synthetic Philosophy*. Spencer treated it almost entirely from the evolutionary standpoint. He introduced the conception of the social organism, which has had an immense influence on subsequent speculation. With

extreme elaboration, he drew the analogy between societies and animals, his general object being to show that sociology is dependent on biology, and that the laws of social life are merely a special case of the laws of life in general. Most important of these was the law of evolution. If society is an organism, it grows by gradual development. It cannot be built up or knocked down like a house. It is not, as Rousseau thought, a structure fabricated by man, but an evolutionary product of centuries and millennia. Hence, he argued, it cannot be radically altered by acts of parliament or by government, any more than the constitution of an animal can be altered by arbitrary human laws.

Meanwhile in Germany the socialist school arose headed by Karl Marx (see page 4295), who insisted that the structure of society was thoroughly bad, and that total subversion was the only remedy.

In short, society for the first time became self-conscious and introspective in the nineteenth century. Social institutions, instead of being taken for granted, occupied the attention and incurred the criticisms of philosophers. Thought was quickly followed by action. The perception of abuses led to attempted remedies; and the remedies proposed were as various as are the imaginations of mankind. It is not the province of this chapter to follow thought into action; the main lines of cleavage which ensued in the sphere of philosophy may, however, be indicated.

The greatest happiness of the greatest number is a loose general principle, which affords no very clear guide to concrete legislation. Liberty and equality are much more definite; and these two were the inspiring forces of social reconstruction. Liberty in particular seized the imagination of mid-Victorian writers. One of John Stuart Mill's most famous works was his essay *On Liberty*; Herbert Spencer made freedom the central feature of his social philosophy. By liberty they meant the liberty of the individual, and they denied the right of the state to interfere with the individual more than was absolutely necessary for the safety and well-

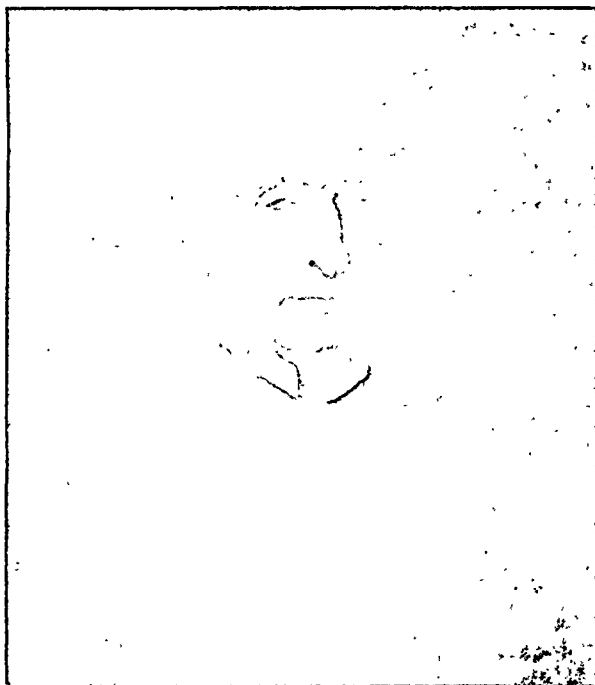
being of the community. Spencer desired to limit the functions of the state purely to police duties, and to the maintenance of an army and navy. In the sphere of action this line of thought was represented by the philosophic radicals and the so-called 'Manchester school.' John Bright opposed the introduction of the Factory Acts, on the ground that this was no province for state interference. For the same reason Spencer opposed the introduction of state education.

The fact was that government hitherto had been in the hands of the aristocracy. With the extension of the franchise, and the awakening of political consciousness in the masses, the most urgent reforms appeared to be in the removal of restrictions which had hitherto weighed upon the people. The remnants of the feudal system had to be abolished. The operations of the state had hitherto been oppressive, and the freedom of the individual was a popular note in the conflict which arose of 'the Man versus the State.'

This trend of thought did not last very long, however. After the more vexatious restrictions had been removed, the pro-

letariat conceived the idea that the state, which had previously been a somewhat tyrannical master, might be used for the purpose of positive beneficence; and that laws should be made for the definite purpose of promoting the wealth and prosperity of the people. The last quarter of the century was thus characterised by a new type of legislation, to which the catchword of liberty was less appropriate. A vast expansion of state activity took place. No longer were restrictions removed; no longer was taxation reduced. New restrictions and new taxation were the order of the day; they differed from the old in that they were designed for the benefit of the people. The philosophers of freedom were in despair. They saw the power of the state growing year by year; and as the state grew so the individual withered. They prophesied that perfect equality might indeed be the goal; but that it would be the equality of universal bondage. Moreover, these thinkers had always declared that magnification of the state conduced to war; and all their worst forebodings seemed to be realized. As the nineteenth century passed away, Great Britain was already at war with the South African republics. Armaments increased in every country; a wave of militant imperialism swept over England. Similar movements occurred in the other countries of Europe, till the final crash came in 1914, when the state swelled out to a degree never before known, and the individual was reduced to naught.

Other schools of thought there were, however, which placed quite a different interpretation on events. They are too numerous for individual mention. The study of sociology is still in a rudimentary state, and there is at present no clue as to what form of social philosophy may ultimately be established. It may be that the problems are too vast to admit of a final solution. If such a solution is ever reached, it will assuredly be only after many false steps through a vale of tears and tribulation. The nineteenth century did its work nobly in propounding the problem. Its solution is the formidable task of generations still unborn.



JOHN STUART MILL

A powerful advocate of the rights of the working classes, John Stuart Mill (1806-73) published his essay *On Liberty* in 1859. He was an earnest champion of women's suffrage. George Frederick Watts painted this posthumous portrait in 1874.

*National Portrait Gallery, London*

# THE LITERATURE OF THE VICTORIAN AGE

Fifty Years of Transition between Romanticism and Modernism in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

By J. B. PRIESTLEY

Author of *Figures in Modern Literature*, *George Meredith*, etc.

THE 'Victorian age' is one of the least arbitrary and misleading divisions of English literature, yet we cannot begin examining its character until we have roughly defined its limits. Victorian literature, for our purpose, does not mean merely the literature produced during the reign of Queen Victoria. We cannot say exactly when the age began, and even less can we say exactly when it finished; but it is not difficult to prove that its arrival did not coincide with the queen's coronation nor its departure with her death.

It began a few years before she ascended the throne. Tennyson, Dickens, Carlyle, Browning are great Victorian figures, and *The Lotos-Eaters* and other poems in the same volume, *Pickwick Papers*, *Sartor Resartus* and *Paracelsus* are among the best and most characteristic works of these authors; yet they had all appeared before Victoria came to the throne. That was in 1837, and the earliest of these works was published in 1832, so that we may say that the Victorian age began some time between these two years, in the early 'thirties. By this time, the former age, the great romantic period, was completely finished. Most of its major figures, Scott, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Byron, Lamb, Hazlitt, were dead, and those who remained, such as Wordsworth, Southey, de Quincey, had already done their best work. Curiously enough, no author of anything like the first rank bridges the two periods. By the later 'twenties, the romantic age had spent its force, and then there followed a curious lull, during which the second-rate flourished, until at last there began that new age, soon to be called the

Victorian, which takes its place among the greatest periods of English literature.

So much for its beginning. We have now to ask ourselves how long it lasted, when it ended. The queen herself lived on into the twentieth century, but all students of the time, whether their interests are political, economic, social or literary, will agree that the age to which she gave a name had vanished long before her death. By the time we have arrived at the 'nineties, we have quitted Victorian England. Though a few of its great literary figures were still alive and still writing during that decade, the literature of the 'nineties is certainly not Victorian, and the writers who were then attracting most attention, or were at least beginning to make reputations, Rudyard Kipling, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, W. B. Yeats and others, are a whole world away from the Victorians.

The length of the reign and the unusually long lives of some of its greatest writers have tempted critics to prolong unduly the age itself. Nearly all the so-called late Victorian writers do not really belong to the age, and should be assigned either to a little transition period or to the modern period. Thus, Thomas Hardy is really the first of the moderns rather than the last of the Victorians. The real Victorian age covers about fifty years, from the early 'thirties to the early 'eighties. By the end of this time the majority of its greatest figures (Tennyson, Browning and Arnold are the most notable exceptions) have disappeared. Dickens, Thackeray, Macaulay, Carlyle, George Eliot, the Brontës, Mill, Mrs. Gaskell, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Trollope are

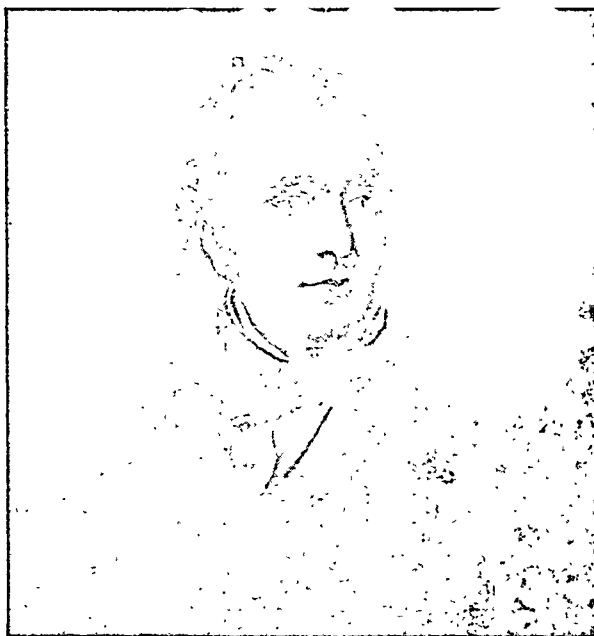
all gone, and some of them have been dead for twenty years.

If we accept these limits, we shall expect to find the age at its height during the 'fifties, the middle of the period, and that is what we do find, for these ten years are the richest in the treasures, both in verse and prose, of Victorian literature. In poetry, they open with *In Memoriam*, and afterwards give us Browning's *Men and Women*, Matthew Arnold's *Poems*, Mrs. Browning's *Aurora Leigh*, the *Idylls of the King* and (perhaps as an antidote) Fitzgerald's *Omar*. Among their prose works are Carlyle's *Life of Sterling* and *Latterday Pamphlets*, Mill's *On Liberty*, Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* and several volumes of *Modern Painters*, Darwin's *Origin of Species*, Buckle's *History of Civilization*, Borrow's *Lavengro*—to name merely a few at random. But it is with the novel that these years achieve their greatest triumph: *David Copperfield*, *Bleak House*, *Esmond*, *The Newcomes*, *Villette*, *Adam Bede*, *Cranford*, *Barchester Towers*, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, *Westward Ho!*, *It is Never Too Late to Mend*; the list is astonishing in its excellence and variety.

Here, then, are these fifty years of literature, the Victorian age, fixed securely

in the middle of the nineteenth century. To chronicle its triumphs, piling up dates and the names of men and books, would be a simple even though somewhat laborious task; to disengage its peculiar characteristics, to reveal its essential qualities, to conjure up the spirit of the age—this is a very different and an unusually difficult task. Any other period, it would seem, would submit more readily to a brief analysis. The first glance at the age appals us, all the more so because we have not the advantage of seeing it at the end of a long perspective of time. This literature seems as crowded, tumultuous and bewildering as a street scene by Cruikshank or 'Phiz.' It is obvious that we cannot string these Victorians on one or two leading ideas, like beads on a cord.

Some periods of literature are easily and quickly analysed, because they show a united front; they are animated by one spirit, haunted by one dream of art and life; their writers all face one way. The Victorian, with its rich complexity, is clearly not one of those periods, and compared with them it seems chaos itself. There would appear to be not one but half a dozen Victorian ages. No sooner do we decide to accept one writer's point of view as being typical of the age than we discover a number of his fellows, authors of equal importance, hotly denouncing that point of view. Many critics, perhaps in their bewilderment and despair, have finally clutched at the nearest clue and have only succeeded in misrepresenting the period. We are frequently told, for example, that a smug complacency is characteristic of Victorian literature, and so, undoubtedly, it is; but equally characteristic is the opposing spirit of unrest and indignation and irony; indeed, there are more great Victorians discovered protesting against smug complacency than exhibiting it. Moreover, it will not do to make one author—let us say, Macaulay—representative of the time, and then to pretend, by making use of such misleading phrases as 'in advance of their day,' that other and equally prominent Victorian authors, who do not happen to have this type of mind, are somehow not there at all. The



LORD MACAULAY

The brilliant literary gifts of Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay (1800–59) are manifest in his famous *History of England*, and, however severely his prejudices and partiality may be criticised, his merits as a stylist are undoubted.

*Painting by Sir F. Grant*

disillusioned and ironical Carlyle, the indignant Dickens, to name no others, are just as much part of Victorian literature as the complacent Macaulay.

There is perhaps no better example of the extraordinary contrasts to be found in this period than that between Macaulay and Carlyle, who, apart from their passion for great historical figures and events, have nothing whatever in common, living in two entirely different worlds, cancelling one another out at every turn. Yet both of them are figures that cannot be ignored, men who spoke widely and forcibly to and for their time, who are there representing Victorian literature. With them are half a hundred others, many of them, it would seem, equally contradictory, and for the great majority of these writers we have to find, as it were, a common denominator of thought and feeling and literary expression. Where are we to find those silken threads of theory that will guide us through this labyrinth of books and authors? Our first impulse is to retire, baffled.

We have only to remain a moment longer, however, to see that the task is not hopeless, that those very features of the age that have defeated us are characteristics that tell us a great deal. We begin to notice that this literature, bewildering though it may be, has a shape, a flavour of its own. Already we have seen that it is unusually rich and varied and apparently individualistic. Its most characteristic figures have a vague resemblance to one another, if only in their energy and copiousness, their sense of the picturesque, their interest in individual character, in all of which even Macaulay and Carlyle join hands. We have seen that this is not one of those periods that are obviously animated by a single spirit, periods in which everybody seems to face one way; and this fact itself begins to shape its character for us. Evidently it is really an age of transition. It does not live in a world that seems completely settled for the time being, nor yet in a world that seems to be starting all over again.

There are some ages in which men seem to have solved, to their own satisfaction,

all the great puzzles of this life; when most people are in agreement about the most important things; when there would appear to be no more vague and distant, luring or terrifying horizons; when the world is no longer tottering on the brink of disaster nor within sight of the millen-  
nium, but is in a pleasant state of equilibrium; when common sense is everywhere acceptable but enthusiasm is frowned upon; when writers and readers have a common background of thought and feeling, and every man can understand every other man, so that the task of an author is not to dig down to new strata of thought and feeling, but to shape and polish the familiar material from the common store. Literature naturally becomes 'what oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed.' Pope himself, the author of that line, lived in such an age, which may be called classical.

At the other extreme are the romantic ages, which come into being during those times when the world suddenly seems to rouse itself from a long sleep; when horizons, hitherto unsuspected, gradually come into view; when nothing is settled but everything—universal catastrophe or millennium—is possible; when every writer makes haste to reveal his innermost longings, his most fantastic dreams. The Elizabethan was such an age, and so was that which came to an end when the Victorians were quitting their schoolrooms.

It is obvious that the Victorian is quite different from the classical ages. But this does not transform it into a romantic age, in spite of its bearing a certain resemblance to such periods, whose energy and gusto and fecundity, whose delight in the picturesque, whose contempt for frugality and smooth common sense it undoubtedly shares. It is not simply a continuation, or re-birth, of the romantic age that it follows. That age, following on the heels of the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution, marks the real change, when the world turned a corner when modern life began. Notwithstanding the colossal stir and ferment of the whole century, once we are comfortably inside it the real transformation



ROBERT BROWNING

Intended as a companion to a picture of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, this likeness of Robert Browning (1812-89), whose poetry is one of the chief glories of the Victorian era, was made at Rome by Field Talfourd in 1859.

National Portrait Gallery, London

has taken place, at least so far as that background of thought and feeling which is important to literature is concerned.

Involuntarily our minds bear witness to this fact. Thus, for example, if we think of Gibbon, Coleridge and Matthew Arnold, three very different but equally representative literary figures, we discover that Coleridge and Arnold seem quite close together, almost contemporaries, and that Gibbon stands apart. Yet Gibbon was born only thirty-five years before Coleridge, whereas Arnold was born fifty years after. It is the turning of the corner that immensely enlarges that gap of thirty-five years and reduces that other of fifty. Nevertheless, the fact that Arnold and Coleridge seem so close to one another does not mean that the Victorian is a mere continuation of the romantic age that preceded it. The two periods are not opposed in spirit; they have much in common; but at the best the later can be only described as a modification of the earlier; and so thorough is this modifying process that the characters of the two periods are quite different.

The Victorians clearly owe a great deal to the great romanticists, Wordsworth,

Coleridge, Scott, Keats, Shelley, Byron, and they may be seen following them in various directions. But instead of going farther along the same paths, as they might be expected to do, it is significant that the Victorians do not go so far. Tennyson and Browning are romantic, but not so purely romantic as Coleridge and Shelley and Keats. Tennyson and Arnold are lovers of nature, but they are not so single-minded, do not brood over nature so intensely, as Wordsworth. Even Carlyle cannot show us anything like Scott's picturesque and passionate Toryism.

But there is no necessity to multiply instances. The great romanticists, living in a time that, as it were, burst through into another world, go off into the very blue. The Victorians, while owning allegiance to romance, resist these calls to the uttermost ends of the universe and contrive not to go very far from home. They might be described as the home service troops in the great army of romance. They are not contemptuous—as Dr. Johnson would have been—towards those 'magic casements, opening on the foam of perilous seas,' but, on the other hand, they have no intention of looking for them in 'faery lands forlorn,' and trust that there are similar casements, a little less magical perhaps, somewhere round the next corner. They hoped to domesticate romance, these Victorians, and this process of domestication explains certain characteristics of their literature.

It explains in part why their poetry has not the strength of their prose work. It is a compromise, and poetry dislikes compromises. The poet must be whole-hearted and single-minded, and must surrender himself to something, to nature or a passionate meditation on beauty or the idea of human perfectibility, as Wordsworth or Keats or Shelley did. But the Victorian poets were never willing to surrender themselves in this fashion. Thus there is about them, in spite of their splendid natural gifts and, indeed, their magnificent achievement, a certain sense of frustration. Unlike the earlier poets, they do not seem to understand the nature

of their own peculiar powers and thus are always trying to write a kind of poetry that they were never meant to write.

This is the weakness of the greatest of them, one of the representative figures of the age, Tennyson. Now Tennyson was a born romantic poet, a

**Tennyson a** master of haunting sound  
**born Romantic** and strange atmosphere,  
who could express to perfection, more justly and exquisitely than any other English poet, certain twilight moods and vague longings. We can see him, a sombre, picturesque figure, brooding over rich landscapes whose colour is fading in the waning light. He is the supreme poet of those moods when we are melancholy and know not why, when vain tears—

Tears from the depth of some divine despair  
Rise in the heart, and gather to the eyes,  
In looking on the happy Autumn-fields,  
And thinking of the days that are no more. . .

His observation of nature can be astonishingly accurate; but he is happiest when he is conjuring up some landscape that is at once richly exotic and vague, something seen in a dream, where 'droops the milkwhite peacock like a ghost,' where

Full-faced above the valley stood the moon;  
And like a downward smoke, the slender stream  
Along the cliff to fall and pause and fall did seem.

It is significant that when he writes a long narrative poem, for the most part with a domestic English background, the passages that are most memorable are those describing the fantastic tropical island (like a place in a dream) on which Enoch Arden is wrecked; we remember

The mountain wooded to the peak, the lawns  
And winding glades high up like ways to Heaven,  
The slender coco's drooping crown of plumes,  
The lightning flash of insect and of bird,  
The lustre of the long convolvuluses  
That coil'd around the stately stems, and ran  
Ev'n to the limit of the land, the glows  
And glories of the broad belt of the world. . .

long after we have forgotten the more dramatic passages of the poem. The whole bent of his poetic genius was in one direction, towards pure romance.

Yet he will for ever try to force it in other directions. It would seem as if he did not entirely trust romantic poetry, as if he felt that he was indulging himself when he became the pure romanticist, a fact that may possibly be to his credit as a man and a citizen, but certainly does not add to his well-being as an artist. Sometimes he makes the mistake of trying to be a classical poet in a world that did not, could not, support a classical poet, if only because it was a world of rapid transition in thought, not a world in which everything was settled for a time. Tennyson's command of language and of poetic technique in general was so magnificent that he could have been the spokesman of anything, but he erred (not ignobly) in imagining that he ought to express his world, which was really in no position to demand a spokesman, rather than his own temperament.

A typical example of his strength and weakness is his poem *The Epic*. The basis of this poem is, of course, the glorious fragment entitled *Morte D'Arthur*, describing the passing of Arthur and the twilight of his great age, the kind of subject very near and dear to



ALFRED LORD TENNYSON

Alfred Tennyson (1809-92) ranks as one of the foremost poets of the Victorian age, of the spirit of which he is a representative interpreter. *Idylls of the King* and *In Memoriam* are among his most familiar works.



the poet's heart. But this piece of pure romance must not, it seems, be allowed to stand by itself; it must be domesticated; and so it is framed in a trivial anecdote that tells us how a number of old college friends passed their Christmas Eve, and how one of them read out the fragment, the only surviving book of a burned epic. Ironically enough, the reason that this fictitious poet gives for burning his Arthurian epic is as follows:

He thought that nothing new was said, or else  
Something so said 'twas nothing—that a  
truth

Looks freshest in the fashion of the day. . .

the irony lying in the fact that this was Tennyson's own mistake. His truths in the fashion of the day now seem anything but fresh, and the more we admire those poems, such as *The Lotos-Eaters*, *Ulysses*,

Tithonus and some of  
the short lyrics, in which  
he expressed his own  
temperament and poetic  
genius, the more we begrudge the time  
he spent in smoothly spinning moral  
and sentimental anecdotes. And this  
sense of partial frustration in the poets  
of the age could be easily illustrated by  
references to Tennyson's contemporaries;  
to Browning, who frequently seems to  
have mistaken his very medium; to  
Arnold, whose poetical temperament pulls  
one way and idea of what poetry ought to  
be pulls another way, and to many others,  
if the prose of the age did not immediately  
claim our attention.

A great deal of Victorian poetry is narrative verse, and it is difficult to avoid the thought that we should have enjoyed these tales more if they had been presented to us in the form of prose, as ordinary fiction. This is not a conclusion that would stand the strict investigation of literary criticism, yet it is a very significant conclusion. It gives us a hint, perhaps more than a hint, of what happened during this process that I have called the domestication of romance. What was poetry's loss was the gain of prose fiction, bringing the great Victorian novel into existence. It is not difficult to see why; for what is the novel itself but the domestication of romance? This is essentially the literary form in which romance begins at home.

The history of the English novel tells us how, in the previous age, two familiar kinds, the historical romance and the intimate domestic novel, were at last perfected by Scott and Jane Austen. One is a triumph of wide and sympathetic imagination, the other of acute observation. Many of the lesser Victorians followed one or other of these two, trying to turn themselves into later Scotts or Austens; but the greater Victorian novelists

found it easy to blend the two forms, while adding, of course, various new elements of their own. The whole process, the whole drift of the time, was in their favour; they floated happily with the tide. These novelists found themselves in a world in which the individual, his manners, his character, his intimate romance, stood out sharply against a background of shifting and conflicting ideas. The individual, the domestic scene, the secret little romance, are apt to be lost sight of both in a world that is almost completely settled, that boasts one dominating system of thought, and in a world that is excitedly turning a corner, discovering that it is in a new universe in which anything might happen. There are, of course, other reasons why the Victorian novelists worked in the way in which they did and were so amazingly successful, and we shall come to these reasons a little later; but already we have touched upon the greatest of them.

If now we turn to Dickens, as before we turned to Tennyson, we shall see that the novelist's position is strengthened by the character of the age just as the poet's was weakened by it. This may appear surprising, if only because Dickens is a writer with very great and obvious limitations. 'It is remarkable,' says Santayana, in what is perhaps the best short criticism of Dickens ever written, all the more valuable because it is the work of a foreigner—'it is remarkable, in spite of his ardent simplicity and openness of heart, how insensible Dickens was to the greater themes of the human imagination—religion, science, politics, art. He was a waif himself, and utterly disinherited.' But the limitations of Dickens are his own personal limitations, the result of his

temperament and history, and are not something, as it were, imposed on his genius from outside. He was at least able to put all of himself into his work. The drift of the time, instead of limiting his genius, gave it its opportunity.

No novelist was ever more domestic than Dickens, and no novelist was ever at heart more fantastically romantic. This waif of genius was shut out not only from culture, from ideas, from

Charles Dickens' 'the greater themes of Genius and Art the human imagination,'

but also from many immensely important sides of life, so that in his novels (to quote Santayana again) 'we may almost say there is no army, no navy, no church, no sport, no distant travel, no daring adventure, no feeling for the watery wastes and the motley nations of the planet, and—luckily, with his notion of them—no lords and ladies.' On the other hand, being a waif of genius he looked about him with his sharp, bright eyes and proceeded to create a world of his own out of new materials, all that was left over when ideas, religion, science, politics, travel and the rest had been removed. And what was left over was the ordinary every-day domestic life of the middle classes and the poor.

This material, with which everyone is familiar, Dickens transmuted into his peculiar fiction, something that is at once very real, closer to actual fact in its detail than a newspaper report, and yet as fantastic as the wildest German romance. When Martin Chuzzlewit and Mark Tapley landed in England after their disastrous American visit, we are told that they made for the nearest cheap tavern and there enjoyed steak and beer, and that when they had done, they gazed blissfully into the street. The account goes on:

Even the street was made a fairy street, by being half hidden in an atmosphere of steak and strong; stout, stand-up English beer. For, on the window-glass hung such a mist, that Mr. Tapley was obliged to rise and wipe it with his handkerchief, before the passengers appeared like common mortals. And even then, a spiral little cloud went curling up from their two glasses of hot grog, which nearly hid them from each other

And if for the atmosphere of steak and beer and the mist we substitute the

romantic imagination, curiously powerful, copious and childlike, of Dickens, the quotation is no bad description of his art, which began with the nearest mean street and ended in a comic-melodramatic fairyland of its own.

With Dickens, the individual is everything. His very limitations prevent anything standing between him and strictly individual relationships. He does not see human life through a mist of ideas. It is absurd to claim him as a member of any political party; his sphere, like that of Christianity itself, is that which begins just where political action ends, in the private life of individuals. There are no poor in Dickens—those poor that were already beginning to be a problem—but simply a vast number of poverty-stricken persons, whose life he knows intimately. Fellow feeling, from rowdy good fellowship to noble charity, is his inspiration.

But while he sees existence from the point of view of private lives, he still paints it from the outside and not from the inside. He is only concerned with what goes on, so to speak, in back parlours, not what goes on in the dim recesses of the mind. Virtue and vice, with him, are absolute



CHARLES DICKENS

This photograph showing Charles Dickens (1812-70) at work in the chalet at Gadshill Place is one of the last taken of the great novelist whose genius produced the most enduring work of the century in the realm of fiction.



**WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY**

As a novelist—author of at least two unquestionable masterpieces of fiction—and as a moral influence through the medium of his kindly satire, Thackeray (1811–63) is one of the outstanding literary figures of his century.

*Crayon drawing by E. Goodwyn Lewis*

and not relative. His villains, those misers and lawyers and others in whom the springs of natural feeling have been choked up, are simply embodiments of the bad will. They seem to us unreal monsters, for all their vividness, creatures quite unlike any persons we have known, because we are never allowed a glimpse of their point of view. It never occurs to Dickens that a miser or a hypocrite may have a mind touched with a genuine if strange poetry of its own; and here he is the inferior of a novelist with whom he is sometimes compared, Balzac, who reveals to us the springs of passion in the minds of such characters, and thereby gives them a higher reality. Dickens' people are all of a piece; they are good or they are bad, and there is an end of it; and what they are, they remain, not developing in any way. The grotesque characters are always grotesque, so that though we come to delight in them, even to love them, sharing their absurd fortunes, they always remain people observed not only from the outside but, as it were, from the outside at the moment when we have first set eyes on them.

This explains why the great Dickens characters are at once so puzzlingly real and unreal. They are real because they are shrewdly observed and then dowered with their creator's immense vitality, and they are unreal because, unlike people in actual life, they always remain the figures they appeared when we first saw them. They do not show us new facets, as real people do when we come to know them, but go on, with magnificent gusto, endlessly repeating themselves. They would be nothing but grotesque automata, in whose fate we could have little interest, if it were not for the fact that they have their being in an atmosphere of passionate fellow feeling. And, if we think of these characters and then turn back to the memories of our childhood, we shall come close to the secret of Dickens, who carried a childlike imagination, reinforced by immense powers of observation, memory and expression, into his adult life and his art.

All this has led us away from that process of domesticating romance which is one key to the literary character of the age and the most important reason why the Victorian novel was so successful. Dickens Thackeray, stylist is the representative and philosopher figure, but the process can be seen at work in the other novelists, in spite of marked differences in temperament and in the nature of their art. It is there in Thackeray, who, for all his bitter comments on the social scene, was romantic at heart. But he was not so well served by the age as Dickens was, for we cannot avoid the suspicion that Thackeray, a man of great literary genius, a born stylist, would have been more sure of himself if he had lived in some other age.

He could not, like Dickens, escape ideas altogether, but neither could he fasten upon them. Thus he sometimes seems to exist uneasily in mid-air, a philosophical novelist without a philosophy. His frequent shrugging of the shoulders and cries of 'Vanity!' suggest timidity and a sense of defeat. He was the best naturally equipped novelist of the century, could create and develop character, had an unusual sense of atmosphere (no English novelist can suggest the passage of time

better than Thackeray) and an acquaintance, both wide and close, with the whole social scene, and possessed a prose style with which he could do almost anything, a style far superior to that of Scott or Dickens or George Eliot or Meredith; and yet, with all this, his position as a major figure is insecure. However much we may admire, we can never escape the feeling of disappointment, the suspicion that he was frustrated. The limitations of the age seem to weigh more heavily upon him than they do upon any of his contemporaries. The curious transition period in which he lived never offered his powers full play, and he lacked the courage and energy of men who can escape the limitations of their own time.

Had he lived earlier, in the eighteenth century, he might have been more at ease; and it is significant that his greatest achievement, *Esmond*, re-creates that century. Had he lived later, he would have found more encouragement to speak out. But as it was he could not or would not tell all he knew or undertake great themes worthy of his powers. This is why he never seems quite whole-hearted in his work. He was sufficiently detached from the early Victorian age to observe its social snobbery, but not sufficiently detached to see that there were greater themes for the novelist than those connected with snobbery. This, we may say, he did not clearly see, but he was haunted by a feeling that there were a number of very important things that he was for ever leaving unsaid, hence the vague uneasiness that runs through his work. As a novelist of manners, however, he still remains unequalled for breadth, vivacity and truth.

That social snobbery so repeatedly assailed by Thackeray is, of course, one of the

leading characteristics of the early part of the Victorian period. It was brought into existence by a re-shuffling of society. This was a time when 'classes' were still recognized, but when class distinctions were no longer clearly marked, and therefore a period when social 'climbing' and pretence and snobbery flourished; when the little things of social life, of no importance at other times when it was obvious at a glance to which 'class' a person belonged, became very important indeed and drawing-rooms became a field of battle. This is the reason why there are more snobs and 'climbers,' more triumphs and disasters centred round an invitation to a ball or a dinner in Victorian fiction than there are in all the



THACKERAY'S WAR ON SNOBS

Thackeray's moral indignation over false ethical values is reflected in his scathing exposure of the petty social rivalries of the day. Many of his highly effective satires, including *Mrs. Perkins's Ball*, published in 1847, of which this is the title page, appeared under the pseudonym of M. A. Titmarsh.

rest of English literature put together. The novelist, surveying a social life in which so many people are all pretending to be a little nearer the 'upper suckles'—as Thackeray's Jeames calls them—than they actually are, a world of petty intrigues and tea-cup scheming, naturally makes what he or she can out of it, and the result is a whole literature, from Barchester Towers and Evan Harrington downwards, of social pretence and intrigue. He or she (for naturally this is the opportunity of the woman novelist) is all the more likely to deal with such material because, during the Victorian age, there is a marked absence of certain other kinds of material.

We have already seen that this is not one of those periods when everything is settled for a time, when there is a generally accepted starting-point from which anything might be examined and discussed, nor is it one of those other periods when everything seems to be beginning again and everybody is excited about new ideas; but it is an age somewhere between the two, though nearer the second than the first, an age of somewhat uneasy transition, when new ideas are neither wildly accepted nor rejected, but are dubiously examined or cautiously

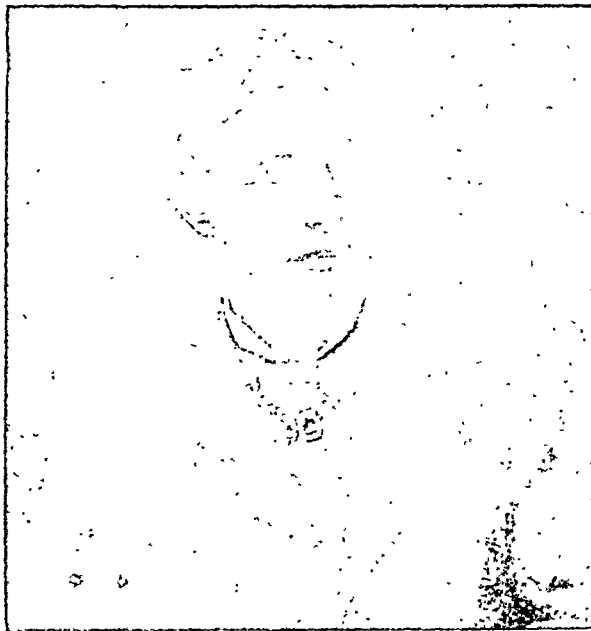
avoided. Many things, such as religion, politics and so forth, were now beginning to appear as special and separate 'problems,' to be reported on by the experts; so that the man of letters, doubtful himself and naturally wishing to make the widest possible appeal, tended to leave out these things altogether, to omit the great background of ideas and to concentrate all his attention on the social life in the foreground. There are other reasons for this restriction, but in order to find them and to explain other notable characteristics of the literature of the time, we must return to an examination of the general character of the age itself.

It is a commonplace of the history books that after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars England soon became an isolated power.

During the fifty years following Waterloo she may be said to have

become more of an island than she had been for centuries. Victorian England is an insular England. The romantic movement, which had been international, came to an end and for at least fifty years no other great movement of this kind swept through Europe, linking England and the Continent. While revolution and reaction went on abroad, at home there was a long period of peace and prosperity, which developed in the typical Victorian mind a certain insular complacency that naturally tended to increase this isolation. That famous remark about 'all foreigners being fools' does not belong to the age, but nevertheless it is typical of its spirit. Victorian men of genius, such as Dickens and Tennyson and Thackeray, never wrote more foolishly, never showed less imagination, than when they wrote about the foreigner. There were exceptions, of course, for it is one of the glories (and—for the critic—difficulties) of this age that it can provide exceptions to anything.

Carlyle and, later, Meredith, both of whom had come under German influences, made this complacent John Bullism their target, and it was attacked even more persistently and successfully by the greatest literary critic the age can boast, Matthew Arnold. Arnold's first Essays in



POET AND CRITIC

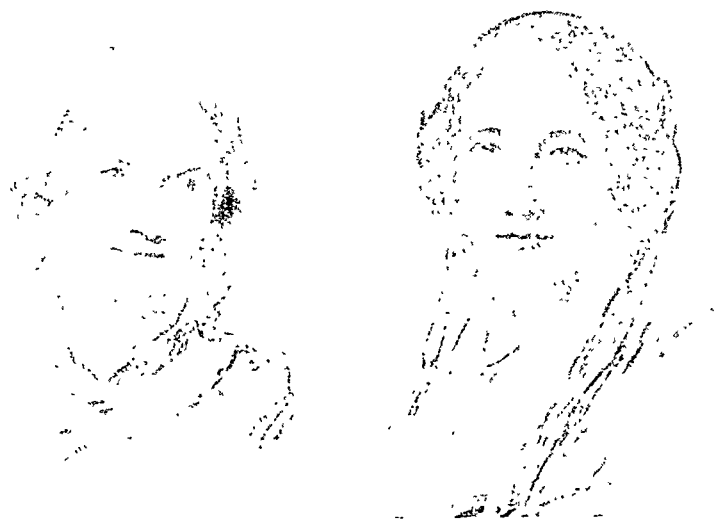
Author of the Scholar Gipsy, The Forsaken Merman and other poems of outstanding distinction, Matthew Arnold (1822-88) also did fine work as a literary critic; notably in his *Essays in Criticism*, published between 1865 and 1888.

Criticism are nothing more than a protest against this insular spirit ; a direct protest by means of a denunciation of what Arnold calls 'provincialism,' and an indirect protest in the shape of a number of critical studies all devoted to foreign writers. Indeed, Arnold's mistake is to fall into the opposing error, so that we find him praising as the very noblest swans not a few foreign writers who were soon seen to be nothing but geese. His other mistake is to underestimate the value of personality, as opposed to careful performance, in

art, and to apply too narrow a theory of aesthetics to literature. In all this, however, he was only swinging too far round in what was, after all, the right direction, and he contrived to indicate nearly every weakness of the thought and art of his age. He saw clearly that it was too complacently insular and illiberal in its thought, and too fond of letting personality run riot, too easy and copious, too indifferent to sound form and a fine frugality in its art.

England, thus left to herself, became—shall we say?—very English. She developed herself in her own way, and as

her way in literature happens to be, on the whole, a very good way, we need not be surprised that Victorian literature is at once so rich and varied. It displays, better than any other, not even excepting the Elizabethan and romantic literatures, the national temper. It is at once romantic and humorous, individualistic, eccentric, impatient of formal limits. A certain insular and domestic cosiness now descends upon it. The characteristic English emphasis upon individual character rather than upon society in general or any background of ideas is more noticeable in Victorian literature than it is in the literature of any other period.



#### TWO WOMEN OF LITERARY GENIUS

Herself a successful writer of novels dealing with village life, Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell (right), 1810-65, published in 1857 a vivid biography of Charlotte Brontë (left). The novels of the latter are characterised by their intensity of feeling and exceptional eloquence, the more remarkable in view of their creator's narrow experience

*Portraits by George Richmond, National Portrait Gallery, London*

Carlyle sees this life simply as a field of action for great men, and turns history into a series of biographies. Browning is pre-eminently the poet of all the twists and variations of human character. All the novelists are, first and foremost, creators of character, and, however faulty the more important Victorian novels may be either as narratives or as interpretations of life, they are certainly filled, frequently crowded, with vivid and entertaining human beings. The result is that all manner of people arrive to take their place in literature. Charlotte Brontë shows what a world of tragic passion there may be in the heart of a plain little provincial governess. George Eliot almost succeeds in turning the lower middle-class life of the Midlands into high intellectual comedy. Mrs. Gaskell makes something more absorbing than any fantasy out of the history of a few queer old nobodies buried away in a village. Trollope chronicles all the petty warfare in a cathedral town, at a time when the Church was at its dullest, and succeeds in becoming infinitely entertaining.

Not only was Victorian England isolated and at peace (no war on the grand scale taking place during the whole period), but she was also, of course, immensely prosperous. Modern industrialism began to conquer the world, and



ANTHONY TROLLOPE

Valuable light is thrown on English clerical life in the Victorian era by the novels of Anthony Trollope (1815-82), whose literary reputation rests most firmly on his Barchester series, which contains many clever character studies.

England was the very heart of this system. Her population and wealth increased at a prodigious rate. There is no need to dwell or enlarge upon these familiar facts, but we have still to see how they affected the literature of the age. The reading public had been immensely enlarged during the preceding age, but now, with the spread of education, it grew by leaps and bounds, taking in one class after another.

The lower middle class, small tradesmen, superior artisans and the like, for the most part Nonconformist and somewhat Puritanical, was probably the chief addition to the reading public during the early part of the age, just as the working class was in the later. As the tastes of these people had necessarily to be consulted by professional authors, by editors and publishers, who desired a wide audience, this, therefore, is a fact of some importance. Women, too, of all classes, read more and brought hundreds of circulating libraries, usually filled with novels, into existence.

The natural result was that scores of new periodicals, lighter than the old quarterlies, began to appear, and so it became possible for authors to make a good part of their income from periodical

contributions, whether in the form of serial stories, short tales or historical and critical articles. Publishing, now separated from the bookselling or printing trades, became a lucrative and elaborate business, and with the publisher there arrived the professional author. In spite of the fact that innumerable men had previously earned their living by writing books, the professional author, as we know him now, was a new figure. Even Scott, who made a fortune out of his novels, was not really a professional author in the modern sense, for he did not think of himself or like others to think of him as primarily a writer, but rather as a legal gentleman who happened to have a taste for authorship. But now an author no longer expected to be rewarded by a few rich patrons, by a pension or by a political sinecure, but found it possible to be rewarded directly by the reading public. And this public had grown so large that it could reward its favourites very liberally indeed, and could keep a large number of other writers in something like comfort.

The immensely rapid growth of the reading public and the arrival of the professional author, absolutely dependent on the favour of that public, are factors of some importance in the history of Victorian literature. They partly explain its great fertility, particularly in fiction. They might be used to explain a whole host of minor characteristics. Thus, for example, the form of the Victorian novel as we see it in the works of Dickens and Thackeray is not something independent of mere literary economics, but is the direct result of certain conditions.

Both Dickens and Thackeray, wishing to appeal to a large and none too wealthy public, adopted the plan of publishing their tales in serial parts, in fortnightly or monthly instalments. They began with some rough outline of the story in their minds, but then wrote each instalment as it was wanted. If the sales fell off, after a time, either the novel was speedily concluded or (as in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, whose American chapters were an afterthought) some new interest was added; but, on



the other hand, a steady or increasing demand would add a good many extra chapters. This hand-to-mouth method made any but a long, loose, rambling tale impossible; hence the prevalence of the huge, biographical form of novel, crowded with figures and crammed with irrelevant if delightful incidents.

The professional author and his publishers, immediately dependent upon the favour of the public, were necessarily influenced by the taste of the public. Even where they were not concerned with merely tickling the mob, as so many lesser writers were now, they were frequently moved, as both Tennyson and Dickens were, by a sense of responsibility towards a wide and appreciative audience, and this was not, unfortunately, always in the best interests of their art. Literature no longer found its way only into gentlemen's libraries and a few boudoirs, but now entered the parlours of the whole nation. Fiction especially became a middle-class, family, domestic entertainment, with the result that the things that were never talked about in the parlour became unmentionable in the novel. Literature became more reticent on the subject of

Influence of sex than it had ever been  
public taste before or has been since. It

is not merely that it dispensed with the dubious themes and coarse pleasantries to be found in earlier fiction and drama; for the passing of these things was made inevitable by the change of manners and the fact that books no longer appealed merely to a small set of wits and rakehells. The novelist was now compelled to become a prude, to leave out certain important facts of life or mysteriously to hint at their existence instead of calling them frankly by their proper names.

Human beings acted as they have always done; young women became prostitutes; young men kept mistresses or visited brothels; but a novelist like Thackeray, once he had quitted the club smoking-room, was not allowed to say so. The Young Person had to be protected, and it was not until that Young Person herself (for, as usual, the women were on the whole less timid and conventional than the men) began tearing down the

veil that this absurd prudery disappeared. It is easy to make too much of it, particularly in its purely literary aspects, but undoubtedly it helped to create an atmosphere in which frankness and honest thinking about human relations in general were difficult to achieve. And the writers who suffered most were the very men whose work was of extreme importance to the age, the satirical observers of the social scene, of whom Thackeray is the best example. Even Meredith, though he was much bolder, more outspoken, than his elders, was undoubtedly hampered by this convention of extreme reticence, which was not so strict, however, as it had been some years before he began to write, when the love passages in *Jane Eyre* were regarded as positively scandalous lapses from decency.

Pernicious effect  
of prudery

Attempts have been made to prove that this wave of prudery in literature was due to the influence of the court, to a reaction in high places against the Regency: but such accounts of the matter overlook the fact that it had begun long before Victoria came to the throne; indeed, during the Regency itself. At least one of Scott's novels had been almost ruined by the prudish interference of his publishers. We have already come close to the real reason for this change, the fact that literature became dependent on those classes who are neither care-free at the top of the social scale nor careless at the bottom, the respectable citizens and their wives and daughters whose taste did not incline them towards either an easy, winking familiarity or a disturbing frankness in their attitude towards sexual matters. The nineteenth century brought about this change, not because these people became prudish all at once (although manners did not remain the same), but because they now became the chief patrons of literature. They began to support the Muses, and demanded in return that these creatures should be respectably skirted and bonneted.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the immense prosperity of Victorian England had its dark and ugly side. Industrialism, blackening innumerable fair

acres every year, was soon seen to be something very different from a fairy tale of huge dividends and happy workers. It became apparent to some observers that England was paying a very heavy price for her great prosperity, that trade was becoming a kind of Moloch. The new towns that were springing up in the industrial districts did nothing to reassure their more sensitive visitors, for they were obviously ugly and barbarous, places from which all the fair and gracious things of this life appeared to have been permanently exiled. The records of the factories and mines, just the bare facts, made very distressing reading. The lives of many of the workers were passed in a nightmare of unceasing toil, and even the smallest children were pressed into the service of the machines. Condemned to work from dawn to nightfall for a mere pittance, shut out from sun and air, many of these people might well have envied a medieval serf.

This state of things very soon put an end to complacency in Victorian literature. It turned the man of letters into an indignant reformer. This is a fact that



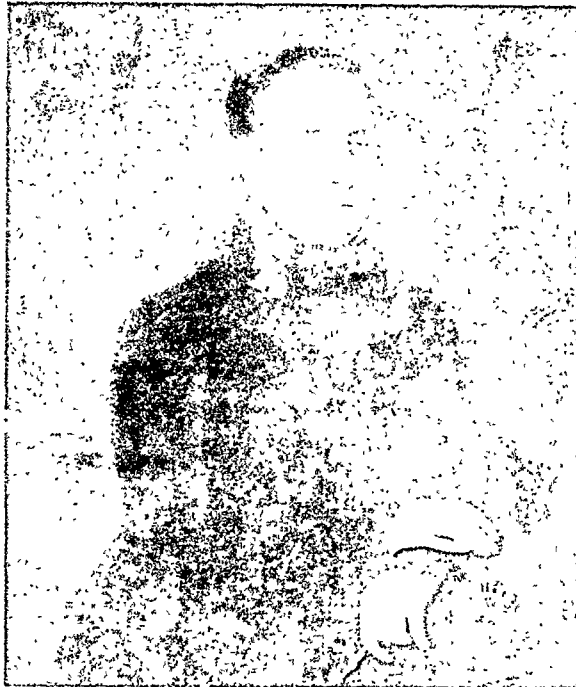
CHARLES KINGSLEY

Well known as the author of stirring historical romances, Charles Kingsley (1819-75) expressed his hatred of contemporary industrial conditions in his attack on the 'sweating' system in *Alton Locke* (1849).

must be emphasised because it is frequently overlooked. A passionate sense of social injustice, a desire for immediate reform, are just as much in and of this age as the evil conditions and the glib and complacent talk of progress that we are apt to think so characteristic of it. Indeed, they were present in a purer form, coming more directly from the heart, from a genuine conviction of the brotherhood of men, than they are in the reforming literature of a later day, which is cooler and harder and not unmingled with the cold conceit of the doctrinaire, more anxious to thrust his own ideas upon the world than to make everybody happy.

We see this leaven at work all through the literature, but more especially in the novel. Dickens, Mrs. Gaskell, Charles Kingsley, Disraeli, to name no others, all bear witness during the early and middle periods of the age to the increasing discontent at the prevailing conditions and the appalling inequalities of wealth. Poets like Thomas Hood and Elizabeth Barrett Browning had early sung in a popular strain of indignant humanitarianism. Such philosophers and critics as Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold and Mill challenged the whole trend of affairs, though all four of them are in various ways very characteristic of their time. Any complacency that may be found during the early years of the age—and even Dickens and Tennyson and Thackeray are sometimes discovered echoing Macaulay—has disappeared by the time we reach its later years.

These years, during which the Victorian age gradually shed its chief characteristics until at last there was nothing of it left but the old queen on the throne, produced a literature of their own, very different from the main bulk of Victorian literature but still belonging to the age. It is neither complacent nor indignant, but moving steadily towards disillusion. Unlike their elders, these later Victorians do not want to reform the age so much as to escape from it. They condemn it, we might say, by pointedly changing the subject whenever it is mentioned to them. This is the period of aestheticism, with Pater for its prophet and Wilde as its



HUMANITARIAN POET

Through the medium of his poetry, Thomas Hood (1799-1845) called public attention in his *Song of the Shirt* and other verses to the sufferings of the working classes in the scandalous social system of his day. Painting by G. R. Lewis.

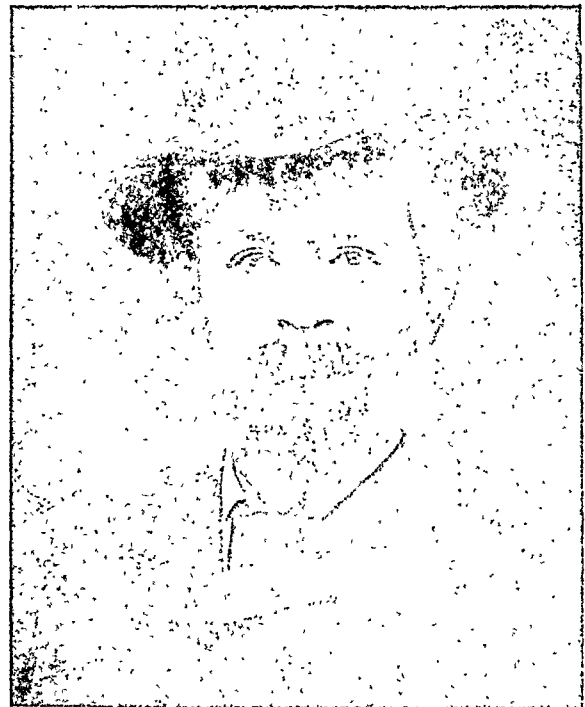
*Courtesy of Walter Jerrald*

mountebank, of the Pre-Raphaelites, of the 'buccaneer-and-fine-writing' school of Stevenson and Henley. It is ultra-romantic, very self-conscious, and determinedly opposed, in attitude, subject and treatment, to the early Victorian.

Disillusion had followed mere hearty indignation. There came a desire for a life less dingy and drab. The Victorian age did not flatter the eye, and there is about much of its literature, admirable though it may be, a certain drab stuffiness, a lack of colour and air. Now, it began to appear far too domestic and cosy. Therefore it is not surprising the best literature of this period should be an escape, in various directions, from the age itself. Elaborate form itself is a kind of refuge, and this is the period of elaborate form. It is significant that the old, difficult verse forms, the ballade and the like, became fashionable. Certain writers begin to withdraw from the bustle of reality and let their imaginations dreamily feed on other ages.

Art to Pater seems to be nothing but an exquisite sanctuary. Rossetti and Morris (in his literature, at least) return

to the Middle Ages like men going home, and not, as Coleridge and Keats may be said to have returned there, like men paying a visit. These later Victorians seem to be occupied in reversing the process of domesticating romance, of marrying it to realism, that we noticed earlier, and in this they were successful, travelling further into the ethereal world than the great romanticists themselves. Swinburne is even less material and concrete than Shelley; Rossetti is more dreamily sensuous than Keats; the medievalism of Morris makes that of Scott seem by comparison a mere compromise; Pater tracks down exquisite sensations more assiduously than ever Coleridge or Hazlitt or Lamb did. But these later romanticists seem to be escaping from something rather than discovering something. When we compare them with the great romanticists, they seem to be living in a sad twilight. They lack full-blooded zest and warmth. There is about them a suggestion of masquerade. They wander uneasily on the borderlands of genuine old romance, but a curious self-consciousness prevents them from bursting through, joining the



ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE

The pagan note in the magic music of Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909) marks the return of poetry to a new form of romanticism. Passion and power are vibrant in his verse, much of which contains the sheepest lyrical beauty.

*Photo, Elliott & Fry*

great romanticists of the earlier age. This self-consciousness is the result of a subtle change in the atmosphere.

This change has been taking place throughout the Victorian age. As we have already seen, it is neither a period when thought is settled for a time, an age of stabilised belief, nor yet a period of sudden re-awakening. It swung, somewhat uneasily, somewhere between

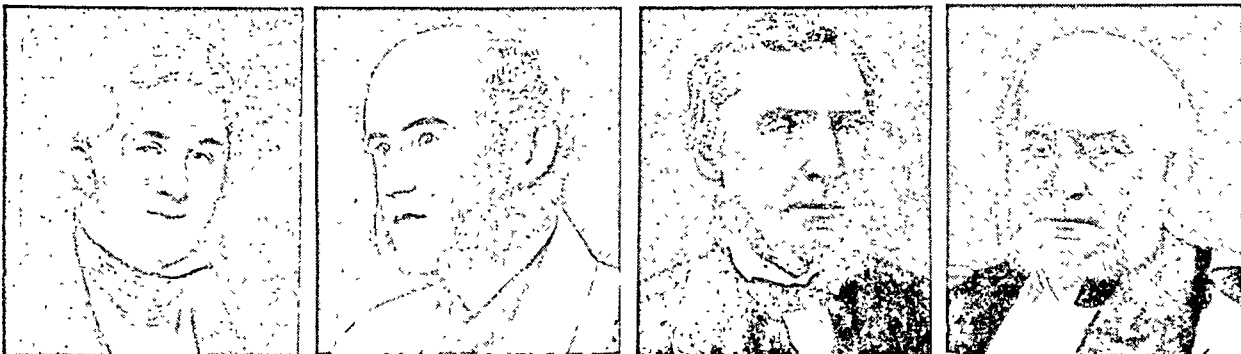
**The burden of new ideas** these two extremes. Once we have passed the early cocksure years, most of the Victorians seem to move, conscientiously and laboriously, in a world overburdened with ideas. Not one of them holds his beliefs easily and blithely. This is not to be explained by asserting, as so many critics would seem to assert, that now, for the first time in the history of English literature, a number of authors ceased to be orthodox Christians. The eighteenth century can show us its deists and rationalists and sceptics. The religious convictions of the great romanticists were extraordinarily diverse. There were no wider differences in the Victorian age; but, on the other hand, there was greater conflict.

As the nineteenth century moved forward, the whole arena was immensely enlarged by the various sciences, and the issues themselves seemed to become graver. Orthodoxy, challenged now from half a dozen different directions, faced with the task of silencing not a few philosophers and wits but a host of thinkers, rallied its resources and returned blow for blow. The battle was no longer con-

fined to the library. Living in such a world, a man felt compelled to make a choice, and if he could not, like Clough, he spent his time desperately wrestling with himself in public. This is the age of suspiciously passionate believers and laboriously honest doubters.

Its very difficulties, however, compelled it to ransack the whole store of human ideas with a zest and thoroughness that perhaps no other age can equal. With one hand it was destroying the past, and with the other it was reconstructing it. There is no necessity to dwell here upon the first process, for this is not the place in which to record the scientific achievements, suggesting a whole new universe, of the century. But something must be said of the second process, the result of a developed historical sense and method.

We have noticed already how the sharply opposed Macaulay and Carlyle were at least alike in their passionate interest in the past, their enthusiasm for great events and great figures. Both men, too, were able to reconstruct the whole social life of the periods they studied, by setting a vivid imagination to work on a gigantic and very carefully accumulated store of facts. This was indeed the great age of historians. They had still large virgin tracts of time to explore, and had ample documents without being as yet overwhelmed by them. Grote, Hallam, Milman, Thirlwall, Buckle, Freeman, J. R. Green, Froude, Stubbs, Creighton, Lecky, these are only a few



FOUR NOTABLE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VICTORIAN HISTORICAL SCHOOL

The large number of distinguished nineteenth-century historians includes (left to right) Henry Hallam (1777-1859), the Whig author of a *Constitutional History of England*. John Richard Green (1837-83) is best remembered for his *Short History of the English People*. The historical writings of James Anthony Froude (1818-94) have met much severe criticism, not always deserved. William Stubbs (1825-1901) published his great *Constitutional History of England* in 1875-78.

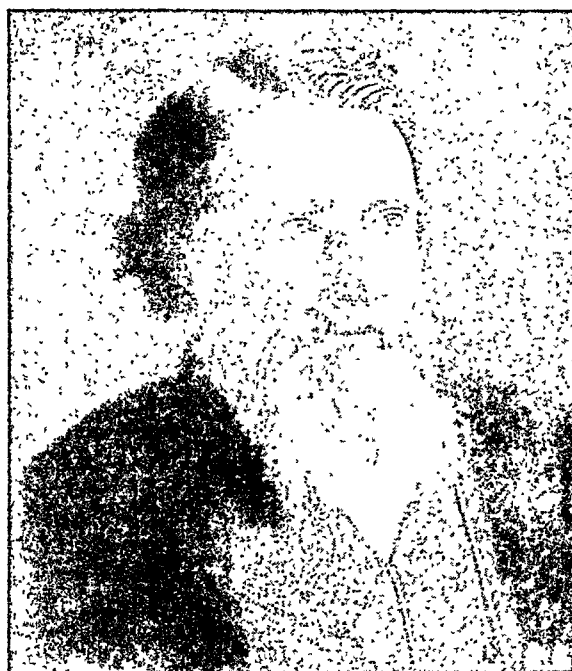
*Painting of Hallam by Sir Martin Shee and photo of Bishop Stubbs by Elliott & Fry*

of the age's historical writers. When so much history was being written, naturally a great deal of history was being read, and the historical sense seems to belong to the period itself rather than to a few of its individuals. Even the novelists show its influence, as such carefully documented stories as Esmond, *Romola's* *The Cloister and the Hearth*, and George Eliot's *Romola*—and there were many others—bear witness. The past was studied and re-lived; the growth and decay of religions and empires and institutions were revealed in the light of various laws of change and development; and all this, abetted by the discoveries of the physical sciences, brought about a change in the very atmosphere.

Just as it was impossible, with this ferment in progress, to arrive at a stage of temporary settlement and equilibrium in thought and belief, so too it was impossible to hold that everything was beginning again, that the world might turn its last corner. And because this

discovery of the past was new, it produced the maximum effect, immeasurably heightening man's self-consciousness. Ideas seem to weigh like a load on many of the mid-Victorians, and in the later work of George Eliot, for example, you can almost hear her groaning under the burden. From this, as from other things, the later Victorians attempted to escape, turning art into their refuge, thereby producing a literature of their own, exquisite, ultra-romantic, for ever fascinating, irresistibly so to readers of kindred temperament, but never quite touching real greatness.

This unceasing stir and passionate conflict of ideas had naturally a very marked influence on the prose of the age, whose earnestness and pugnacity give movement and warmth to the style of its debaters. It is rich in miscellaneous prose of a polemical nature. The personal essay, brought near to perfection by Lamb and Hazlitt in the previous age, is surprisingly rare until we reach the very end of the period, the only essays having any claim to equality with the romantic masterpieces being Thackeray's delightful



JOHN RUSKIN

One of the most brilliant stylists of the Victorian era, the art critic John Ruskin (1819-1900) taught his generation to appreciate beauty in nature and in architecture. He was deeply interested as well in social reform.

*Photo, Elliott & Fry*

Roundabout Papers. There is, too, less purely literary criticism of the highest kind than can be found in the periods at the beginning and end of the century. On the other hand, it has an ample share of that forceful critical writing, usually in the form of contributions to periodicals, which is partly a criticism of literature and partly a criticism of ideas, in which the critic himself is at pains to comment on life. The reviews and studies of Bagehot and Leslie represent the type.

But it is in the absolutely miscellaneous, not-to-be-classified, department of prose that this age is so curiously rich. Here we find some of its greatest stylists, such as Newman, who is theologian and autobiographer and half a dozen other things beside, and Ruskin, who presents us with a bewildering mixture of art criticism and scenic description and political economy in his vast structures of gorgeous prose. Here, too, are such diverse personages as Borrow, philologist and literary vagabond; Huxley, scientist and controversialist; and Jefferies, half a naturalist and half a poet. And such names merely indicate the variety to be found in this huge department of miscellaneous prose.

For one writing only half a century since this age, itself another half century, came to an end, it is still too early to see it in proper perspective against the whole background of English literature, and therefore it is still too early to arrive at any just estimate of its achievement. The tide of reaction is flowing too strongly and the reputations of its greater figures are the sport of mere fashion in criticism. We can, however, make a brief effort to see it as one age among many, and ask ourselves what it accomplished. Undoubtedly it is the most prolific and varied, and in many respects the richest, of all periods in English literature. In poetry, it will be generally agreed that it was inferior to the romantic age, for Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Swinburne and Rossetti are not the equals of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley and Keats. Nor does it surpass the Elizabethan-Jacobean Age. But it is equal to either

**Achievement in Poetry** if sheer bulk of good poetry rather than the achievement of really great poetry is accepted as the criterion. The editor of a little anthology of the finest things would find himself giving more space to the age of Shakespeare and the age of Wordsworth than to the age of Tennyson, but if he were called upon to produce a large anthology he would then visit most frequently the vast flower garden of Victorian verse.

The drama has not been mentioned in this study, for the simple reason that the age did not produce a single dramatic masterpiece. There were any number of passable theatrical pieces, melodramas and farces; and one mid-Victorian dramatist, Robertson, succeeded in stemming the current of flamboyance and artificiality in the theatre, while another, Gilbert, brought comic opera libretto nearer to perfection than any writer before or since his time. Talfourd, Henry Taylor, Browning and Tennyson all wrote poetical dramas that were intended for the stage (as distinct

from those, by Swinburne and others, intended only for the library), but not one of them succeeded in creating anything that either a reader or a play-goer would acknowledge to be a masterpiece.

If in poetry the age almost succeeds in holding its own with the two great earlier periods in English literature, in prose it surpasses them and any other. The editor of the Oxford Book of English Prose has such a wide knowledge and fine catholic taste that he cannot be accused of being prejudiced for or against any particular period. His selection covers over five hundred years of prose writing, and it is highly significant that nearly one third of his volume is dedicated to the prose of these fifty years. In some special forms, as we have seen, the age was weak, but its miscellaneous prose, expressing with truth, vividness, humour and poetry a multitude of human interests, outweighs that of any other age. And its pre-eminence in fiction simply cannot be questioned and challenged. If he were condemned to limit himself to the novels of a single age, no sensible reader would hesitate a moment before fixing his choice on these fifty crowded years, with Dickens, Thackeray, Meredith, Trollope, Stevenson, the Brontës, George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell for company. This pre-eminence lifts the total achievement of the age to an astonishingly high level.

Time may reveal, as it has already revealed, many weaknesses not formerly remarked nor even suspected. Its poetry, its criticism, even its fiction, may not be so far beyond the reach of detraction as its admirers once imagined. But when the last doubting word has been said, wonder and gratitude remain. These fifty years ripened and reaped a mighty harvest, and it will be a proud and astonishing day for England if and when, at the end of any succeeding age, she looks back and sees her granaries so full again.

## END OF SEVENTH VOLUME

